



Annual report 2022



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● Introduction

Welcome to the 2022 National Policy Forum (NPF) Annual Report.

This year the NPF has transitioned from eight policy commissions to six, each focusing on cross-cutting challenges and opportunities facing Britain in the coming decade: from securing a green and digital future to guaranteeing better jobs and better work; from keeping communities safe and secure to delivering first-class public services; and from building a future where families come first, in all their wonderful diversity, to strengthening and promoting Britain's place in the world.

In the last year, the NPF's six policy commissions have met regularly to speak to expert witnesses and members of the Labour frontbench, and to hear from hundreds of party members, Constituency Labour Parties (CLPs) and other organisations with their thoughts on the development of our policy platform ahead of the next General Election.

The outcome of all that hard work is reflected in this Annual Report. Building on last year's report, it sets out core elements of Labour's plan to reboot our economy, revitalise our public services and re-energise our communities. And it shows that while the Conservatives can only offer more of the same failure we've seen for over a decade, it is Labour who can provide the fresh start that Britain needs.

This report will now be taken to Annual Conference in September 2022, where delegates will have the opportunity to debate and vote on it. Once passed, the Annual Report forms part of Labour's policy programme and informs the next stage of our policy development work as we look ahead to producing a voter-facing, election-winning General Election manifesto.

As always, none of this would be possible without the energy, commitment and ideas of all our members, affiliates and stakeholders who have engaged with the NPF over the past year. Thank you for all your contributions. They are what will help deliver the Labour government our country desperately needs: a government with a mission, a sense of real purpose and a plan. A government that would see Britain no longer falling behind but forging ahead.



● Consultation activity

On 27 May 2022, the Labour Party launched its annual NPF consultation, designed to give our members and affiliates a chance to have their say on some of the key issues facing Britain. The consultation ran for six weeks and closed on 8 July.

In total, nearly 1,500 written submissions were made either via the Labour Policy Forum website or via email, ranging from proposals for reaching net zero, to ideas for how we make our communities safe, and thoughts on foreign policy in a rapidly changing world.

The consultation period also saw 400 party members join six online roundtables, where they were able to discuss policy ideas with one another and with leading members of the Labour frontbench: David Lammy, Wes Streeting, Olivia Blake, James Murray, Helen Hayes and Stephen Kinnock.

Thank you to all those who made submissions or attended and contributed to the events. The NPF is Labour's democratic policymaking process and its strength lies in the coming together of people from every part of our movement, contributing their ideas and debating the major policy issues of the day. In doing so, they help to show how Labour would build a new Britain which guarantees security, prosperity and respect for all.

● Other policy workstreams

As well as the work of the NPF policy commissions, the last year has seen a range of additional policy development work undertaken – all of which will inform Labour’s policy platform as we enter the final year of the policy development cycle.

Stronger Together, Labour’s policy review process chaired by Party Chair Anneliese Dodds MP, published two reports ahead of Annual Conference 2021: ‘Labour Works’, which showcased inspiring examples of Labour delivering for people in every part of the country, and ‘Britain in 2030’, which set out Labour’s distinct vision for the country over the next decade compared to yet more Tory failure. The policy review work has continued this year, engaging with our affiliated trade unions as well as hundreds of party members via a series of online events, and the latest Stronger Together report will be published alongside this NPF Annual Report and be submitted to Annual Conference 2022 for a vote.

In December 2020 Labour leader Keir Starmer announced the **Commission on the UK’s Future** to examine what constitutional changes are required to bring power, wealth and opportunity closer to people in every part of our country. Chaired by former Prime Minister Gordon Brown, its members are drawn from across the UK and from different backgrounds including academia, local government, the legal profession, and trade unions. Since being announced, the Commission has consulted across the Labour Party including with MPs, Welsh Labour, Scottish Labour, Metro Mayors and local government. It is due to report in early autumn 2022, after which the Party will consider its recommendations. These will directly inform the work of the NPF next year.

In November 2021 Labour unveiled its new **Council of Skills Advisors**, chaired by former Education Secretary Lord Blunkett. The Council will rethink how we equip individuals and our economy with the skills for the future, and deliver Labour’s ambition to ensure young people leave education ready for work and ready for life. The Council is working with unions, education providers and businesses to develop policy that ensures people can train and upskill, and that businesses can fulfil their skills needs. The Council is due to report shortly and its findings will inform the future work of the NPF.

In June 2022 Shadow Chancellor Rachel Reeves launched the **Start-Up Review**, looking at how to ensure that Britain is the best place to start and grow a business. This will include looking at how to ensure growing businesses have access to the right sort of capital, whether universities have the right structures and incentives to spin out businesses, how to ensure a better geographical distribution of growing businesses and ways to boost diversity among British entrepreneurs. The review is led by a panel of entrepreneurs and innovation leaders, including cross-bench peer Lord Jim O’Neill. The review will report in the autumn and its findings will be shared with the NPF.

A green and digital future

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Kerry McCarthy MP

Darren Jones MP

Ed Miliband MP*

NEC

Mick Whelan

Isabelle Gutierrez

Joanne McGuinness

Margaret Beckett MP*

CLPs, regions and devolved administrations

Alex Chapman – South East Region

Holly Jarrett – South West Region

Simon Henig – Northern Region

Ivan Monckton – Welsh Labour Party

Wendy Simon – North West Region

Andrew Bustard – Scottish Labour Party

Aisling Musson – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Mike Bird – Welsh Labour Party

Jenny Rathbone – Welsh Policy Forum

Affiliates

Carrie Aspin – Usdaw

Mick Carney – TSSA

Laurence Turner – GMB

Tracey Fussey – CWU

Maggie Ryan – Unite

Steve Turner – Unite

Michael Ross – COSLA

Gloria Mills – BAME Labour

Elected representatives and peers

*Co-convenor



Overview

This commission was preceded by the Environment, Energy and Culture commission. In 2021, that commission held consultations on a broad range of topics including 'Our Digital Future' and 'Just Transition'.

In its first year, the Green and Digital Future commission has focused on the opportunities of the UK's transition to net zero. High energy prices, caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, have added to the urgency of developing new clean sources of domestic energy. In the last year, Labour has set out bold policies to speed the transition to net zero. This includes its climate investment pledge of £28 billion per year and five-point plan on energy security.

Issues discussed by the commission

The Green and Digital Future policy commission met several times this year, discussing the following themes.

Labour's plan on energy security

The Commission heard from Alan Whitehead MP, Shadow Energy Minister, who set out Labour's desire to develop a practical road map to achieve net zero, identifying concrete opportunities in sectors across the economy.

Consultation: creating green jobs

The commission held a members' roundtable and took submissions to help identify the best opportunities to create good green jobs across the British economy. A brief overview of the submissions received can be found below.

Clean growth opportunities

The commission held an evidence session with London School of Economics (LSE) academics on clean growth opportunities for the UK. The commission heard about the UK's strengths in clean energy technologies, and the opportunities for the UK in providing green services such as climate finance.

Green jobs

The commission also received evidence from the Trades Union Congress (TUC) on the opportunity to secure high-quality green jobs, especially in the offshore wind industry, in contrast to the current government's failure to cultivate strong domestic supply chains.

Conclusions

This year, Labour has announced bold climate policies to go further and faster on the green energy transition. This would bring down energy bills and deliver long-term energy security.

Investing in the green economy

At the forefront of Labour's plans is the climate investment pledge: a commitment to an additional £28 billion of capital investment in the UK's green transition every year for the rest of the decade, to unlock economic potential and protect our planet for future generations. Labour would set out a clear roadmap for decarbonisation so businesses and individuals can plan ahead to play their part in the transition.

Of this, Labour would invest £6 billion in retrofitting houses to make them more energy efficient. This would insulate 19 million homes in a decade, cut gas imports by 15 per cent and cut bills by up to £400.

A just transition

Labour will deliver a just transition that rectifies regional imbalances, levels up and ensures that no workers or communities are left behind. Labour's Just Transition Working Group brings together unions, industry leaders and members of the climate movement to ensure fairness is at the heart of Labour's decarbonisation efforts.

To share the financial benefits of the transition, Labour's investment into gigafactories would exploit equity stakes, ensuring a people's dividend from the green transition.

Labour's climate investment would ensure that regions aren't left behind. For example, the rollout of electric vehicle charging points would target left-out areas like Yorkshire, the North West and West Midlands.

Labour's plan to buy, make and sell more in Britain

Labour has a plan to buy, make and sell more in Britain. An example of how this can be achieved would be seeking to strengthen the requirements for domestic content in offshore wind supply chains. And the climate investment pledge will give the UK a chance to lead the world in the development of new renewable technologies.

Foreign governments are already investing and profiting from our energy transition. Labour has announced we would take equity stakes, for example in new gigafactories, to ensure that UK citizens can benefit from the green transition.

Working in partnership

Labour is pursuing a new partnership with industry. A Labour government would contribute more through greater climate investment which would stimulate more private investment. Labour expects all large businesses to play their part in the



transition to net zero. We announced that we would mandate FTSE100 companies and large financial institutions to develop transition plans to demonstrate how their activities are consistent with a 1.5°C temperature rise.

Labour would work with local government to develop local green plans. Labour Mayors are already delivering: in March, Andy Burnham and Steve Rotheram, the respective Labour Mayors of Greater Manchester and Liverpool City Region signed a green energy deal with the leaders of Belfast and Dublin to facilitate research and development (R&D), investment and business collaboration. And Labour councils across the country are pushing forward with local initiatives, such as the South London Green Skills Academy, a partnership between Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark Councils, supported by the Mayor of London Sadiq Khan.

Labour would continue to work in partnership with workers and trade unions on creating good jobs.

Creating good jobs

Labour has announced support to protect existing jobs, with £3 billion of investment to green the steel industry. It would also create new jobs. For example, our plan to part-finance three car battery gigafactories would create at least 30,000 jobs.

Labour would also ensure that workers are equipped with the skills to deliver a green industrial revolution, in consultation with unions. Labour would introduce climate apprenticeships and improve climate education in schools.

Job creation in the green economy will be backed up by Labour's New Deal for Working People which would increase security, prosperity and respect for millions of workers across the whole economy.

Restoring nature is often complementary to reducing emissions

Labour has announced the introduction of a net zero and nature policy test to align public spending and infrastructure decisions with climate and nature commitments.

Restoring nature is another area where Labour is already delivering across the UK. In Wales, the Labour-led administration announced £227 million of funding earlier this year to support Wales' rural economy towards a greener and more sustainable future. Some of this money will go towards the Welsh government's commitment to create 43,000 hectares of woodland by 2030.

Submissions to this year's consultation

The industries, sectors and technologies that present the biggest opportunities for the UK's green economy

Respondents noted that the UK has a potential comparative advantage in several green energy technologies. They also noted the UK's existing comparative advantage in services, with growing opportunities in green finance and consulting. Several respondents highlighted the necessity of insulating Britain's housing stock, with the potential to create good, green jobs.

"Within the overall category of clean technologies, there are a few subcategories that stand out for the UK, in particular tidal, offshore wind and nuclear energy and carbon capture usage and storage technologies ... The UK is heavily specialised in services, and areas such as green finance and related services present key opportunities in the UK."

ANNA VALERO, LSE

"[Tidal energy's] reliability and predictability makes it a strong candidate for an alternative base-load fuel to fossil fuels. The UK has particularly strong tidal currents."

LABOUR INTERNATIONAL CLP

"Retrofitting all of our homes and building many more council and genuinely affordable homes will create construction jobs in every area and help address our housing crisis – as would expanding, upgrading and transforming our public transport system."

UNITE

The concentration of those opportunities in particular regions, towns and cities
Respondents highlighted green energy opportunities across the country, including outside London and the South East. Sometimes geography means that renewable energy generation opportunities are concentrated in certain regions, for example wind power in the Humber, and hydro and tidal power in Devon and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. We can also build on the capabilities of existing industrial clusters to develop new, green technologies.

"We have the resource of nuclear power at Heysham, in the neighbouring constituency of Morecambe. There is more opportunity for wind and perhaps tidal, given the great resource of Morecambe Bay."

LANCASTER AND FLEETWOOD CLP



"I believe there is a gigantic opportunity to invest in onshore and offshore wind power in our area. The Humber region is right next to door to the polar front ... We need to invest in wind power immensely so that we can provide excellent opportunities for jobs in the Humber region."

GEORGE, LABOUR MEMBER

"Specific regions which could benefit from community energy include those which are near the coast or running water, to enable hydro and tidal power installations. These have already been created in Devon and the Highlands & Islands of Scotland – which are geographically favourable to wind and hydro power."

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

"In November 2021, Alstom signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Eversholt Rail to work towards an order for a fleet of hydrogen trains to be designed and built in Derby – the first of a kind for the UK."

ALSTOM UK AND IRELAND

"The Midlands, North West, Wales, and the North East rank highly on our Net Zero Opportunity Index score. For these top-ranking regions, the key opportunities include proximity to renewable energy sites, proximity to a decarbonising industrial cluster, and proximity to a top university for STEM [Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths] research with associated innovation opportunities."

SOCIAL MARKET FOUNDATION

How government can support the growth of business and the creation of good jobs in these sectors

Respondents highlighted many policy levers that government could use to support clean sectors including skills policy, the regulatory environment, public ownership and government investment in green energy and transport, international agreements, and carbon pricing. They also pointed to Labour councils already delivering in power.

"A few of the ways that the public transport system can play an integral role in tackling the climate crisis, is through investment in electrification of all rail, opening of new routes and increasing capacity on rail alongside investment in more bus routes and walking and cycling routes to help encourage a modal shift from private car use to public transport or walking / cycling... ASLEF welcomes Labour's continued commitment to renationalise the railways."

ASSOCIATED SOCIETY OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN (ASLEF)

“We need to stop our green industries at home being undercut by dirty industries elsewhere. This requires us to ally ourselves with international partners also steadfast in wanting to tackle climate change by together imposing a price on carbon emission, and to impose punitive tariffs on imports from countries unwilling to impose a carbon price on their own industries... It also means relaxing ridiculous rules that prevent people improving their own homes, for example planning restrictions in conservation areas that prevent people fitting double glazing.”

RICHARD, LABOUR MEMBER

What we can learn from current and previous initiatives to create jobs in the green economy

Respondents pointed to existing British success stories, for example an insulation retraining project in Manchester. But they also highlighted the failures of the current government's approach, especially the short-term and piecemeal nature of existing policies. Respondents also highlighted existing schemes which work but could be more effective.

“There are success stories in retrofitting, such as Manchester Labour for a Green New Deal, who hired unemployed theatre technicians during the pandemic to retrofit many properties in the city.”

HACKNEY NORTH AND STOKE NEWINGTON CLP

“All previous schemes related to energy efficiency have failed to take a systematic approach to decent job creation. Unlike schemes in, for example, Germany, measures such as green deal, energy performance certificates, feed-in tariffs and the creation of domestic energy assessors have been short term and piecemeal. This has had an inevitable influence on the types and appeal of jobs in the sector and the relatively poor terms and conditions.”

UNISON

“Apprenticeships are a crucial component for delivering high-quality employment across the UK and government must work together with industry to supporting increasing numbers of apprenticeships to meet future skills needs, including by reforming the Apprenticeship Levy so that it can be used more flexibly by businesses.”

ADS GROUP



How we can ensure jobs created in the green economy set a higher standard for security, pay and progression

Respondents supported Labour's call for a 'just transition', ensuring that the costs and benefits of the transition to net zero are shared fairly. They highlighted the important role that trade unions should play and the benefits for workers of businesses being owned by UK individuals and/or the UK government.

"Unions have a key role to play in workplace transitions to a greener economy. For example, union representatives should be fully involved in discussions on flexible working, green travel plans, and energy saving plans."

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD CLP

"Usdaw is fully supportive of the move to a low carbon, zero emissions economy through a 'just transition' strategy which seeks a greener economy. De-industrialisation has characterised the modern labour market as precarious, insecure and often low paid. Protecting workers and communities during a process of industrial change will be reliant on engaging with trade unions to ensure working people have a seat at the table when strategising the move to a green economy."

UNION OF SHOP, DISTRIBUTIVE AND ALLIED WORKERS (USDAW)

Better jobs and better work

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Angela Eagle MP

Rachel Reeves MP*

NEC

Johanna Baxter

Andi Fox

Gavin Sibthorpe

Andy Kerr*

Lara McNeill

CLPs, regions and devolved nations

Tony Tinley – East Midlands Region

Shelley Darwin – Eastern Region

Russell Cartwright – Eastern Region

Grace Blakeley – Greater London Region

Seán Duffy – Scottish Labour Party

Carol Wilcox – South West Region

Dan Dobson – South East Region

Teresa Beddis – West Midlands Region

Lisa Banes – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Sophie Clark-Vale – East Midlands Region

Eva Murray – Scottish Labour Party

Karen Constantine – South East Region

Boyd Black – Northern Ireland

Jos Gallacher – Labour International

Affiliates

Tony Burke – Unite

Joanne Cairns – Usdaw

Collette Gibson – ASLEF

Sharon Graham – Unite

Gary Smith – GMB

Liz Snape – UNISON

Dave Ward – CWU

Paddy Lillis – Usdaw

Tony Woodhouse – Unite

Joe Fortune – The Co-operative Party

Elected representatives and peers

Jackie Baillie MSP

*Co-convenor



Overview

The last cycle of the NPF noted work underway with Labour and its affiliated trade unions on its new deal for working people, looking at how the world of work can be transformed for the better with strengthened rights and protections for all working people.

Since then, the Power in the Workplace taskforce concluded its work, and the NPF endorses its conclusions in full. The Green Paper on Employment Rights published at last year's Conference is the heart of our New Deal for Working People, with a host of measures to ensure all jobs are good jobs and tackle insecurity, stagnant pay and the growth in-work poverty. Labour is committed to strengthening the rights of working people by empowering workers to organise collectively through trade unions.

Core tenets of this include: a single status for all workers, employment protections from day one and strengthened protections for the self-employed, the banning of zero-hours contracts and ensuring everyone has the right to regular hours they can rely on, the banning of 'fire and rehire' of workers and the 'fire and replacement' of workers as seen by P&O Ferries; enhanced and legally enforceable collective bargaining, including the introduction of Fair Pay Agreements starting with (but not limited) to social care; repealing anti-trade union legislation which removes workers' rights, including the Trade Union Act 2016, and removing unnecessary restrictions on trade unions; simplifying the process of union recognition and establishing a reasonable right of entry to organise in workplaces.

The policy commission endorses Labour's commitment to sign the New Deal for Working People into law within 100 days of the next Labour government.

This year's cycle has sought to build on this and look at some the issues raised in the paper and how they relate to emerging economic and technological trends.

This includes the rise of flexible working (looking beyond teleworking and video calls), new technologies and technology-driven business models, and the steep fall in employment after the pandemic driven by older workers leaving the labour market and rising ill health.

Issues discussed by the commission

Co-operatives and alternative business models

At the first session the commission took evidence from the Co-operative Party on the patterns and typology of co-operative business ownership in the UK and how co-operative values reinforce and support better jobs and better work.

They also outlined some of the policy challenges co-operatives face compared to traditional forms of business ownership, including access to finance and outdated regulatory structures.

The Co-operative Party also spoke in more general terms about how alternative forms of business ownership, like co-operatives, can tackle some of the challenges identified in the consultation.

They noted principles of democracy, participation, education and training help enrich the experience of workers and provide greater voice and educational opportunities.

The Co-operative Party detailed some of the evidence of the economic and social benefits of co-operatives, with lower turnover, lower pay inequality and lower absenteeism.

The Co-operative Party then noted some of the key policy challenges facing co-operatives vis-à-vis more traditional forms of business ownership, including access to finance and modernising outdated legal frameworks.

Flexible working

The commission then heard from the TUC about the patterns of flexible working across the economy, including in sectors that are not necessarily susceptible to remote working. They outlined the potential mutual benefits of genuine flexibility to business and the workforce and outlined how better policy support for flexible working models could help tackle some of our deep-seated economic challenges.

The TUC outlined some of the existing ways flexible working is implemented across different sectors, bucking the crude stereotype that flexible working is all about office workers on video calls.

Examples included 'team rostering' in the manufacturing sector, where teams with a set function have a degree of flexibility and autonomy as to who delivers those functions and when. There were also examples from hospitality of compressed or annualised hours that respond to changing patterns of work at different times of year.

The TUC outlined the considerable benefits of flexible work, including increased work/life balance, reductions in the gender and disability pay gaps and tackling labour shortages in key sectors.



There is also considerable evidence of wider economic and business benefits, with evidence of higher productivity from better job matching as well as a happier and more engaged workforce.

Respondents noted the increased relevance of this in light of the fall in employment and rise in inactivity following the coronavirus pandemic, driven in large part by older workers and people with health conditions. Evidence shows these workers are more likely to prefer flexible working.

The TUC were clear existing legal structures to support flexible working are insufficient, and Labour's pledge to strengthen the individual right to flexible working will be an important step to boosting uptake and realising productivity gains across sectors.

Similarly, respondents were clear that better, more flexible work could also only be achieved by strengthened collective rights to augment strengthened individual rights.

The TUC noted that many of the most effective and mutually beneficial flexible working arrangements were negotiated as part of collective agreements.

On top of this, measures to tackle one-sided flexibility – like a ban on zero hours contracts and reasonable notice of shifts – were noted as a pre-requisite for genuine flexibility in many sectors.

Evidence gathered by Shadow Minister for Disabled People Vicky Foxcroft also noted the potential of widespread flexible working to tackle stubborn employment gaps for disabled people, with the employment rate for disabled people just over 50 per cent.

Workplace technologies

The commission gathered more evidence about some of these trends as part of this consultation, with testimony from affiliated trade union GMB and reflections from other affiliates.

GMB noted surveillance isn't new in the workplace, but that new technologies open new opportunities for overbearing tracking of tasks and productivity. They noted evidence from members suggesting as many as one in three members who work at home have been tracked remotely.

GMB argued that evidence for purported productivity gains is non-existent, with surveillance often leading to counter-productive falls in both wellbeing and productivity by cutting across a feeling of control or autonomy over work.

Similarly, automated processes can make errors about things like shift allocation and performance, with workers having little or no ability to seek an explanation about these decisions and managers themselves often not understanding technology sold by a third party.

Building on some of the commitments and analysis in Labour's New Deal for Working People, they suggested strengthened rights for workers to seek a clear explanation of how data is used in the workplace and how data-driven decisions are made.

Similarly, they noted the continued relevance of collective rights in high-tech sectors, with recent agreements by GMB in the platform economy that directly address some of the concerns of the workforce outlined above.

They also noted the importance of ensuring regulations are suited to new technologies and way of working, including laws and regulations around blacklisting.

This reflected evidence provided by Unite the union which notes the importance of collective bargaining mechanisms and trade union involvement in the new workplace technologies, with examples where this has worked effectively with 'cobots' that complement the workforce and handle "ergonomically unfavourable production tasks."

Usdaw also argued it is often workers who are on the shop floor who know what will work and what will improve their working lives when it comes to innovations such as the introduction of new technology, with the voice of workers helping to make the introduction of these more effective.

The Co-operative Party also noted how many technology co-operatives have challenged the business models of dominant players in the platform economy, harnessing data and technology for the benefit of members.

They noted examples of freelance and service co-operatives enabling self-employed people to tackle some of their challenges, with freelancer co-operatives joining together to achieve mutual benefits that may be typically out of reach.

Employment and the 'missing million'

The commission heard from the Institute for Employment Studies (IES) about some of the most pressing challenges facing the UK labour market, including the steep fall in employment after the pandemic, with a 'missing million' workers compared to if the labour market had continued to grow on pre-pandemic trends.

They noted the reasons for this trend, including a number of older workers dropping out of the labour market, rising ill health and stubborn employment gaps for certain disadvantaged groups, including disabled people and ethnic minorities.

Many of these groups also suffer disproportionately from some of the existing problems in our labour market, with ethnic minority and women workers disproportionately affected by insecure work and older workers facing many barriers to work and progression.



The IES outlined some ways to reverse these trends, including reform of employment support services, support for business and support to tackle longer term health issues.

They suggested “root and branch” reform of government’s approach to employment services, moving away from a punitive focus on conditionality and helping properly match people to jobs they want and are suited to.

The commission also reflected on the fact that the current system works for neither employers or employees, as people are not supported to find jobs that suit their lifestyle or skill set whilst businesses are presented with candidates who are unlikely to be suited to the role.

Members’ roundtable

At the members’ roundtable, attendees discussed the rise of tele-working and flexible working and its potential to boost productivity and contribute to tackling some of our deep-seated geographic economic inequalities.

Attendees also discussed the enduring importance of strong collective and individual rights and the importance of enforcement across various sectors.

Attendees raised the need to ensure money spent on R&D contributes to the UK’s economic growth, with effort to ensure new knowledge is harnessed to create good jobs and nurture new specialisations and global competencies.

Conclusions

Labour's New Deal for Working People included a commitment to strengthening individual rights to flexible working, recognising the mutual benefits on offer to business and the workforce.

This year's consultation looked more closely at the dynamics of flexible working across different sectors and industries and explored ways to increase uptake of flexible working via stronger individual and collective rights.

Following from evidence gathered from the IES and others, Labour's Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary Jonathan Ashworth set out the party's intention to overhaul our failing employment support services.

Instead of wasting millions on failed schemes with failed outsourcing giants, Labour wants to see a renewed and reformed modern employment service offer tailored, specialist and personalised help.

Labour believe increasing participation in the labour market is a supply side reform that will help bring the rising cost of living under control, make our economy more productive and boost growth.

The IES also noted the potential for meaningful devolution to help boost employment, with localised, tailored strategies building on deep local partnerships between government, business and local people.

Evidence gathered by the commission has shown that new technologies and new trends, such as flexible working, have the potential to benefit both business and workers and tackle some of our core economic challenges.

Labour's New Deal also included measures to ensure regulation keeps pace with the changing nature of work and technological advancement, recognising the potential for some new technologies to accelerate bad practice.



Submissions to this year's consultation

There was widespread support among the submissions for the proposals in Labour's New Deal for Working People, announced since the last NPF cycle.

"Labour's New Deal for workers must bring an end to insecurity and exploitation at work, and ensure working people can earn enough through their employment to be able to support their families."

GLYNIS, LABOUR MEMBER

"Labour should ensure that every worker in this country, no matter how employed, should receive the minimum wage, holiday pay and sick pay."

ROGER, LABOUR MEMBER

There was also evidence on the urgency of many of the proposals contained in the New Deal, including better enforcement and actions to outlaw fire and rehire.

"Unite is seeing the practice of 'fire and rehire' spread across sectors – employers are effectively trying to blackmail workers with the threat of losing their job into accepting devastating cuts in incomes."

UNITE

As we've seen, there was an appreciation that flexible working could help close some of the stubborn employment gaps among disadvantaged groups, including carers and disabled people.

"A commitment to promoting a right to flexible working would also provide greater opportunities for disadvantaged members of the community to enter the workforce - eg carers and people with disabilities."

PETER, LABOUR MEMBER

Similarly, respondents were clear it had to apply beyond office workers on video calls to be relevant to a wide array of sectors and workers.

"In reality, for most workers in retail, warehousing and distribution, 'flexible working' means flexibility for the employer, to the detriment of the employee. Five years on from the Taylor Review and with no sign of the promised Employment Bill, successive Conservative governments have failed to tackle one-sided flexibility and deliver the protections working people need."

USDAW

Similarly, some raised issues with widespread remote working, including isolation and issues with progression of junior staff. This built on some of the evidence we heard from affiliates like GMB, who noted the importance of managing new workplace technology to protect rights and wellbeing.

"I agree with flexible working as a right and other employment rights on day one. However, working from home can be isolating and is simply not an option for some people who do not have a decent home to work from or sufficient space."

GILLIAN, LABOUR MEMBER

"While it is agreed that automation will change the nature of existing work, Unite does not accept that it must result in inferior work or unemployment or worsen existing inequalities."

UNITE

"There is potentially a huge amount for workers and society as a whole to gain from new technologies and new ways of working... However, there is a growing concern that as workplace technology, automation and algorithmic management systems continue to develop, many of the workers at risk from these processes will not necessarily be in a position to take advantage of new roles created."

USDAW

A number of submissions raised the issue of fairness in the tax system, with the government's decision to raise the National Insurance Contributions rate exacerbating the current disparity between taxes on earned and unearned income.

On the back of this, Labour has begun to set out our argument for a fairer tax system, closing tax loopholes benefitting private equity fund managers, changing the tax advantages private schools enjoy and ending arcane non-dom status exploited by a number of Conservative MPs and their families.

"The non-dom system should be scrapped."

FREDERICK, LABOUR MEMBER

Labour has also called for tax to be rebalanced away from the high street and towards the online giants, with an immediate cut in small business rates paid for by a higher rate of the digital services tax.

"There needs to be an urgent rebalancing of taxes paid by physical and virtual businesses - in particular, between high street and online businesses."

CARL, LABOUR MEMBER

The current system of business rates disincentivises growth on the high street and gives online giants an advantage over traditional bricks and mortar firms.

Labour is keenly monitoring proposals for an international agreement on corporate taxation, including a global minimum tax and revised tax allocation mechanisms to



reflect digital business models. In the meantime, Labour has argued for a short term tax cut for small bricks and mortar firms paid for by a higher digital services tax.

Although covered by the Green and Digital Future policy commission, there was widespread agreement that the drive to net zero had the potential to create good, well-paying jobs across the UK.

“So where do we create jobs? There are new high tech industries in the ‘Green’ sector that are now coming to the fore; electric cars, battery technology, renewable energy.”

MICHAEL, LABOUR MEMBER

Labour has committed to seize these opportunities through the climate investment pledge and to grow capabilities in key sectors, including electric vehicle and battery manufacturing, steel and renewable energy with our recent energy security plan.

Respondents were also clear that the net zero agenda had to be driven with good jobs in mind, ensuring new green jobs help give people hope for the future, including in former industrial towns and coastal communities.

Respondents also noted the importance of ensuring the UK captures any benefits of the net zero transition and doesn't offshore jobs to high emitting countries, whilst also looking for opportunities to re-shore where appropriate.

Labour has highlighted the failure of the Conservatives to successfully grow the economy and ensure that people's living standards rise. Labour is committed to developing an industrial strategy that will increase opportunities for working people and Britain's businesses.

Safe and secure communities

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Diana Johnson MP

Maria Eagle MP

Yvette Cooper MP*

NEC

Ann Black

Gurinder Singh Josan

Alice Perry

James Asser*

Jayne Taylor

Ian Murray

CLPs, regions and devolved nations

Alice Grice – East Midlands Region

Nicky Gavron – Greater London Region

Michael Garvey – North West Region

Lorraine Beavers – North West Region

Denise Robson – Northern Region

Caitlin Kane – Scottish Labour Party

Maggie Simpson – Welsh Labour Party

Emily Horsfall – West Midlands Region

Simon Foster – West Midlands Region

Ann Cryer – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Samiya Malik – Greater London Region

Linda Woodings – East Midlands Region

Elly Baker – Greater London Region

Dave Watson – Scottish Labour Party

Neil Guild – South West Region

Affiliates

Dean Gilligan – GMB

Linda Hobson – UNISON

Susan Matthews – Unite

Emily Rowles – Usdaw

Chris Bains – The Co-operative Party

Sina Lari – Socialist Societies

Elected representatives and peers

Michael Payne – Local Government Association

*Co-convenor



Overview

Over the past year, our communities have continued to face unprecedented challenges, with the impact of Covid-19 still being felt and the cost-of-living crisis adding to the pressures. The way in which communities have responded and united is testament to our collective strength, but more must be done to create a country where people feel safe and secure in their neighbourhoods and homes.

The Safe and Secure Communities commission has sought to explore and develop policy across several areas, including crime prevention, policing and the criminal justice system. Members of the commission agreed that these areas are key priorities for many voters, emphasising the importance of Labour presenting a series of credible alternatives that can be effectively communicated.

The commission held a series of oral evidence sessions, hearing from experts on policing, criminal justice and crime prevention. Written submissions were also received from a range of charitable organisations, unions, constituency parties and regions. Common themes that arose from submissions included access to justice, gender violence, regional development and constitutional reform.

The commission also held an online members' roundtable, attended by over sixty members who were joined by Stephen Kinnock MP, Shadow Minister for Immigration, facilitating a wide-ranging discussion that covered early intervention, police reform, devolution of the probation service and rehabilitative community programmes.

Frontbench members from the shadow Home Office team continued to provide the commission with updates on Labour's response to current events, such as the increase of cyber-crime and fraud, as well as the Government's poor record on violence against women and girls.

Issues discussed by the commission

Policing

During a meeting held in June, the commission received evidence from the Police Foundation and from individuals with frontline policing experience. Members agreed that strengthening neighbourhood policing remains a cornerstone to establishing safe and secure communities, welcoming Labour's plan to introduce 'police hubs' that will be rooted in local areas. As part of the members' online roundtable, many expressed the importance of ensuring we have a diverse, well-trained and skilled police force, with greater transparency needed on the culture and conduct of modern policing.

Crime prevention

A number of submissions to the commission touched upon how poverty and inequality are key underlying causes of crime. At present, the majority of funding is directed to services that deal with the consequences of crime, as opposed to early intervention or prevention methods. There was a consensus that greater attention must be paid to improving mental health services, youth services, access to education and availability of affordable housing. Many perpetrators of crime are often victims of crimes themselves, and members agreed that by addressing the root cause of crime, this will in turn reduce reoffending.

The changing nature of crime

Following the Covid-19 pandemic, the nature of crime has changed substantially over the past few years. Currently, over half of all crime is either cyber-crime or fraud, yet only around 2 to 3 per cent of police resources are dedicated to these forms of crime specifically. Ensuring that law enforcement agencies, such as the National Crime Agency, and local police forces have the appropriate funding and necessary technological tools, is vital to tackling the evolving threats to our communities.

Violence against women and girls

In June, the commission held a meeting attended by Jess Phillips MP, Shadow Minister for Domestic Violence and Safeguarding, who provided an update on Labour's response to the Government's consistent failure to prioritise this as an area requiring urgent action and legislation. Members agreed that shockingly low charge, prosecution and conviction rates for rape should be considered alongside the court backlogs and pressures on the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), identifying that a cross-departmental strategy will be required to tackle this endemic issue.

The criminal justice system

With the Crown Court's backlog now reaching a high of almost 60,000 cases, members discussed the challenges and potential solutions to reducing the significant delays within the system. The commission received evidence from the Criminal Justice Alliance and legal experts on how restorative justice could act as a more central role within our communities, building on Labour's plan to create Community and Victim Payback Boards. Ensuring greater diversification within the criminal justice system was also noted in several members' submissions, as well as investing more in legal aid services and provision.

Prisons and the probation service

Reform of the prison system and exploring alternatives to custodial sentences was a key area of discussion during both the evidence sessions and members' online roundtable. The probation service was recognised as an area requiring significant reinvestment and organisational reform to devolve and deliver services more



successfully at a local level. Establishing a stronger rehabilitative culture within the prison system, as well as acknowledging the needs of different cohorts, was also noted as a successful way in which re-offending may also be reduced.

Conclusions

Public services

Police and fire services have suffered considerably from over a decade's worth of cuts by successive Conservative governments, having to cope with shortfalls in resources, equipment and personnel.

For example, neighbourhood policing has been cut by 30 per cent since 2015, with over 6,000 fewer officers and over 3,000 fewer Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). Ensuring that these services have safe levels of staffing and resources will be a key priority, as well as acknowledging their differing demands and responsibilities.

Members of the commission welcomed Labour's plan to restore neighborhood policing, by introducing police hubs that will be rooted in every community, expanding upon those already established by Labour councils, such as Redbridge. Each police hub will be stationed with a Neighbourhood Prevention Team that will bring together police, community support officers, youth workers and local authority staff as part of a strategy to tackle anti-social behavior in particular.

Improving the visibility and accessibility of police services to communities was discussed by members as a way to improve response times and victim support, as well as rebuilding trust and security in local areas. In response to the decline of Special Constables since 2010, Labour would also ensure there is a major recruitment drive to increase the number of experienced officers, ensuring there is strong leadership and expertise within every police department.

Additionally, Labour will bring forward further measures, including reforming police vetting processes, recruiting more Black, Asian and minority ethnic officers and strengthening anti-racism policies.

Early intervention

In an effort to reduce re-offending and improve crime reduction, Labour has committed to investing in mental health and addiction services, in order to tackle the root causes of crime. Inequalities of opportunity have widened over the last 12 years and therefore present a range of challenges that require an integrated approach.

Labour mayors, Police and Crime Commissioners and councils are already taking strong steps towards achieving this, such as funding Youth Navigators mentoring

young people across the Northumbria force area, and supporting sports diversion programmes to prevent reoffending in South Wales.

Labour also remains committed to ensuring workers are safe and acknowledges the increase in attacks against public-facing workers, having supported the Assaults on Emergency Workers (Offences) Act. Members discussed Labour's plans to improve safeguards for frontline staff and how we can ensure workplaces are free from sexual harassment, as well as considering how employers can keep their staff safe when travelling to and from work.

Violence against women and girls

Continuing to prioritise tackling violence against women and girls was reinforced as a key mission for Labour. Recorded rape has reached its highest ever level, and only 1.3 per cent of rapes are resulting in a charge, despite increases in the number of offences being reported. The Conservatives have been promising a Victims' Bill since 2015, during which time there have been six Justice Secretaries, and there is still no commitment for when it will be on the statute book.

In contrast, Labour will seek to introduce a range of reforms such as creating a national register of serial domestic abusers and stalkers, specialist rape and sexual assault units in every police force area, and new minimum sentences for rape and stalking with new ministerial responsibilities across government.

Members of the commission also stressed the importance of these measures acting as part of a wider strategy in tackling misogyny, sexism and harmful gender stereotypes.

The criminal justice system

Tackling the Crown Court backlog and severe delays within the criminal justice system will be central to Labour's approach, as well as placing victims at the heart of the system, so they feel listened to and supported. The overwhelming majority of rape cases are failing even to make it court, with more than 40 per cent of rape victims dropping out of the criminal justice process in 2021.

Reform of legal institutions and increasing access to justice will also be a key priority, so anyone can access the services they need irrespective of background, wealth, or age. Labour will also consider how the criminal justice system may be reformed so that the legal profession represents modern Britain. At present, only 9 per cent of court judges are of a Black, Asian or ethnic minority background.

Furthermore, Labour will continue to hold the government to account on its plans to rip up the Human Rights Act, instead focusing on ways in which an updated Act could provide stronger safeguards and protections for British people. Plans to strengthen and equalise the law on hate crime and extend the aggravated



offences regime to all five protected characteristics recognised in law, will also ensure that everyone who falls victim to hate is treated equally.

Through introducing a Race Equality Act in government to tackle structural inequality at the source, Labour will also implement every recommendation of the Lammy Review on discrimination in the criminal justice system.

Ensuring that historic injustices are properly investigated will also be a priority, such as releasing documents held by the Government relating to the Cammell Laird prosecutions and examining the events at Orgreave. Entitling grieving families to have access to publicly funded legal representation is another measure Labour will bring forward by implementing the full Hillsborough Law to provide a fair system for those affected. In light of the failure by the Government to implement the Windrush Compensation Scheme, Labour would also reform the scheme to ensure every victim receives the justice they deserve.

In addition, Labour will make sure that unlawful blacklisting of trade unionists is a practice never to be repeated, with the law properly enforced. Labour also remains strongly committed to the measures announced in the wake of the Grenfell fire to give all survivors the support they need, to bring those culpable to justice and to end the deregulation of building and fire safety.

Members of the commission were also keen to explore the most effective ways for the prison and probation service to be reformed, such as improving the quality and consistency of community sentences, as well as considering restorative justice methods. These were discussed alongside Labour's plans to introduce Community and Victim Payback Boards, which will increase community involvement in sentences.

Submissions to this year's consultation

Electoral reform

During the course of the consultation, the commission received a significant number of submissions on the importance of empowering our communities with a large-scale devolution of power and resources.

Electoral reform and proportional representation were identified as potential ways in which public confidence in our political systems could be improved, particularly by devolving more power to local authorities, and how this could deliver progressive change.

Labour has been clear that powers and resources need to be devolved and is exploring ways to bring power closer to people, including looking at issues like proportional representation, devolution, and House of Lords reform in the round. This process is underway with the work of the Commission on the UK's Future, which will further expand upon many of the issues discussed by members.

"The number of votes cast, particularly amongst younger voters, continues to decline. Only through electoral reform of both Commons, Lords and local government can this deficit be addressed so all votes matter through forms of proportional representation."

NICHOLAS, LABOUR MEMBER

"I would like to see a Labour manifesto that commits to introducing Proportional Representation and replacing First Past The Post so that we end up with consensus government."

HELEN, LABOUR MEMBER

Confidence in Policing

In response to considering how we could improve support for victims and enforcement, several submissions touched upon the declining level of confidence in the police. It was noted that in several areas, confidence has fallen by nearly 20 to 30 per cent, contributing to poor victim engagement. With fewer police officers on the streets able to respond to call-outs and incidents of crime, disadvantaged communities have often felt neglected and isolated. Many members highlighted that this could be countered by reversing Conservative governments' failures to fund and equip police services properly.



“Lack of respect can only be repaired by personal experiences and getting police officers back on the streets in our communities is a basic step to make this happen.”

ALISON, LABOUR MEMBER

“The public decline in trust of the police force has been exacerbated by underfunding and is in urgent need of a change of culture.”

BERYL, LABOUR MEMBER

Other submissions pointed to high-profile cases, such as the murder of Sarah Everard and the strip-search of Child Q, as contributing to the decline in confidence, particularly amongst marginalised communities. A range of initiatives were identified to help repair community-police relationships, such as reform of wider police governance and training, as well as a genuine system of effective independent scrutiny. Without significant public confidence in the police, crime will remain under-reported, which will curb attempts to tackle the challenges our communities face.

“Effective crime prevention and intervention requires communities to have trust in the police as community policing requires active involvement and support from the communities policed.”

UNITE

Multi-agency approaches

Another theme that arose from submissions was that crime prevention could be improved by adopting a multi-agency approach. Understanding the relationship between poor education, inability to access mental health services and economic instability, was identified as a key factor that should inform strategies in combatting the root causes of crime. Increasing opportunities for young people and employment were other areas identified as pertinent to discussions.

“When it comes to reducing reoffending we are clear that good-quality employment is a route out of crime. Research published by the Government in 2013 suggesting that the one-year reoffending rate for those who found work was 9.4 percentage points lower for those who found employment after release compared to those who did not.”

COMMUNITY UNION

Improving victim support

Ensuring that victims of crime are better supported was frequently noted as a key way of improving conviction rates, particularly in relation to violence against women and girls. Increasing mental health support, such as the availability of counselling, and ensuring victims are informed on the processes of our criminal justice system, were considered as ways in which victim engagement could be improved. It was emphasised that the burden should be shifted away from victims to perpetrators, and that this should be properly reflected in legislation.

“The first thing that a Labour government should do is to involve women and girls who are victims of sexual offences in the decisions relevant to their case. Too often, victims are simply told that there is not enough evidence for their case to proceed to court and so it is dropped.”

ROBERT, LABOUR MEMBER

“Services for people escaping violence, and support services for survivors, have faced severe funding cuts that have led to large numbers of closures and moves towards ‘one size fits all’ model of service provision which is inappropriate.”

UNITE

Reducing the backlog within the criminal justice system was also identified as a key area of focus. Many submissions highlighted that the pandemic merely exacerbated pre-existing pressures and that a chronic lack of government investment is the primary cause.

Without a timely and efficient legal system, we cannot retain public trust in the justice system or ensure everyone has access to justice. This is true for victims, witnesses, and defendants alike.

“While physical capacity has become less of a concern, the ability to run criminal courts is being affected by a lack of judges, court staff, prosecutors, and defence lawyers. This means that cases are not progressing as they should, with victims and defendants continuing to face unacceptable delays. Additional funding is needed to support the system.”

THE LAW SOCIETY



Prison reform

Many of the submissions recognised that our current prison system is not fit for purpose, with a too-heavy reliance upon custodial sentences, when alternative options could be far more effective and cost-efficient. There was a significant consensus that improving community alternatives would help reduce overcrowding and pressures within prisons, as well as improving community relations.

Several submissions also stressed that the conditions and standards of prisons must be improved, such as access to education, as well as ensuring staff that work in these environments, such as prison officers, are supported. Understanding the range of vulnerabilities of cohorts was also identified as a priority. For example, disabled people are over-represented in the prison population, and are far more likely to suffer from mental distress.

“Our prisons and young offender institutions need good education services that improve literacy as well as teaching trades that enable offenders to find jobs on release. Many prisoners suffer from poor mental health but their needs are not sufficiently addressed. Prisons must not just detain but support offenders to lead productive lives.”

HELEN, LABOUR MEMBER

Public services that work from the start

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Karin Smyth MP

Wes Streeting MP*

NEC

Nadia Jama

Luke Akehurst

Gemma Bolton

Wendy Nichols

Mark Ferguson*

Amy Jackson

CLPs, regions and devolved nations

Dr Yannis Gourtsayoannis – Greater London Region

Angela Coleman – North West Region

Lewis Atkinson – Northern Region

Rhea Wolfson – Scottish Labour Party

Joyce Still – South East Region

Anthony John Beddow – Welsh Labour Party

Kirsten Kurt-Eli – West Midlands Region

Clare Williams – Northern Region

Karen Reay – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Mike Payne – Welsh Policy Forum

Simon Lightwood – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Affiliates

Gail Cartmail – Unite

Mary Hutchinson – GMB

Christina McAnea – UNISON

Phillipa Marsden – Unite

Nadine Grandison-Mills – BAME Labour

Rosa Bolger – The Co-operative Party

Elected representatives and peers

Huw David – Welsh Local Government Association

Lord Jim Knight

Jackie Baillie MSP – Scottish Policy Forum

*Co-convenor



Overview

Ensuring good public services that are accessible, high-quality, and inclusive should be a top priority for every government. The last twelve years of Conservative mismanagement, waste and neglect has damaged our public services and left them struggling to meet demand, despite the outstanding efforts of their staff. This commission has therefore focused on how a Labour government should approach the design and delivery of public services, in partnership with communities and local government. 'Public services' covers a wide range of sectors, controlled at different levels of government. In order to capture as many of these as possible, the commission's consultation asked respondents to consider what principles should underpin Labour's approach to the provision of public services. However, outside of that question the commission agreed to focus specifically on three major public services in order to generate constructive evidence, discussion, and consensus: education (including vocational and academic training routes), health services (including mental health care), and social care.

Issues discussed by the commission

The principles that should underpin the provision of public services

The commission held an online members' roundtable on the principles that should underpin Labour's approach to public services. The commission heard from members on the importance of the equality, accountability, accessibility, and inclusivity of services, on devolution where appropriate, on creating person-centred systems, and on ensuring that services are environmentally and financially sustainable.

Education and skills

The commission held an evidence session on education and skills, joined by the Shadow Secretary of State for Education Bridget Phillipson. Expert attendees from EDSK think tank and the Association of School and College Leaders presented on potential improvements to applied courses and qualifications (including apprenticeships), so that students who choose to follow a vocational path receive excellent teaching and engaging experiences, and can evidence their skills. The experts recommended making the national curriculum mandatory for all state schools, and also gave evidence on how to make teaching and school support roles more attractive to tackle recruitment and retention challenges.

Health and mental health services

The commission held an evidence session on health and mental health services, joined by the Shadow Minister for Public Health Andrew Gwynne. Expert attendees from the NHS Confederation and the Royal College of Psychiatrists presented

on how to equip the NHS with what it needs for a strong and sustainable future. They set out the challenges facing the service, including growing demand and widening health inequalities. The commission discussed the importance of taking a preventative approach and tackling shortages in the mental health workforce, including psychiatry and wider multidisciplinary roles.

Social care

The commission held an evidence session on social care, joined by the Shadow Minister for Social Care Karin Smyth. Expert attendees included the TUC, the Archbishops' Commission on Reimagining Care, and a local government representative. The commission heard about unequal access to social care, challenges facing unpaid carers, and opportunities for improving quality in order to support care recipients to lead full lives. Experts gave evidence on the staffing crisis and the issues of pay, progression, training, and professional recognition of the workforce. The commission discussed cases of successful cross-sector collaboration on development of high-quality, accessible, and accountable services.

Conclusions

Education and skills

As set out in the 2021 NPF annual report, Labour is committed to an ambitious Children's Recovery Plan. In response to the damage done to children's education by the pandemic and lockdown, Labour announced in June 2021, and urged the government to adopt, a two-year programme of breakfast clubs and new afterschool activities for every child, small group tutoring for all who need it, an expanded development offer for teachers, and an uplift in targeted funding to support children who lost out most during the pandemic, in particular those with special educational needs and disabilities (SEND). This ambitious plan demonstrates Labour's commitment to children's development, education, and wellbeing and recognises the key role these play in our national recovery from the pandemic.

Labour's vision for education is a system that can transform opportunities, grow our economy and provide a platform for a rewarding life. As a first step towards this vision, at Annual Conference 2021 Labour announced the introduction of a National Excellence Programme for schools to drive up outcomes for every child, paid for by ending tax exemptions for private schools. The programme will:

- create a £350 million teacher recruitment fund to recruit over 6,500 new teachers, filling vacancies and skills gaps across schools in England;
- reform Ofsted's role to enhance its focus on schools that are struggling;



- establish a £200 million teacher development fund to enable school staff in England to access continuing professional development; and
- establish an 'excellence in leadership' programme on a par with the early career framework for teachers to equip all new head teachers and leaders with the knowledge and skills to lead outstanding schools.

These announcements seek to address the vacancies and skills gaps in schools that have opened up over more than a decade of Conservative government, as discussed during the evidence session and in multiple submissions. They demonstrate Labour's positive approach to supporting teachers and school leaders to progress and excel, in order to improve educational outcomes for all children and tackle inequalities.

Successive Conservative governments have allowed economic growth to decline and wasted the talents and potential of many of our young people. Labour will make sure every child can achieve and thrive, and every adult can succeed and flourish, whilst ensuring the workforce of the future has the skills our economy needs for strong growth. At Annual Conference 2021, Keir Starmer set out Labour's plan to ensure every young person leaves school ready for work and ready for life. This plan is also funded by revenue raised from ending tax exemptions on private schools. Under it, Labour will:

- reform the 'citizenship' statutory programme within the national curriculum to include practical life skills;
- introduce two weeks' worth of compulsory work experience for every young person;
- give every child access to quality careers advice in their school by giving schools access to a professional careers advisor one day a week;
- make sure all children leave school with the level of functional computer skills needed to succeed in the workplace by guaranteeing every child has access to a device at home and specifying mandatory digital skills that must be embedded across the curriculum; and
- provide £250 million for programmes to re-engage 16 and 17 year-olds who are not known to be in education, employment or training.

There are clearly further skills and training policies that require consideration, including but not limited to the apprenticeship levy, training availability for adults, and options for people with SEND. The party has created a Council of Skills Advisors and will work with the Council, unions, businesses and members to develop policy that ensures people can train and upskill, and businesses that can fulfil their skills needs.

Labour is committed to an inclusive education system that inspires every child and gives everyone a chance to succeed. In government, the party will implement a national strategy with clear targets to close the attainment gap at every stage in a child's development, as recommended by the Lawrence Review. Labour will also work with the Devolved Administrations to launch a review into the school curriculum, with particular regard to its diversity.

Labour believes every parent should be able to send their child to a brilliant, local state school. Labour is seeking to amend the Government's Schools Bill to deliver this ambition by making it compulsory for all state schools to follow the national curriculum (a policy that was recommended in the evidence session for this consultation), ensure all academy teachers have qualified teacher status, and establish national standards for school support staff. The party has also put forward an amendment that would require academies to cooperate with local authorities on school admissions and place planning and another that would set national standards for inclusion, with particular regard to children with SEND. In order to ensure effective oversight of the school system, a Labour government will introduce inspections for multi-academy trusts, as a locus for improvement and a force for change.

Health and mental health services

Labour has set out a guiding principle that it will protect an NHS free at the point of use and secure health care for all. This means bringing down waiting lists and securing the future of our NHS by providing the staff, equipment and modern technology needed to treat patients on time.

In recognition of the Government's neglect of mental health services and of growing demand for care, at Annual Conference 2021 Labour set out ambitious policy in this area. The plan is funded with revenue raised through Labour's commitment to end tax exemptions for private schools. One of the policies is an ambitious workforce pledge, which would begin to tackle the staffing shortages discussed in the evidence session on health and mental health services. The full set of policies is as follows:

- new NHS targets for England that guarantee mental health treatment within a month of referral for those who need it;
- the first ever long-term, whole-government plan to improve outcomes for people with mental health care needs, helping make early intervention a reality and ensuring government policies are joined-up;
- recruiting 8,500 new staff;
- guaranteeing a fair share of mental health funding every time Labour makes a funding commitment for the NHS, unless money is needed for extraordinary circumstances such as the pandemic;



- guaranteeing that NHS spending on mental health will not fall, and improving reporting standards;
- providing specialist mental health support in every school; and
- setting up an open access mental health hub for children and young people in every community.

Labour has put children at the heart of this plan, recognising the importance of early intervention and the links between education and health. Young people's mental health matters for their education, as well for their wellbeing.

The commission heard about the importance of prevention during its evidence session on health services, which fits with announcements made by Labour in early 2022. A Labour government will shift the focus of health care to prevention as well as cure, recognising that all public policy has an impact on health and the importance of early intervention. Labour will ensure the NHS plays an active role in the prevention of avoidable illness and injury, which is better for patients and for the health system as a whole. As a starting point, Labour will expect the Treasury to weigh every pound it spends not just for its effect on national income but also for its effect on national wellbeing.

Social care

Labour has announced that it will fix social care so those in need don't go without. In the last 12 months, Labour has set out its priorities for reform, which reflect many of the issues raised and suggestions made in submissions and evidence from this year's consultation. Labour will:

- transform access to care, making sure every older and disabled person who needs care and support can get it when and where they need it;
- act on the principles of prevention and early intervention - a "Home First" approach;
- give disabled adults choice and control over their support;
- establish a New Deal for Care Workers to ensure they get the job security they deserve, and the rewards they have earned; and
- establish a new partnership with families to ensure they don't put themselves at risk for looking after people they love.

Labour will recruit and retain more carers by ensuring full rights at work, decent standards, fair pay, and proper training. The party has announced that adult social care will be the first sector to benefit from Fair Pay Agreements under a Labour government. These agreements will be negotiated through collective bargaining

between worker and employer representatives. In this way, Labour will take steps to address the workforce challenges discussed in the evidence session on social care.

Labour will not continue the Conservatives' approach to profiteering in the social care sector. Under Labour, no private equity firm will be able to profiteer from running care homes while paying their care workers less than they need to live on. All providers should demonstrate financial sustainability and responsible tax practices and should be good employers that deliver high quality care for service users. A Labour government will ensure money invested in social care is spent on social care and will not tolerate poor quality, extractive providers.

Once in government, Labour will embark on a plan for reform that will act as a roadmap to a world-class National Care Service with just as much ambition as the 1945 government that brought in the NHS. Given the scale of challenges facing the sector, Labour will focus in the short-term on the immediate priorities of improving pay, training and rights at work for carers, and on establishing stronger national standards to reduce inequalities in access to care.



Submissions to this year's consultation

The principles that should underpin the provision of public services

Submissions argued that services ought to be universal and accessible. Others supported national standards and person-centred design, raising the interconnectivity of public services and the importance of developing joint working practices and tools so they can work together for the benefit of service users.

"One of the main principles underlying public services should be universality such that everyone has a national entitlement to a given standard of service instead of the current postcode lottery."

NORTHAMPTON NORTH CLP

Submissions argued services ought to be inclusive in order to reduce inequalities and provide a good service for all. This includes pursuing and embracing diversity and inclusion in workforces.

"A philosophy of inclusion and diversity [is] an essential ingredient for all public services."

THE WREKIN CLP

Many submissions argued public services should be democratically accountable to those who fund them. This entails oversight of service design, with room for community input, and of delivery, with systems for people to hold local and national services to account. It also entails financial oversight to ensure value for money.

"We believe efforts should be made to raise patient and service user voice – so that feedback has a channel which helps improve outcomes."

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

Submissions argued that public services should be made sustainable through long-term funding settlements, workforce plans, environmentally sound practices, and thorough risk planning to ensure resilience to shocks.

"Public services need to have sustainable levels of resources to meet current and future service need. Such funding must be long-term and stable, allowing our public services to plan for the future and never again leave us vulnerable and unprepared for public crisis like the Covid 19 pandemic."

UNITE

Submissions argued in the main against private ownership of public services, with an end to excessive profit-making.

"Services should be provided in-house whenever possible."

DAVID, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions argued public services ought to have model employment practices that recognise the value of key workers.

"[Public services ought to be] exemplary employers who set an example to local and national labour markets by offering decent and fair pay, training and career development and a voice for workers and their unions in shaping services for the future alongside service users."

UNISON

Education and training

Many submissions suggested ways to tackle inequality in educational attainment. Some argued for changes to school funding allocation, others for reformed provision for children with SEND, and others for reform of higher education funding to improve accessibility. Many suggested rebalancing the system in favour of state provision.

"If tax exemptions for private schools were removed, the resulting increased taxes could be redistributed to state schools."

PETER, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions argued that workforce challenges need to be addressed system-wide in order to reduce the attainment gap and improve outcomes for all. Suggestions for improving recruitment and retention included improved professional development offers, fair pay, and reductions to teacher workload.

Many submissions argued for equal parity of esteem for vocational and academic routes through a broader assessment system. Some argued that the current assessment system can be disheartening and that pressure on pupils needs to be tackled. Others argued for regulatory reform to move away from the current focus on academic results.

"Vocational education should be on par with academic education."

BRENT NORTH CLP

Submissions argued that skills policy should apply across every stage of life, to allow people to retrain, learn and upskill. Some argued for reform of the apprenticeship levy to better support disadvantaged young people aged 16 to 18. Others argued for improved skills training for disabled people.

Many submissions argued for a broader skills and topic mix in the national curriculum and for it to be more inclusive, with national standards but room for local context. Others argued for careers guidance from an earlier stage, so that young people are able to make informed choices at educational decision points.



“There are life skills – such as personal finance, dealing with social media and fake news – that should be taught.”

ELSIE, LABOUR MEMBER

Many submissions argued for better accountability in the system, with oversight for regulators and input and challenge from parents and students.

“Parents/ carers and students themselves need more ways to hold their schools/ provisions and local authorities accountable for supporting them or their child.”

RUBERTA, LABOUR MEMBER

Health and mental health services

Many submissions raised the injustice of health inequalities across different socioeconomic groups, with a particular focus on the disproportionately negative outcomes experienced by people with SEND and disabled people. Submissions argued that health workers should have better training on caring for diverse groups and for a cross-government health inequalities strategy to include better reporting and more accessible public health information.

Submissions argued for parity of esteem for mental and physical health care. Many raised the impact of the pandemic on demand, particularly in children's services. Some argued for early intervention to prevent mental health needs growing, while others argued for better community care and improvement in the mental health estate.

“Mental health services should be given the same status as physical health.”

SUSANNA, LABOUR MEMBER

Many submissions argued for tackling vacancies in order to bring down waiting times and improve NHS working conditions. Some argued for regular, long-term workforce planning in order to build resilience and reduce the need for agency staff. Others argued for changes to NHS pay and progression.

Many submissions argued that the health system ought to be designed around prevention. Submissions noted that factors outside of the NHS influence health. Some highlighted the role of NHS hospitals as institutions that create social value in communities and that can improve the conditions that influence health. Others argued for the restoration of local public health resources and for the reform and stabilisation of social care, as good care should reduce pressure on hospitals.

“Poor housing, loneliness, and food insecurity have a big impact on health. These are challenges that can’t be addressed by the NHS but have to be addressed through local authority investment, increased local power, and a willingness to experiment.”

GREAT GRIMSBY CLP

Submissions noted the impact of years of squeezed finances on NHS capacity, with many raising growing waiting lists before and after the pandemic. Submissions argued for an expansion in capacity to better serve demand across all parts of the system – from primary and community care, to ambulance, secondary and specialist services. Some argued for new ways to generate funding for NHS capacity, with suggestions including taxes on the producers of unhealthy products, monetising NHS patient data (with appropriate information governance safeguards), and creating NHS investment bonds.

“The Labour party should commit to an NHS which isn't just free, but which is also dependable and robust, increasing the amount of hospital beds and surge capacity to ensure crises become rare events.”

ANDREW, LABOUR MEMBER

Social care

Submissions noted the workforce crisis and the undervaluation of care staff. Many argued for raising the profile of social care careers, better progression and professional development opportunities, improved terms and conditions, and sector-wide pay grading with improved rates.

“This will enable recruitment and retention of staff and a career in social care to be recognised (at last!) as valued in terms of the contribution to individual lives, the provision of care, the health and social care system and wider society.”

PAUL, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions argued that people in need of adult social care should be able to choose where to receive care wherever possible, in order to lead the life they choose. Some argued that domiciliary care provision ought to be improved to reduce geographical variability in access to home care.

“Moving into a care home should be a last resort. With a little additional support, many older people can maintain an active, independent lifestyle.”

ROBERT, LABOUR MEMBER



Submissions argued for reform to the support available to unpaid carers and for better information for families who care for loved ones on how to navigate the system. Submissions also highlighted limited availability and poor standards in respite facilities.

Submissions argued for better integration between social care, the NHS, local authorities and the voluntary and community sector in order to design services to match local need and strengths. More integrated service delivery is also important for service users, particularly in their experience of moving between public services (such as between hospital and social care). Some highlighted the fragmented nature of the social care market and the difficulty care users face when care plans are not shared across agencies. Others argued that people who use care services should be involved in a collaborative approach to service design.

Submissions argued for taking the profit motive out of the sector, to enable greater investment in provision to drive up standards and working conditions.

“Private providers who are unable to make sufficient profit simply walk away, leaving local authorities to pick up the pieces.”

MICHAEL, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions were generally in favour of moving towards a national care service characterised by national standards for care quality, workforce conditions, and care entitlement to end geographical variation.

“There needs to be a very careful balance between, on the one hand, local control and, on the other, the avoidance of large discrepancies in the availability and quality of care from one part of the country to another.”

EDWARD, LABOUR MEMBER

A future where families come first

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Ian Mearns MP

Bridget Phillipson MP*

NEC

Ann Henderson

Nick Forbes

Carol Sewell

Diana Holland*

Ellen Morrison

CLPs, regions and devolved nations

Adele Williams – East Midlands Region

Brenda Weston – South West Region

Thomas Pearce – South West Region

George Norman – Yorkshire and Humber Region

Elly Owen – Welsh Labour Party

George Downs – North West Region

Owen Hooper – Eastern Region

Cameron Matthews – Eastern Region

Carol Hayton – South East Region

Clare Lally – Scottish Policy Forum

Affiliates

Siobhan Endean – Unite

David McCrossen – Usdaw

Barbara Plant – GMB

June Nelson – BAME Labour

Elected representatives and peers

Tim Swift – Association of Labour Councillors

Anntoinette Bramble – Local Government Association

Baroness Ruth Lister

*Co-convenor



Overview

Over the last 12 years, families have faced growing insecurity in their work, in their homes and to their incomes. Giving families in all their wonderful diversity the security they deserve is central to Labour's vision for the fresh start the country needs.

During this year's policy cycle, the newly-formed A Future where Families Come First policy commission has sought to build on policy development undertaken by former NPF policy commissions in the last three years.

The commission also heard from members, CLPs, affiliates, experts and stakeholders their thoughts on the policy solutions needed to address the current challenges faced by families in the short-term and the longer-term ideas needed to deliver financial, social and housing security for all.

The commission heard how the regressive approach of the current government and the Conservatives' economic failure over the last 12 years has placed immense pressure on families.

Issues discussed by the commission

The commission's meetings centred on three policy areas of vital importance: the cost of living and social security, housing security, and childcare and early years. Throughout all of the discussions, the commission considered the equalities impact of each policy area.

Cost of living and social security

The commission held a dedicated discussion on the cost-of-living crisis and social security in order to consider submissions in this area and the short- and long-term policy development Labour should be moving towards. Many submissions set out the current cost-of-living crisis in the context of wider economic failure after 12 years of Conservative-led governments as well as successive cuts to social security.

Members discussed the devastating impact of the Government's removal of the £20 per week uplift to Universal Credit, as well as families being pushed into hardship because of the initial waiting period for Universal Credit. Commission members considered the impact of large real-terms cuts to social security (including the State Pension) and to workers' pay on families, as prices and bills continue to soar.

These issues were also raised during the NPF members' roundtable event that was held in June. In wide-ranging discussions, members raised rising levels of poverty, inadequate social security provision – including the Government's failure to uprate legacy benefits by £20 a week during the pandemic – and declining real wages.

There was also a discussion about the impact of soaring fuel costs, the need for a Labour government to address the growing number of working people who are relying on foodbanks and to tackle rising levels of child and in-work poverty.

Housing security

In May, the commission held an evidence session dedicated to hearing from experts about the multiple housing crises that the Government has created and failed to tackle, and what steps Labour can take to develop policy in this area. We heard from the National Housing Federation (NHF) and Crisis, both of whom set out the scale of the challenges.

The NHF gave evidence to the commission about the lack of social housing, saying that 96,000 families currently live in temporary accommodation, including 120,000 children. They also spoke of the need to maximise all routes towards building more affordable homes and about the crucial role that housing associations play in ensuring that homes are safe and in good condition.

Crisis gave evidence highlighting that the average age of death for someone who is homeless is only 44 years old – down from 47 over the last few years. They said that appalling conditions of people living in homelessness have become normalised. They raised the fact that people are having to look to the private rented sector because of the declining amount of social housing, and that the private rented sector has doubled in size over recent years.

Both the National Housing Federation and Crisis spoke about the growing unaffordability of housing across the country and said there was a lack of coherence to the Government's current approach. The commission also discussed the need for housing to be a key plank of Labour's policy offer at the next General Election to ensure that families can live with genuine security in decent, accessible, sustainable and safe homes.

The evidence session reiterated many of the submissions that had been received. Along with those submissions, the commission heard of multiple housing crises under the current government. They include rising homelessness, soaring rental costs, a broader lack of affordability, fewer young people owning their own home and a depletion of social and genuinely affordable housing.

Members reiterated these issues in the roundtable event that was held in June. In a breakout room specifically looking at how to improve housing security for families, members spoke of the need to look at housing regulations to ensure that more homes can be built. Members also discussed reforms to the private rental market and leasehold reform as well as measures to support first time buyers and improve standards of housing.



Childcare and early years

The commission held an evidence session to look closely at issues around childcare and early years and to support our policy aim to give every child the best possible start in life. As well as discussing submissions received in these areas during this year's policy cycle, the commission heard from Gingerbread, Coram Family and Childcare and the Early Years Alliance, as well as Shadow Secretary of State for Education Bridget Phillipson.

Gingerbread spoke about the soaring costs of childcare and stressed that single parent families – who meet childcare costs from one wage – face acute pressure from rising costs. They said there is a patchwork of childcare provision in place across the country and emphasised the importance of investment in early years provision in closing the poverty gap. They also said that reforms to the childcare element of Universal Credit could better support parents into work.

Coram Family and Childcare said that childcare is key social infrastructure that plays a crucial role in the lives of parents and children. They said that it helps children to learn, play and socialise and narrows the attainment gap between children from disadvantaged backgrounds and their peers, acting as a protective barrier against poverty.

They said that there have been year-on-year-rises in costs and that more than 50 per cent of providers had reduced the number of staff to help with their business sustainability, 30 per cent of providers had increased staff ratios and 57 per cent had taken steps to increase their prices. Policy recommendations included reforms to the childcare element of Universal Credit and the re-allocation of underspend from the Government's Tax Free Childcare towards the childcare system.

The Early Years Alliance said there has been a recruitment crisis in childcare and the Government's plans to relax ratio requirements risk exacerbating that. They said that early years provision should be seen as an investment in the development of the next generation. They gave evidence showing that we have some of the highest costs among countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) while only investing a fifth of the OECD average.

Shadow Childcare and Early Years Minister Helen Hayes attended the NPF roundtable to hear from members about the challenges facing parents when it comes to childcare and early years. Members spoke about the need to re-invest in early years education, especially following the closure of hundreds of Sure Start Centres. There were also discussions around the free 30 hours childcare policy and the importance of proper parental employment rights and flexible working.

Issues around the affordability of childcare and the recruitment and retention of childcare workers were also addressed in a commission meeting and evidence session dedicated to these areas. Along with a number of submissions in these

policy areas, members of the commission spoke about the impact of the pandemic on children's development and Labour's Children's Recovery Plan with Bridget Phillipson.

Conclusions

Cost of living and social security

Earlier this year, Labour set out detailed plans to introduce a windfall tax on gas and oil producers to reduce home energy bills for families. The Government belatedly adopted a version of Labour's plans for a windfall tax but their wider economic failure – a lack of economic growth, soaring inflation and falling real wages – means that families have seen no respite from the cost of living crisis.

This has been compounded by the Government's choice to cut the £20 uplift to Universal Credit last year, which was a crucial lifeline for so many families struggling to make ends meet and keep up with bills. Throughout the commission's discussions, and in submissions to the consultation, it has been made clear to the commission that Universal Credit needs fundamentally reforming so that it provides genuine financial security for families.

That includes addressing hardship that is created before payments are even made – for example, through the initial five week waiting period for families to receive their first Universal Credit payment. We also heard how child poverty has risen under this government in large part because of substantial cuts to social security, including the two-child limit, which punishes children, a lack of economic growth and endemic low pay.

The Government has given us a "Backlog Britain" and this also applies to social security payments. A million more disabled people are living in poverty compared to 2010 and the Government is failing to process vital payments on time. The average waiting time for a Personal Independence Payment (PIP) is now five months and there is a backlog of over 300,000 applications to be processed. The same is true of Carer's Allowance, where the backlog has risen sharply over the last year. The commission believes that these backlogs must be addressed as a priority.

Real wages are now lower than they were in 2010 because of the Government's failure to grow the economy. As food and fuel prices soar, more and more working families are relying on foodbanks and struggling to make ends meet. The commission welcomes Labour's plans to buy, make and sell more in Britain to grow the economy and boost pay for people in work.

Two key drivers of rising economic inactivity have been the number of people over 50 who have left work, primarily because of a lack of flexibility, and the rise in people who are unable to work because of sickness or ill health. The commission



supports Labour's policy proposals to reform employment support to help people move into work, fill record jobs vacancies and tackle rising levels of economic inactivity.

The Government has failed to respond to these new challenges of economic inactivity. But we know that reformed employment support with proper access to training and health services, coupled with strengthened workers' rights – as set out in Labour's New Deal for Working People – can help to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and boost economic growth.

The cost-of-living crisis has been felt sharply by pensioners, who spend twice as much on their home energy bills. The Government's decision to break their manifesto commitment on the Triple Lock last year means the State Pension has had its biggest ever real-terms cut, with pensioners worse off by £550 in this year alone.

The commission welcomes those submissions that emphasised the importance of keeping the Triple Lock on State Pensions as well as boosting the take-up of Pension Credit and introducing other measures to ensure that older people have sufficient savings and pension income in retirement.

These submissions and evidence reinforce Labour's policy development in this area. The commission believes that a strategy is needed to ensure that families have sufficient savings in retirement and to guarantee that all retirees have the security and dignity in retirement that they deserve, recognising the impact of unequal pay and pensions.

Housing security

The commission believes that we need a new generation of genuinely affordable homes and more social homes (in particular council houses) that are accessible to disabled people and that are sustainable. Over the last year, Labour has begun to outline plans to tackle the multiple housing crises that the Government has created and to ensure that communities can build the right houses, in the right places, at prices that local people can afford.

The commission welcomes Labour's plans to deliver a new housing settlement that will rebalance power between developers and communities. The commission also welcomes commitments to ensure that first time buyers get first dibs on new homes, to tackle unaffordable rents by linking the definition of 'affordable' to local wages, and to ban no-fault evictions, ensuring that families have greater security and cannot be evicted without a legitimate reason.

Housing issues raised by stakeholders and commission members were reflected in a large number of submissions that we have received during this policy cycle. That includes those echoing the composite motion made at Women's Conference 2021

to require housing providers to develop additional refuge space for women who are victims of domestic abuse.

Childcare and early years

The commission believes that we need a coherent, over-arching strategy to ensure that all families have access to high-quality and affordable childcare and that we need to value and invest in a high-quality childcare workforce, the majority of whom are women. It is clear from the evidence heard in the commission meeting and the submissions received that there is so much more that needs to be done to give children the best possible start in life.

Over the last year, Labour has set out further plans to ensure that children and families are properly supported to raise a family. Right now, Labour would be delivering on our comprehensive Children's Recovery Plan to help every child learn, play and develop. Labour's plan would help tackle the attainment gap, keep costs down and improve the quality of early years childcare. The Children's Recovery Plan would be delivering breakfast clubs and new activities for every child and ensuring no child goes hungry this summer.

The commission also believes children's and youth services have a vital role to play, and in the need to enhance family employment rights. The commission welcomes Labour's New Deal for Workers, which will strengthen family and parental rights, including making flexible working a day one right. The New Deal for Workers will also extend statutory maternity and paternity leave, reform Shared Parental Leave and strengthen protections for mothers by making it unlawful to dismiss a woman who is pregnant for six months after her return to work.



Submissions to this year's consultation

The commission, would like to thank all individual members, branches, CLPs, affiliates and stakeholders who have made a submission to this year's consultation. This section is a brief overview of the hundreds of submissions received.

The commission has been determined to build on the equalities work that was undertaken during the last policy cycle, which included dedicated roundtable events on disabled people's rights, racial equality, gender equality, LGBT+ rights and class. The consultation also asked a specific question about how Equality Impact Assessments can be better utilised to build a fairer future for families.

Over the last two years, Labour's Shadow Minister for Disabled People, Vicky Foxcroft MP, has conducted a series of disability roadshows, engaging with disabled people, disabled people's organisations, trades unions and other civil society organisations from right across the country. This forms part of Labour's commitment to producing policies in partnership with disabled people that have dignity and respect at their heart. Findings from these roundtables have been submitted to all NPF policy commissions.

Relating to this commission's remit, the evidence covers the inadequacy of disability benefits, the traumatic experience many disabled people have had to endure during Work Capability Assessments, the strain caused by repeat PIP assessments, arduous applications processes and the Government's incompetent administration. The failure to apply the £20 uplift to legacy benefits during the pandemic was raised frequently, as it meant millions of disabled people were left without vital support.

Participants of the disability roadshows spoke of the devastating impact of soaring energy bills, especially for those who rely on energy-intensive equipment in order to live independently. Many spoke of the need for accessible homes that are built to a proper standard and are fit for purpose. Evidence shows that under a third of new homes are set to meet an accessible housing standard over the course of this decade.

In its first meeting of the new policy cycle, the commission discussed the reference backs from Annual Conference 2021, including on neurodiversity, which had been discussed during the equalities roundtable on disabled people's rights. Commission members recognised that this should have been more fully included, and went on to discuss the policy manifesto from Neurodivergent Labour, which was referenced in a number of submissions. Submissions stressed the importance of tackling discrimination against neurodivergent people and considering the impact on neurodivergent people when assessing and implementing new policies.

Submissions also emphasised that Equality Impact Assessments need to be meaningful if they are to tackle discrimination and disproportionate impacts.

The commission believes that Equality Impact Assessments need to be fully embedded across the next Labour government's policy-making process.

"Equality Impact Assessments need to be more than just a tick box exercise where disabled people and others with protected characteristics are often identified as significantly impacted, but a few weak mitigating actions are sufficient to allow the service changes or job cuts to be agreed all the same."

UNISON

A large number of submissions referenced intersecting inequalities that cut across society, including how the cost-of-living crisis, low pay and the housing crisis are felt disproportionately by women, disabled people, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people and LGBT+ people.

Addressing these inequalities is at the forefront of Labour's equalities policy development. This includes Labour's commitment to a Race Equality Act, building on Doreen Lawrence's report 'An Avoidable Crisis', which will tackle structural racism at source.

"The UK and devolved governments must do more to understand and address employment, income and wealth inequalities between men and women, and between people from white and minority ethnic groups, and the impact this has on poverty at the end of life."

MARIE CURIE

"Whilst generational wealth and inheritance can help people to get on the property ladder, not everyone is fortunate to enjoy this. This is even more so for [people from] Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds who amass far less, which causes greater racial inequality in the housing market."

BAME LABOUR

When considering Labour's policy on housing, submissions made it clear that there needs to be a focus on a long-term, sustainable strategy in order to tackle the multiple housing crises that the country is facing. Submissions were critical of government policy for perceiving houses purely as a commodity and financial asset, rather than as a home for families.

"Long-term, sustainable programmes of housebuilding and renovation are the key to avoiding homelessness, fuel poverty and poor health, providing homes that are built to high standards and that are genuinely affordable."

SOCIETY OF LABOUR LAWYERS



“A combination of legislation to increase supply and decrease demand pressure from buyers who are looking for a profit rather than a home is urgently needed to fix it.”

KEN, LABOUR MEMBER

“Decouple housing from financial asset culture – a house is something you live in rather than profit from.”

NORTH EXETER BLP

Submissions also placed great emphasis on the quality of houses that are built as well as quantity. Labour is ambitious to drive up standards and to ensure high-quality and safe homes that are accessible to all.

“Homes must be genuinely accessible to all. New housing developments should include a mixture of property sizes, and developers should not be allowed to ‘carve off’ affordable housing quotas to different areas or sections of a development to prevent communities being dispersed.”

USDAW

“To ensure decent housing, there are several areas that the Labour Party could look into to improve standards in construction quality: Warranty insurance for new affordable homes, Skills and training, Modern Methods of Construction (MMC) and Low carbon homes”

NATIONAL HOUSE BUILDING COUNCIL

“Council house building, the missing solution to the housing crisis, is at the heart of ensuring secure and decent homes for everyone, and will provide a supply across the country of truly affordable, good quality housing with secure tenancies.”

LABOUR HOUSING GROUP

The criticism that the Government view housing as a commodity was also levelled at Ministers for their attitude to childcare. Submissions criticised the Government for failing to invest properly in early years education and not doing enough to tackle the soaring costs or the recruitment crisis facing childcare providers. Unite’s submission set out what is needed in order to put the UK at least at the same level as other countries that are similar economically.

“We need the provision of both affordable and free childcare that meet the needs of parents and carers, with a childcare strategy reflecting pre-school, primary and secondary school needs, with respect, decent work and sectoral collective bargaining to protect standards for those who work in the childcare sector.”

UNITE

Labour has a proud record of delivering high-quality and affordable childcare provision. Yet, this progress has been reversed by the current government. Many submissions, for example, highlighted the success of Sure Start and were critical of the Government for closing hundreds of children's centres across the country.

"When I worked as a school nurse at the time of the last Labour government, Sure Start centres were starting to have a really positive effect by supporting families with pre-school children. They were identifying early any physical, mental and social problems that could impede children's learning."

JUDITH, LABOUR MEMBER

"In regard to a future where families come first we felt that there needs to be an emphasis on family-friendly work policies and practice. The re-opening of children's centres and looking at ways of strengthening Equalities Legislation."

OXFORD EAST CLP

"Creating effective childcare provision, which is affordable, accessible and beneficial for the child should be a key goal for the next Labour Government, as it was for the previous Labour administration."

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

Many submissions spoke of the soaring costs of childcare and inadequate support for families, including through the childcare element of Universal Credit. The interaction between Universal Credit and childcare costs, including the need for costs to be paid upfront, was mentioned in a number of submissions as a significant financial barrier for parents.

"A key problem with childcare support in Universal Credit is the rigid delivery mechanism. Unlike in the tax credit system, Universal Credit requires parents to pay for childcare costs upfront and then wait weeks to be reimbursed."

CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP

With soaring inflation and sky-high prices, the overall inadequacy of social security and Universal Credit was raised in many submissions, including for disabled people, pensioners and families with children. It is clear from submissions that Universal Credit is in need of fundamental reform, which the next Labour government is committed to delivering. It was also made clear that the initial waiting period for Universal Credit and the amount of deductions people need to repay can push people into debt.

"Defects of the Universal Credit system, including the built in five-week delay in payment and the laborious method of application need to be rectified or replaced."

BUNGAY BRANCH LABOUR PARTY (BLP)



“One of the most significant challenges with Universal Credit is that almost half of claimants are receiving less than the basic rate due to deductions [...] Government debt is pulling many people further into poverty – with almost 7 million people unable to afford basic necessities as they continue to have up to 25% of their Universal Credit payments deducted every month.”

LLOYDS BANK FOUNDATION

Submissions also brought attention to the record-high levels of in-work poverty that we have seen under the current government, with work no longer being a guaranteed route out of poverty. Coupled with cuts to in-work support, the Government has presided over rises in economic inactivity and a number of submissions made the point that good quality jobs are the best way to deliver lasting security for families.

“The best way to deliver financial, social and housing security is for people to work in good quality jobs to earn enough to look after themselves and their dependents. The Government should therefore provide full employment by providing a Job Guarantee Scheme.”

GUY, LABOUR MEMBER

This echoes current policy development to tackle economic inactivity and support people back into work, including the hundreds of thousands of over-50s who have left the jobs market. While the Government has under-delivered on its jobs programmes, the next Labour government will build a modern employment system that supports people into work, helps grow our economy and raises living standards.

Britain in the world

MEMBERSHIP 2022

HM Opposition

Catherine McKinnell MP

David Lammy MP*

NEC

Yasmine Dar

Mish Rahman

George Howarth

Shabana Mahmood

Kathy Abu-Bakir

Michael Wheeler*

Carwyn Jones

CLPs, regions and devolved nations

Tom Unterrainer – East Midlands Region

Carol Turner – Greater London Region

Mohammed Azam – North West Region

Dr Sophie Williams – Welsh Labour Party

Charlotte Austin – Northern Region

Bryony Rudkin – Eastern Region

Adrian Weir – Greater London Region

Steve Turner – North West Region

Jen Smith – Welsh Labour Party

Agnes Tolmie – Scottish Policy Forum

Paul O’Kane – Scottish Policy Forum

Affiliates

Kate Deardon – Community

Sian Stockham – UNISON

David Quayle - Unite

Sonny Leon – BAME Labour

Rohit Dasgupta – LGBT Labour Party

Fran Springfield – Disability Labour

Andrew Harrop – Fabians

Elected representatives and peers

Georgia Gould – Association of Labour Councillors

*Co-convenor



Overview

This year, the new Britain in the World commission has met against a backdrop of increased global tensions. The war in Ukraine has dominated the news agenda since the invasion in February 2022, bringing the international community together in a renewed sense of global solidarity.

Throughout this time, the commission received regular updates from the Shadow Cabinet on Labour's response to the war in Ukraine, as well as on other key international issues. These have included the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan, the role of international alliances and the impact of cuts to international aid.

The commission also heard evidence from experts on the topics of international development and democracy promotion. Speakers from the Bond development network, the Gender and Development Network and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) covered a broad range of topics and prompted a good level of debate around Labour's international policy offer.

The evidence sessions included a strong focus on equalities, with evidence from the Gender and Development Network highlighting the impact of cuts to the aid budget on programmes that support women and girls in the global south. The evidence from WFD highlighted the importance of promoting women's political participation in emerging democracies as part of a values-based foreign policy.

Finally, the commission consulted on the topic 'Protecting our national interests and promoting Labour values abroad'. This included key questions on international alliances, humanitarian support, multilateralism and strong democratic institutions. The commission welcomed a wide range of submissions on these topics and on wider foreign policy issues.

As part of the consultation, the commission hosted an online roundtable event, which gave members an invaluable opportunity to share their thoughts directly with Shadow Foreign Secretary David Lammy. Participants at the roundtable provided considered and thoughtful insight that will help Labour to develop its foreign policy platform.

Issues discussed by the commission

The Britain in the World commission met regularly to an agreed work programme that included Shadow Ministerial updates and evidence sessions with expert external speakers. A summary of these discussions is provided below.

Ukraine

The commission noted on each occasion the evolving situation in Ukraine, agreeing that the Russian invasion was an attack on the values of democracy, freedom and the rule of law that the Labour Party stands for. Particular attention was drawn to the surge in refugees fleeing the conflict and the rapidly escalating humanitarian crisis.

The shadow frontbench criticised the Government's botched refugee scheme, noting how the public's generosity in offering support had been hindered by unnecessary bureaucracy.

The commission condemned the extensive evidence of human rights abuses and welcomed the United Nations' (UN's) decision to suspend Russia from the Human Rights Council. The Labour Party is committed to working with international partners to hold those responsible for war crimes and crimes against humanity to account and supports the long-term goal of a just peace based on a free and democratic Ukraine, respecting its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and upholding the fundamental rights of its people.

International alliances

As the crisis in Ukraine unfolded, the commission heard from the frontbench how Britain was responding to events in close cooperation with its allies. The commission heard how Keir Starmer and senior members of the Shadow Cabinet had visited British troops in Estonia and met with European leaders to discuss the importance of a collective response to Ukraine, with the Labour Party supporting both Sweden's and Finland's applications to join NATO.

The commission discussed Britain's reputation as a world power, as well as its responsibilities as a member of NATO as a security alliance in the context of the global situation. As an internationalist party, Labour is committed to tackling international challenges in concert with allies and partners and through multilateral institutions, including the UN and NATO. In light of recent events, Labour's commitment to multilateralism is more important than ever.

Wider international conflicts

The commission was keen to highlight that the focus on Ukraine must not distract from wider ongoing international conflicts, with members pointing specifically to the example of Kashmir and the deterioration of the human rights situation there over the last year. The commission welcomed the ceasefire in Yemen, but expressed



concern that the Government is overlooking the scale of the humanitarian crisis as food prices continue to rise dramatically.

The commission noted the ongoing situation in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and welcomed steps that Labour politicians have made to engage with those impacted by the conflict, including visits from the frontbench team to the region.

The commission welcomed Labour's opposition to illegal settlements, evictions and demolitions and its commitment to a negotiated, diplomatic settlement based on a two-state solution – a safe and secure Israel, alongside a viable and sovereign Palestinian state, which Labour in government would recognise immediately. Labour condemns all actions that are making that goal of a two-state solution more difficult.

UN reform

The commission was pleased to welcome Shadow Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Affairs Minister Lord Ray Collins to update on his review into the UK's role at the UN. Lord Collins had previously given evidence on upholding international law through multilateral institutions, explaining how the UK has significant influence at the UN as a founding member.

The commission heard how work had progressed on an opposition green paper that would aim to show how the UK can breathe new life into the UN and reclaim the influence it had lost under the Conservative government. Based around the principles of security, prosperity and respect, Labour's plans for UN reform mark an expression of our values on the world stage and an opportunity to demonstrate our preparedness for government. The commission invited Lord Collins back later in the year to outline the key policy recommendations in detail.

China

At the members' roundtable event, participants discussed the continued rise of China as a global superpower and the need for Labour in government to establish a strong and coherent policy towards Beijing. The commission heard how China's increasingly dominant role was having a profound impact on world affairs.

Labour has expressed its concern over the atrocities against Uyghurs, which Parliament voted to recognise as amounting to genocide, as well as the challenges to democracy in Hong Kong. Responding to these issues will require close cooperation with partners and allies to stand firm in defence of human rights, security and freedom. The challenge for a future Labour government will be to engage effectively on issues such as climate change and global health while simultaneously promoting our values.

International development strategy

At the evidence session on international development, the commission heard in greater detail about the impact of the merger of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Department of International Development (DFID). The commission agreed that the merger had been widely considered to be failing, with the Government prioritising a short-sighted focus on financial gain rather than considered support for the global south. It also agreed that the loss of expertise had damaged Britain's international standing.

This had led to significant cuts to projects in the global south that benefitted the most marginalised communities, including concerning reports of cuts to programmes that target violence against women and girls.

The commission heard more about a feminist foreign policy, noting how many European countries had adopted this approach. It included framing of foreign policy through a gender-focussed lens, with core principles of equality, recognition of global gender disparities and an understanding of global power structures.

The commission heard how the government's recent International Development Strategy (IDS) had been a missed opportunity that prioritised business interests over needs focused assistance. The shift from multilateral to bilateral support identified in the IDS was particularly concerning, and it was noted that the benefits of financial investment in the global south often did not reach the most marginalised. The commission welcomed Labour's commitment to restore international development expertise and recommit to the 0.7 per cent aid target.

Democracy promotion

The commission heard important evidence about the rising tide of authoritarianism across the globe, with recent figures estimating that dictatorships now harbour 70 per cent of the world's population. There had been multiple instances of democratic backsliding in countries in transition to democracy, as well as a concerning growth of authoritarianism and de-parliamentarism in more established democracies.

The decline in global democracy was acknowledged as a national security threat, yet the commission noted how the Government has repeatedly undermined democratic institutions at home in recent years.

In order to combat this, the UK has a role to play in strengthening civil society and democratic institutions worldwide, as well as helping build accountability and promote greater inclusion. Labour will always stand on the side of democracy over dictatorship and freedom over authoritarianism.



Conclusions

After 12 years of Conservative failure, Britain has been left increasingly isolated on the world stage. The fall of Kabul and the invasion of Ukraine both exposed the fundamental flaws in the Government's strategic planning, while the Conservatives' disregard for the norms of international and domestic law has left our reputation tarnished. Meanwhile, Labour has made progress on a series of foreign policy positions that will help make Britain a force for good in the world again.

Foreign affairs

The Labour Party has always been an internationalist party. As we move beyond the divisions of the past, Labour has set out a five-point plan to make Brexit work. This includes sorting out the Northern Ireland Protocol in a way that respects international law, tearing down trade barriers, supporting our world-leading services, keeping us safe and promoting investment in Britain.

It also includes forging new alliances and rebuilding damaged relationships, in order to re-establish Britain as a reliable and trustworthy partner on the world stage.

In response to the crisis in Ukraine, Labour has reaffirmed its internationalist values and traditions. We are committed to the alliances that keep Britain safe and the friendships that are needed to tackle global challenges, including climate change and public health.

As faults in the Conservative Party's foreign policy have become clearer, Labour has highlighted plans to fix the flaws in the Integrated Review and called for new UK-EU security agreements. Close cooperation with our European allies will be vital as we grapple with the outbreak of war on the continent.

In order to alleviate our dependence on authoritarian states for energy supplies, Labour has recognised the importance of cutting the UK's dependence on fossil fuels and seeking green alternatives. A Labour government would play a leading role in global climate diplomacy, supporting vulnerable states, pressuring the biggest polluters and mobilising the private sector for action.

For years, Labour has repeatedly demanded action to rid the UK economy of dirty money, and to break the ties between the Conservative Party and Russian-linked donors. The commission noted that the Government had only finally taken steps to address illicit finance once Ukraine had been invaded. Labour is clear that there is much more to do to tackle the problem, calling on the Government to go further by acting on the recommendations of the Russia Report and reforming Companies House, which continues to enable oligarchs to hide their wealth.

Defence

In light of the outbreak of war in Europe, Labour reaffirmed plans to fix the flaws in the Integrated Review. In government, we would explore new security pacts with our European partners rooted in mutual respect, shared values and common interests.

Labour's commitment to NATO is unshakeable and its support for nuclear deterrence is total. As a P5 UN Security Council member, we want to see Britain doing more to lead efforts to secure strategic arms limitation and multilateral disarmament.

Labour has also highlighted how a decade of decline under the Conservatives has weakened the foundations of our armed forces, with the army at its smallest size in 300 years, one in five ships cut from the surface fleets and 200 RAF planes taken out of service. The Integrated Review will see troop numbers cut by a further 10,000. Labour has called on the Defence Secretary to halt cuts to the Army.

Following the NPF consultation last year, Labour has continued to develop its plans for increased support for veterans. In government, we would boost mental health support to veterans by £35 million and scrap visa fees for non-UK veterans and their dependents who have served in our Armed Forces for four years.

Labour has announced plans to provide greater protection of jobs in the defence sector through a 'British-built by default' approach to procurement, intended to boost manufacturing within the UK supply chain. This will help strengthen our economy, our sovereignty and our security.

Finally, Labour published an audit of waste which showed that the Ministry of Defence (MoD) is a uniquely failing department, with the Conservatives failing British troops and British taxpayers. We announced plans to make the MoD the first department subject to a new Office for Value for Money's tough spending regime, and we will commission the National Audit Office to conduct a comprehensive audit of departmental waste.

International development

As the party that created DfID, Labour has strongly condemned the botched merger with the FCO and the loss of development expertise it has caused. At the evidence session with speakers from the development sector, the commission heard first hand experiences of the impact of the merger and the consequences of the cuts to development that the government is pursuing.

Labour has pledged to restore the 0.7 per cent aid target in order to allow the UK to once again play a leading role in tackling humanitarian crises, poverty, climate change and food insecurity. Beyond the provision of aid, Labour has outlined



its commitment to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals as a framework for rebuilding partnerships around the core principle of leaving no-one behind.

International trade

As government ministers have chased free trade deals across the world, Labour has criticised their clear failure to stand up for British business and promote British values. The Conservatives have overseen a race to the bottom on standards and lack any core values in their trade policy. As an example, the trade deal with Australia undercut British farmers and contained no mention of climate targets.

Labour will buy, make and sell more in Britain. As we develop our own trade policy, we have outlined our commitment to trade deals that support our communities, increase our exports and create jobs in the UK.

In government, Labour will sign trade deals that promote British values across the world. We have made clear that businesses, trade unions and civil society will be consulted and empowered to play an active role in trade talks, while ensuring that public services (including the NHS) are safeguarded.

Submissions to this year's consultation

During this year's consultation, the Britain in the World commission was pleased to receive a significant number of contributions on the five key questions introduced in the consultation document. A summary of these submissions is included below.

International alliances

In response to the first question on international alliances, the commission received a large number of submissions regarding the urgent need for Britain to reassert itself on the world stage after a decade of decline under the Conservatives. Many saw Britain taking an active role in international alliances as a key to achieving this.

"Britain will need to work hard to restore the country's credibility abroad, just as Joe Biden had to do after Trump. This will involve demonstrating to the EU, to other NATO members and to the USA that we will be truthful and trustworthy partners through words and deeds."

PETER, LABOUR MEMBER

Submissions noted the important role that our alliances play in protecting us from foreign aggression, but emphasised the importance of respecting international law in order to become a trusted partner.

"International alliances are crucial for security. Upholding international law is key to being able form and keep international alliances. Britain must become again a trustworthy country which can be relied on to uphold and respect international agreements of all kinds."

BLYTH VALLEY BLP

As technology continues to develop at a rapid pace, new opportunities arise for those who wish to do us harm. Foreign interference in our democratic processes remains a significant threat, while criminals increasingly operate in the digital space. The submissions noted how international cooperation was key to combatting criminal activity and hostile behaviour online.

"Cybercrime is an issue that needs to be addressed at an international level working with our partners abroad. Cybercrime is too big an issue to solve by ourselves."

ASH, LABOUR MEMBER



Multilateralism

The benefits of working in cooperation with international partners were a recurring theme in response to the second question on multilateralism. It was overwhelmingly agreed that tackling global issues required a coordinated approach, with many submissions highlighting some of the biggest challenges we face together.

“A multilateral approach to tackling the globe’s challenges is required now more than ever. With climate change, the pandemic and international conflicts presenting existential challenges on multiple fronts, urgent co-operative and coordinated action is required by international alliances to achieve lasting solutions.”

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

Tackling the climate crisis was consistently highlighted as a key priority for the international community. Submissions called for Labour in government to provide the strong leadership needed to implement the Conference of the Parties (COP) agenda.

“We need to provide strong leadership in international institutions particularly in addressing the climate crisis, to ensure that COP26 is implemented and that future COPs are stronger and faster.”

CATHERINE, LABOUR MEMBER

As part of the consultation, the commission received an important submission on the role that agencies such as the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities play in protecting human rights and enforcing the Equality Act.

“A future Labour government needs to make a clear commitment to fully sign up to and implement the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). This should be part of a package of measures to reinforce the rights of disabled people.”

EQUALITIES ROADSHOW

Beyond the UN, many of the submissions noted how it was important for the UK to take an active role in other multilateral international organisations. While accepting that the UK had left the European Union (EU), many noted the need to retain a close relationship with the EU on issues such as security in order to coordinate collective responses to issues.

“I am not arguing for a reversal of Brexit. But a special relationship with Europe, rather than one of division and petty disputes.”

ROBERT, LABOUR MEMBER

“A Labour government should be more proactively engaged with our European partners and move on from the difficult relationship created by the Conservative Party.”

NEW DIPLOMACY PROJECT

It was also important to note that the Government had failed to deal with a wide range of outstanding issues, challenging the Conservative Party's narrative around 'getting Brexit done'. As detailed in the submission from Unite, members of our affiliated trade unions were facing significant problems in their everyday lives.

“Unite members face huge problems due to Brexit that urgently need addressing – waiting times and facilities for HGV drivers at docks and ports, collapsing investment in the auto sector and other parts of manufacturing, problems with tariffs and market access in the steel sector, numerous problems in the food and drink sector – such as the impact of proposed gene editing legislation, and of course the watering down of workers' rights.”

UNITE

Working with international partners in a strong and effective multilateral system will be key to tackling these important issues. An example of this is the role of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in campaigning for decent jobs and workers' rights. Submissions from our affiliated unions have highlighted the role of the ILO, calling for Labour to recommit to its core principles.

“A Labour government should re-commit to supporting the principle of Decent Work as defined by the ILO and the Sustainable Development Goals. Decent work should cover job creation, rights at work, social dialogue, and social protection. It should also apply to workers in the informal as well the formal sectors of the economy. Decent work and social protection are a key tool in the eradication of poverty.”

UNISON

“ILO Core Labour Standards are basic minimum standards across the world. They include no child labour, no forced labour, no discrimination, right to join and collectively bargain through a trade union.”

UNITE

As Labour continues to develop its trade policy, it was encouraged to look to organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as a means of driving up standards and tackling key issues.

“The WTO could play a role in ensuring standards are higher for food and farming, stopping deforestation and putting pressure on high polluting products.”

JANET, LABOUR MEMBER



International development and aid

In response to the third question on development, the commission received an overwhelming number of submissions praising Labour's record on aid.

"Labour should continue to champion international development. Some of the proudest achievements of the last Labour government were establishing the Department for International Development, and achieving the target of 0.7 per cent of spending on aid."

LABOUR FOR THE LONG TERM

As such, there was clear support for Labour's commitment to restore the aid budget to 0.7 per cent.

"To achieve meaningful reductions in global poverty and the promotion of human rights and economic development across the world, the international aid budget must once again return to the UN target of 0.7 per cent of GDP."

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY

With the merger of DfID and the FCO and subsequent cuts to the international aid budget, the Conservatives have overseen a dramatic decline in the UK's role as an international power. Many submissions highlighted the Conservatives' poor record on aid, noting the shift away from tackling poverty to a more transactional approach.

"The quality of our aid, as well as the quantity, is also important. Successive Conservative governments have distorted the focus of the UK's aid spending away from extreme poverty, focusing instead on other areas of national interest."

LABOUR CAMPAIGN FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Submissions clearly indicated that Labour's international development strategy should aim to tackle global inequalities, particularly around gender and women's political participation.

"I feel very strongly about the Tory cuts to the aid budget. In particular, am pleased that the document refers to the importance of support for vulnerable women and girls and specifically on access to sexual and reproductive health."

MARTIN, LABOUR PARTY MEMBER

At the evidence session on development, Labour was encouraged to consider its foreign policy through a gender-focused lens, focusing on core principles of equality, recognition of global gender disparities and an understanding of global power structures.

The role of women in politics was also reflected in the session on democracy promotion, with clear evidence showing the benefits of women in elected office.

“Higher levels of elected women are associated with lower levels of petty and grand corruption.”

WESTMINSTER FOUNDATION FOR DEMOCRACY (WFD)

The commission heard more about the positive impact this was having on the development of policy in democracies in transition. As Labour develops its international development policy, this will be a key consideration.

“Women in politics are shifting and expanding areas in which policy is being made, contributing to better societal outcomes (e.g., public health).”

WFD

Humanitarian crises

Global leadership on aid and the restoration of the international aid budget was widely seen as the most effective means of dealing with humanitarian crises.

“There is a lack of leadership on aid on the world stage, adding to the risk of hunger as the food crisis worsens. A Labour government must recognise the key role a strong and effective aid policy can play in responding to humanitarian crises.”

LABOUR MEMBER

A significant number of the responses to the question on humanitarian crises referenced the specific example of the deteriorating living conditions experienced by many Palestinians. The submissions called for an end to the illegal occupation as part of Labour's foreign policy agenda.

“Justice for the Palestinian people and an end to the illegal occupation must be part of Labour's foreign policy agenda.”

LAURENCE, LABOUR MEMBER

The Labour Party will continue to oppose illegal settlements, evictions and demolitions and remains committed to a negotiated, diplomatic settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on a two-state solution – a safe and secure Israel, alongside a viable and sovereign Palestinian state. We condemn all actions that are making that goal more difficult.

As we continue to recover from the global pandemic, many submissions also noted the government's lack of preparation for the outbreak of Covid-19 and called on a future Labour government to prioritise global health and vaccine equality.



"It is vital that a future Labour government is proactive and prepares for the humanitarian response to new pandemics at home and abroad. The next Labour government's focus on delivering security must include delivering health security."

SCIENTISTS FOR LABOUR

To this end, the commission received a submission from ADS, the trade association representing the UK's aerospace, defence and security industries, about the role they can play in tackling humanitarian crises in the future.

"In defining an innovative approach to major humanitarian crises, the UK's defence and security sectors have a vital role to play. This has been demonstrated during several recent crises. For example, during the Covid-19 pandemic companies across our sectors played a critical role in the production of ventilators and personal protective equipment."

ADS GROUP

Democratic institutions

During the consultation, the commission heard evidence of democratic institutions under threat throughout the world, with instances of democratic backsliding occurring in traditional or established democracies.

"Dictatorships are on the rise and now harbour 70 per cent of the world's population."

WFD

A number of submissions observed that transparency was often key to a strong and effective democracy, both in government and in public life. The submissions called on Labour to promote transparency and accountability as examples of good governance.

"To support and promote democratic institutions Labour should champion transparency in both the public and private sectors. Strong independent transparent public institutions are vital for a functioning democracy."

FIONA, LABOUR MEMBER

This was reflected in the discussion at the evidence session on democracy promotion, where the commission heard more about the core principles of environmental democracy. This involved strengthening democratic institutions in order to help tackle climate change.

As a major political party, Labour has a key role to play in promoting access to information, participation and justice around climate issues in order to help advance the action for climate empowerment.

“Political parties and parliaments need to advance climate empowerment strategically – who else?”

WFD

Promoting the development of strong democratic institutions abroad will a key challenge for a future Labour government in a new age of authoritarianism. Yet under the Conservatives, our own democratic institutions have been significantly undermined. Many submissions noted how Labour needed to focus on rebuilding trust in the UK's own democracy.

“The huge challenge is rebuilding trust in our own democratic institutions. Everything here is falling apart.”

JANET, LABOUR MEMBER



Next steps

After Annual Conference 2022, we will enter the fourth and final year of the current NPF cycle. Following elections over the summer, the NPF will be reconstituted with new members from right across the Labour movement.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all of those outgoing NPF representatives who have contributed so much to its success over recent years, often having to adapt their work in the highly challenging circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The new NPF will then begin the work of preparing for a full, in-person meeting next summer which will represent the culmination of the democratic policymaking process, agreeing a policy platform to be taken to Annual Conference 2023 and on towards the Clause V meeting and an election-winning manifesto to deliver a Labour government and the fresh start that Britain so desperately needs.



Appendices

National Policy Forum membership

- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Adele Williams
- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Alice Grice
- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Linda Woodings
- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Sophie Clarke – Vale
- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Tom Unterrainer
- (CLP) East Midlands Region – Tony Tinley

- (CLP) Eastern Region – Bryony Darwin
- (CLP) Eastern Region – Cameron Matthews
- (CLP) Eastern Region – Owen Hooper
- (CLP) Eastern Region – Russell Cartwright
- (CLP) Eastern Region – Shelley Darwin

- (CLP) Greater London Region – Adrian Weir
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Carol Turner
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Elly Baker
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Grace Blakeley
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Nicky Gavron
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Samiya Malik
- (CLP) Greater London Region – Yannis Gourtsoyannis

- (CLP) North West Region – Angela Coleman
- (CLP) North West Region – George Downs
- (CLP) North West Region – Lorraine Beavers
- (CLP) North West Region – Michael Garvey
- (CLP) North West Region – Mohammed Azam
- (CLP) North West Region – Steve Turner
- (CLP) North West Region – Wendy Simon

- (CLP) Northern Ireland – Boyd Black

- (CLP) Northern Region – Charlotte Austin
- (CLP) Northern Region – Clare Williams
- (CLP) Northern Region – Denise Robson
- (CLP) Northern Region – Lewis Atkinson
- (CLP) Northern Region – Simon Henig

- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Eva Murray
- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Andrew Bustard
- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Caitlin Kane
- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Dave Watson
- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Rhea Wolfson
- (CLP) Scottish Labour Party – Seán Duffy
- (CLP) South East Region – Alex Chapman
- (CLP) South East Region – Carol Hayton
- (CLP) South East Region – Dan Dobson
- (CLP) South East Region – Joyce Still
- (CLP) South East Region – Karen Constantine

- (CLP) South West Region – Brenda Weston
- (CLP) South West Region – Carol Wilcox
- (CLP) South West Region – Holly Jarrett
- (CLP) South West Region – Neil Guild
- (CLP) South West Region – Thomas Pearce



(CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Anthony John Beddow
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Ely Owen
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Ivan Monckton
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Jen Smith
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Maggie Simpson
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Mike Bird
 (CLP) Welsh Labour Party – Sophie Williams

 (CLP) West Midlands Region – Emily Horsfall
 (CLP) West Midlands Region – Kirsten Kurt-Eli
 (CLP) West Midlands Region – Simon Foster
 (CLP) West Midlands Region – Teresa Beddis

 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Aisling Musson
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Ann Cryer
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – George Norman
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Karen Reay
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Lisa Banes
 (CLP) Yorkshire and Humber Region – Simon Lightwood

 (Trade Union) ASLEF – Collette Gibson

 (TU) Community – Kate Dearden

 (TU) CWU – Dave Ward
 (TU) CWU – Tracey Fussey
 (TU) GMB – Barbara Plant

 (TU) GMB – Dean Gilligan
 (TU) GMB – Gary Smith
 (TU) GMB – Laurence Turner
 (TU) GMB – Mary Hutchinson
 (TU) TSSA – Mick Carney

 (TU) UNISON – Christina McAnea
 (TU) UNISON – Linda Hobson
 (TU) UNISON – Liz Snape
 (TU) UNISON – Sian Stockham

 (TU) Unite – David Quayle
 (TU) Unite – Gail Cartmail
 (TU) Unite – Maggie Ryan
 (TU) Unite – Phillipa Marsden
 (TU) Unite – Siobhan Endean
 (TU) Unite – Steve Turner
 (TU) Unite – Susan Matthews
 (TU) Unite – Tony Burke
 (TU) Unite – Tony Woodhouse

 (TU) Usdaw – Carrie Aspin
 (TU) Usdaw – David McCrossen
 (TU) Usdaw – Emily Rowles
 (TU) Usdaw – Joanne Cairns
 (TU) Usdaw – Paddy Lillis

National Policy Forum membership

(Local Government) Association of Labour Councillors – Georgia Gould
(LG) Association of Labour Councillors – Tim Swift
(LG) COSLA (Confederation of Scottish Local Authorities) – Michael Ross
(LG) Local Government Association – Anntoinette Bramble
(LG) Local Government Association – Michael Payne
(LG) Welsh Local Government Association – Huw David

BAME Labour – Gloria Mills
BAME Labour – June Nelson
BAME Labour – Nadine Grandison-Mills
BAME Labour – Sonny Leong
The Co-operative Party – Chris Bain
The Co-operative Party – Rosa Bolger
The Co-operative Party (General Secretary, ex officio) – Joe Fortune

Disability Labour – Fran Springfield

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

Labour International – Jos Gallacher

LGBT Labour – Rohit Dasgupta

Parliamentary Labour Party – Angela Eagle
Parliamentary Labour Party – Catherine McKinnell
Parliamentary Labour Party – Darren Jones
Parliamentary Labour Party – Diana Johnson
Parliamentary Labour Party – Ian Mearns
Parliamentary Labour Party – Karin Smyth
Parliamentary Labour Party – Maria Eagle

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

Shadow Cabinet – Bridget Phillipson
Shadow Cabinet – David Lammy
Shadow Cabinet – Ed Miliband
Shadow Cabinet – Rachel Reeves
Shadow Cabinet – Wes Streeting
Shadow Cabinet – Yvette Cooper

Socialist Societies – Andrew Harrop
Socialist Societies – Sina Lari

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



National Executive Committee – Keir Starmer
National Executive Committee – Alice Perry
National Executive Committee – Amy Jackson
National Executive Committee – Andi Fox
National Executive Committee – Andy Kerr
National Executive Committee – Angela Eagle
National Executive Committee – Angela Rayner
National Executive Committee – Ann Black
National Executive Committee – Ann Henderson
National Executive Committee – Anneliese Dodds
National Executive Committee – Carol Sewell
National Executive Committee – Carwyn Jones
National Executive Committee – Diana Holland
National Executive Committee – Ellen Morrison
National Executive Committee – Gavin Sibthorpe
National Executive Committee – Gemma Bolton
National Executive Committee – George Howarth
National Executive Committee – Gurinder Singh-Josan
National Executive Committee – Ian Murray
National Executive Committee – Isabelle Gutierrez
National Executive Committee – Jackie Baillie
National Executive Committee – James Asser
National Executive Committee – Jayne Taylor
National Executive Committee – Joanne McGuinness
National Executive Committee – Johanna Baxter
National Executive Committee – John Cryer
National Executive Committee – Jonathan Reynolds
National Executive Committee – Kathy Abu-Bakir
National Executive Committee – Lara McNeill
National Executive Committee – Luke Akehurst
National Executive Committee – Margaret Beckett
National Executive Committee – Mark Ferguson
National Executive Committee – Michael Wheeler
National Executive Committee – Mick Whelan
National Executive Committee – Mish Rahman
National Executive Committee – Nadia Jama
National Executive Committee – Nick Forbes
National Executive Committee – Sir Alan Campbell
National Executive Committee – Shabana Mahmood
National Executive Committee – Wendy Nichols
National Executive Committee – Yasmine Dar

NPF consultation 2022: submitting organisations

ADS
Alstom
ASLEF
BAME Labour
BAME Labour
British Association of Shooting and Conservation
British Association of Social Workers
British Ravidassia Council
British Retail Consortium
British Society for Immunology
Business Services Association
Care Quality Commission
Child Poverty Action Group
Comprehensive Future
Community
Confederation of School Trusts
CyberUp Campaign
Digital Poverty Alliance
Doctors in Unite
Education Endowment Foundation
EngineeringUK
General Medical Council
Healthwatch
Humanists UK
Impact Investing Insitute
Institute for Family Business
Kingston University
Labour and Palestine
Labour Campaign for Council Housing
Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform
Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform South West
Labour Campaign for International Development
Labour for a New Democracy (L4ND)
Labour for a Republic
Labour for the Long Term
Labour Housing Group
Labour Party Social Work Group
Law Family Commission on Civil Society/Pro Bono Economics
Liverpool Friends of Palestine
Lloyds Bank Foundation for England and Wales
London Early Years Foundation
Marie Curie
Maternity Action
More Than A Score
Motorcycle Action Group



National Education Union
 National Housebuilding Council
 Neurodivergent Labour
 News Media Association
 Nursing and Midwifery Council
 Open University
 Policy@Manchester, The University of Manchester
 Pregnant Then Screwed
 Royal College of Physicians
 Scientists for Labour
 SERA Devon and Somerset
 Sizewell C Consortium
 Social Market Foundation
 Society of Labour Lawyers housing sub-group
 Southwark Unison Branch
 Teach First
 The Bell Foundation
 The Co-Operative Party
 The Law Society
 The New Diplomacy Project
 The Solar Panel Family
 UNISON
 Unite the Union
 Usdaw
 Women Against State Pension Inequality
 Work Inclusivity Research Centre, University of Birmingham

NPF consultation 2022: submitting CLPs

Aldershot CLP
Arundel and South Downs CLP
Barrow and Furness CLP
Basildon and Billericay, South Basildon
and East Thurrock Women's Branch
Bedford CLP
Bermondsey and Old Southwark CLP
Bexleyheath and Crayford CLP
Blyth Valley Branch Labour Party (Suf-
folk Coastal CLP)
Brent North CLP
Brentford and Isleworth CLP
Bridport Branch Labour Party
Bristol West Women's Forum
Burton CLP
Bury St Edmunds CLP
Calderdale CLP
Central Devon CLP
Chippenham CLP
City of Durham CLP
Colne Valley CLP
Crediton Branch Labour Party
Dagenham and Rainham CLP
Dulwich and West Norwood CLP
Ealing Central and Acton CLP
East Yorkshire CLP
Eddisbury CLP
Edgbaston CLP
Edinburgh Central CLP
Enfield Southgate CLP
Exeter CLP
Gainsborough CLP
Hackney North and Stoke Newington
CLP
High Peak CLP
Hornsey and Wood Green CLP
Ilford CLP
Ilford South CLP Women's Branch
Labour International CLP
Lancaster and Fleetwood CLP
Leeds North West CLP
Ludlow CLP
Meon Valley CLP
Morecambe and Lunesdale CLP
New Forest West CLP
Newbury CLP
North Dorset CLP
North Durham CLP
North East Derbyshire CLP
North Herefordshire CLP
Northampton North CLP
Normanton, Pontefract
and Castleford CLPs
Oxford East, Oxford West
and Abingdon CLPs
Redland, Bishopston
and Ashley Down CLPs
Rhondda CLP
Rochdale CLP
Solihull and Meriden CLPs
South Northamptonshire CLP
South Thanet CLP
South West Hertfordshire CLP
South West Surrey CLP
Southampton CLP
Stafford CLP
Sutton and Cheam CLP
South West Herts CLP
The Wrekin CLP
Tiverton and Honiton CLP
Uxbridge and South Ruislip CLP
Walthamstow CLP
Welford Labour Party
West Lothian CLP
Westmoreland and Lonsdale CLP
Witney CLP



Stakeholders who gave evidence to the NPF

Anna Dixon, Chair of the Archbishops' Commission on Reimagining Care
 Anna Valero, Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics
 Bond
 Brendan Curran, Grantham Institute, London School of Economics
 Coram Family and Childcare
 Crisis
 Dr Rick Muir, Director of the Police Foundation
 Dr Trudi Seneviratne,
 Royal College of Psychiatrists
 Early Year Alliance
 Gender and Development Network
 Gingerbread
 GMB union
 Louise Gittins, Leader of Cheshire West and Chester Council
 and Local Government Association Labour lead on social care
 Matthew Taylor, NHS Confederation
 Mika Minio-Paluello, Trades Union Congress
 National Housing Federation
 Nina Champion, Director of the Criminal Justice Alliance
 Owen West, Senior Lecturer in Policing at Edge Hill University
 Sian Elliot, Trades Union Congress Senior Policy Lead on Public Services and Skills
 The Co-Operative Party
 The Institute for Employment Studies
 Thom Brooks, Professor of Law and Government at Durham Law School
 Tom Richmond, Director of EDSK think tank
 Tom Middlehurst, Association of School and College Leaders
 Trades Union Congress
 Westminster Foundation for Democracy



Links to related policy documents



**Ending Violence Against Women and Girls:
Green Paper
(May 2021)**

<https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Ending-Violence-Against-Women-and-Girls-Green-Paper.pdf>



**Stronger Together: Labour Works
(September 2021)**

<https://labour.org.uk/stronger-together/labour-works/>



**Stronger Together: Britain in 2030
(September 2021)**

<https://labour.org.uk/stronger-together/britain-2030/>



**Employment Rights Green Paper:
A New Deal for Working People
(September 2021)**

<https://labour.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Employment-Rights-Green-Paper.pdf>



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