

**Labour's
Policy
Review**

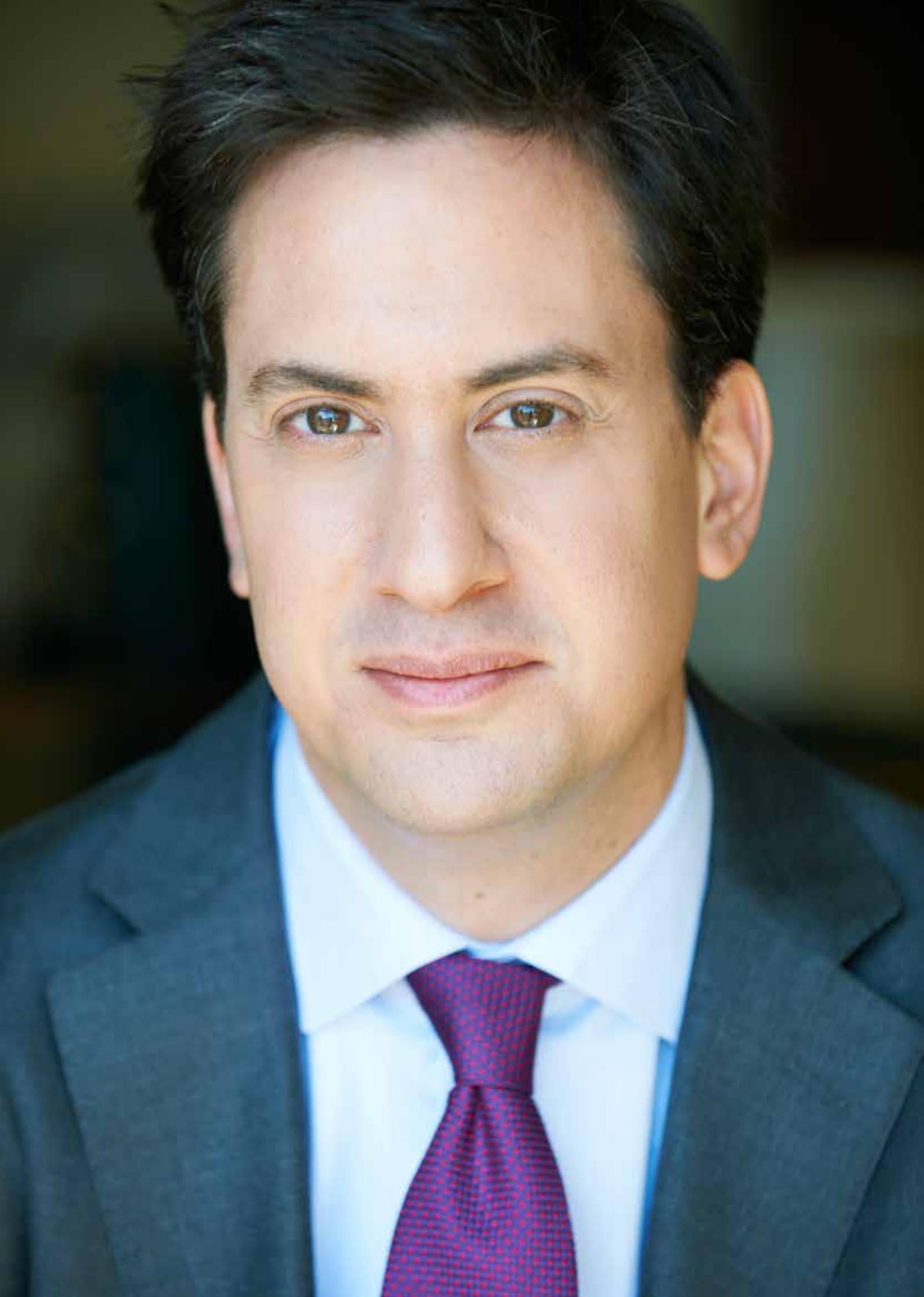
ONE NATION SOCIETY



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FOREWORD BY ED MILIBAND

Right back in 1845, Benjamin Disraeli wrote of the danger of Britain becoming “two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other’s habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones or inhabitants of different planets”.

Those words feel as true today as they did then. And Britain suffers as a result.

It holds our economy back when the wages of the majority are squeezed and it weakens our society when the gaps between the rungs on the ladder of opportunity get wider and wider.

Our nation is less likely to succeed when it lacks that vital sense of common life, as it always must when the very richest live in one world and everyone else a very different one.

“One Nation Labour’s goal is to turn that around, to help build a stronger society, one where everyone feels they have a part to play in shaping Britain’s future.”

One Nation Labour’s goal is to turn that around, to help build a stronger society, one where everyone feels they have a part to play in shaping Britain’s future.

And building that society will mean we have to do it in a different way from the past. Not old-style, top-down central control, with users as passive recipients of services. Nor a market-based individualism which says we can simply transplant the principles of the private sector lock, stock and barrel into the public sector.

The time in which we live and the challenges we face demand that we should always be seeking instead to put more power into the hands of the British people themselves. That’s the way we will be able to do more with less, at a time when there is much less money around. This is why, as we prepare for a Labour government, the on-going Zero Based Review across all of public spending, being led by Ed Balls and Chris Leslie will be putting these new ideas at its core.

And it is the right thing to do because everyone - not just those at the top - deserves a chance to shape their own lives and help to shape their community’s life too. One Nation Labour knows that unaccountable concentrations of power never serve the public interest and always need to be held to account.

I am proud that Labour's Policy Review is putting these ideas at the heart of everything it does - from people-powered public services through the extension of childcare to greater powers to shape our high streets - and they will be at the centre of Labour's mission for government in 2015.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ed Miliband". The signature is written in a cursive style with a horizontal line underlining the name.

Ed Miliband
Leader of the Labour Party

INTRODUCTION

The challenge we face

We face some huge challenges as a country. The effects of recession, a Tory-led government and long standing forces are pulling at our social fabric and contributing to a sense of national decline, with:

- family life under pressure from an inability to balance working life and time at home;
- a loss of faith in our social security system, both as a means of rewarding contribution and as an institution that is there to protect them;
- growing anxiety about the impact of continuing low skilled immigration on people's standard of living; and,
- public services that too often feel like arms of a bureaucratic state, treating people as passive recipients, rather than active participants.

Too often, people feel powerless in the face of these pressures and the hard truth for us is that they don't think politicians have the ability to sort them out either. That is the task in front of us.

It is for this reason that the Policy Review I am leading is about power. If we are going to re-build our economy, our society and our politics from the bottom up: we have to put power in people's hands, giving them the ability to help themselves. This will transform how Labour governs the country in the decade ahead.

The Conservatives cannot renew our country. Rather than empowering communities they have chosen to abandon and divide them. The big society rhetoric has given way to a simplistic smaller state goal that increasingly leaves people to deal with the pressures they face alone. We see that in the way they have chosen to respond to people's concerns about immigration with offensive gimmicks, rather than real solutions. And in the way that public service reform has increasingly come to mean concentrating power in the hands of a few large private firms.

One Nation Labour

The model of politics that sought to advance social progress by centralising power, either in markets or via top-down state intervention is unsuited to the coming decade. In 2015 George Osborne will leave the country with a deficit close to £80 billion and the national debt still rising. At the same time, a growing and ageing population will be putting public services under growing pressure.

We won't be able to simply spend more money to insulate families from these pressures. But neither do we accept that tighter fiscal circumstances simply mean we must leave people to sink or swim. We will only succeed in tough times if we harness

all the energies in our society. All of which points towards a different kind of statecraft for Labour if we win power in 2015. What will that look like?

First, devolution of power. Instead of a retreating state we will build an empowering state that spreads power to people and places, rather than hoarding it in Whitehall. That is how we go about addressing the roots of the pressures families face even in tough times; giving them the power to shape their own lives and communities through institutions and relationships that they value as being their own. For example:

- ending the direction of schools from Whitehall, with empowered schools, locally accountable;
- giving local communities the power to determine the shape of their high streets;

Second, shifting resources from high cost reaction to long-term prevention, and so reducing future demand on public spending. For example:

- police in their neighbourhoods preventing crime, not simply trying to put things right afterwards;
- a compulsory jobs guarantee for all young people out of work for a year, and everyone out of work for two years, rather than paying for the costs of long-term worklessness and poor health

Third, contribution. Our statecraft will be grounded in a concept of citizenship based around the idea of reciprocity and shared endeavour, building the character and resilience that enables people to come together in solving the problems we face, including by:

- actively recognising contribution in our social security system;
- not pulling up the drawbridge to the world and turning inwards, but expecting those that come to this country to learn English.

“Too often, people feel powerless in the face of these pressures and the hard truth for us is that they don’t think politicians have the ability to sort them out either. That is the task in front of us..”

Fourth, collaboration. Public services work best when they collaborate around the needs of individuals' needs, rather than according to bureaucratic silos or single contracts. One Nation Labour will put that principle at the heart of our public services, for example:

- reforming our health system so that it starts, not from its bureaucratic silos, but from the needs of the individual;
- empowering local community safety partnerships to set priorities for local policing

This is the second in the series of three One Nation publications, setting out the contribution of the policy review to Labour's policy making process. These documents will be submitted to the relevant policy commissions within the National Policy Forum and through that route play a part in building One Nation Labour's manifesto in 2015.



Jon Cruddas
Policy Review Coordinator



You are on
Level

← Mercers, Ni
and Montu
← Chemother
← Thalassaem

← Outpatients

← Access via Lift C
← Cavell • Cloudesty
Thornood • Victo



No smoking



No mobile phones

PEOPLE-POWERED PUBLIC SERVICES

One Nation Labour believes the challenges we face demand a new culture in our public services. Not old-style, top-down central control, with users as passive recipients of services. Nor a market-based individualism, which says we can simply transplant the principles of the private sector into the public sector. Instead, we need a culture of people-powered public services - putting power in the hands of patients, parents and all the users of public services.

Britain today

There are major structural pressures for change in our public services.

First, because the challenges facing public services are just too complex to deliver in an old-fashioned top-down way without the active engagement of the user concerned: from mental health, to autism, to care for the elderly, to giving kids the best start in the early years.

Second, because the knowledge and insight that users can bring to a service is even more important when there is less money around to cope with all the demands and challenges that face public services.

Third, and most importantly of all, because we live in an age where people's deference to experts is dramatically waning and people's expectations are growing ever higher about having their say.

The Tories' response to these challenges is to concentrate power in the hands of markets. The rhetoric of the 'Big Society' has ended up meaning bigger contracts for Serco and G4S. But just as it is wrong to believe that people can be passive recipients of services, to whom things are done to or for, so it simply doesn't work to see people as purely consumers either. If parents aren't happy with the teaching their child is receiving, they shouldn't have to take them out of the school, disrupting the family, moving them away from his or her friends. There should be a mechanism to improve the school.

Replacing one large public sector bureaucracy with a large private sector bureaucracy doesn't necessarily make the system less frustrating to engage with, nor offer anyone the choice to go elsewhere. And the size of the contracts being tendered mean that all too often there are only a handful of firms bidding to take them on. So as well as no choice for users, there is no competition to speak of and it is the taxpayer that pays the price.



**We need a culture
of people-
powered public
services.**

One Nation Labour

One Nation Labour has already set out how we plan to tackle inequality of income and opportunity, by reforming the economy so that it works for working people, not just a few at the top. But there is another inequality that we want to deal with: inequalities of power. Everyone - not just those with the sharpest elbows - should have the chance to shape their own lives.

People are as frustrated by the unresponsive state as the untamed market, whether it be the housing case not dealt with, the special educational needs situation unresolved, the problems on the estate un-addressed. And the causes of the frustrations are often the same in the private and public sector: unaccountable power with the individual left powerless to act. So just as it is One Nation Labour's cause to tackle unaccountable power in the private sector, so too in the public sector.

There will be four principles that will guide what we do.

First, we will change the assumption about who owns access to information because information is power. From schools to the NHS to local government, there is an extraordinary amount of information about users of public services. But the working assumption is still that people only get access to it when the professionals say it is ok or when people make a legal request for it. Our assumption will be the opposite. That is why we would introduce new powers for users of public services to track their case, such as the report of a crime; and new opportunities for parents to access real time data in schools, rather than waiting for parents' evenings twice a year .

Second, no user of public services should be left as an isolated individual, but should be able to link up with others in the same situation as themselves. There is now a wealth of evidence that the quality of people's social networks can make a real difference to the success of a public service, especially for services that aim to tackle complex problems like drug addiction, long term unemployment or mental health issues. But too often at the moment, rather than helping people come together, public servants feel they've been told by people at the centre that their job is not to help put people in touch. So the next labour government will make it a basic principle that users of public services - be it a patient suffering a chronic condition or a parent of a special needs child - be put in touch with other people who share that service and are in a similar situation.

Third, every user of a public service has something to contribute so the presumption should be that decisions should be made by users and public servants together, not public servants on their own. That is why we will empower parents by giving them new powers to demand action is taken on standards in their local school, rather than having to wait for somebody in Whitehall to intervene if they have serious concerns. And it is why we would ensure patients are involved right at the outset of any decisions made about the restructuring of NHS services, rather than those decisions being taken behind closed doors.

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Fourth, we will devolve power down both to people and places. It is right that we elect a national government to set key benchmarks for what people can expect in our public services. Like how long we have to wait for an operation in the NHS or what standards of service the police should provide. But how specific services are delivered within these standards and guarantees cannot simply be dictated from Whitehall. As part of Labour’s Policy Review, our local government innovation taskforce has been looking at how we can deliver more with less, whilst Andrew Adonis has been leading work on city regions and their potential to drive our future prosperity. This work is clear that by hoarding power and decision-making at the centre, we end up with duplication and waste in public services. That is why we are committed to a radical reshaping of services so that local services can come together and make the decisions that matter to their own communities. Driving innovation by rethinking how we deliver social care, policing, and services for troubled families on the basis of the places they serve not the silos people work in

Key Facts:

- Decisions about local education provision, including the oversight of schools and the setting up of new schools are now taken by the Secretary of State. Nearly 4,000 schools are now run out of Whitehall.
- Even within the government's narrow conception of parental empowerment, new evidence has confirmed that the Free Schools programme isn't about parents - fewer than one in four (24 out of 98) of the Free Schools opened last September have been set up by parent groups, the majority are run by faith groups, academy chains, voluntary groups and independent schools
- There is no formal mechanism for patients and the public to be actively involved in decision-making over the initial design of proposals to change NHS services like hospitals, even though this is crucial to the legitimacy of them
- The government is now trying to take sweeping central powers to force changes to hospital services across an entire region without proper public consultation

Key policy:

- We will give local people a real say in shaping the future of their local NHS services, including by giving patients and the public a seat at the table from the very start of any process that draws up plans for change, including the closure of hospital services;
- A new right for parents to get swift action on raising standards in local schools
- New powers for public service users to access and control information, including the ability to track their case (whether it be an application for a parking permit or a report of a crime); and new opportunities for parents to access real time data in schools throughout term-time;
- Make it a basic principle that users of public services – be patient suffering a chronic condition or a parent of a special needs child – be put in touch with other people who share that service and are in a similar situation
- A commitment to ensure decisions are taken closer to local people, including the right for local communities to have a say in the hiring of local police commanders and set local policing priorities.



SUPPORTING FAMILIES: A BETTER WORK LIFE BALANCE

Many parents in Britain today are under pressure, struggling both to earn enough to support their families, and to have enough time to spend with them. When children are young, too many parents find that the high cost of childcare either keeps them out of work or eats into their wages, making it harder to make work pay. And as children get older, low pay, insecure work and inflexible working practices mean that many families feel that the time they want to spend with their families is squeezed, by working long hours to make ends meet, or by irregular hours which make it difficult to plan.

One Nation Labour's first priority will be to put power and responsibility in the hands of parents so that they can take control of their own lives. We will expand childcare support so that parents can fulfill their ambitions to work, and so that they see a better reward from doing so. And our reforms to ensure that work pays and to tackle the exploitative use of zero hours contracts will make sure that parents have better choices about their working hours and how they fit their jobs around family life.

Britain today

Rising childcare costs have left too many families with young children feeling trapped out of work, as well as placing pressure on family budgets for those in jobs.

According to figures from the Family and Childcare Trust, last year childcare costs increased five times faster than wages .¹

Cost of nursery places

Year	Average weekly part time* nursery cost** for child 2 and over (England) £	Average weekly earnings as of May £	Nursery cost (part time, 2 and over) as a % of average weekly earnings
2013	107	477	22.43%
2012	99	468	21.15%
2011	94	461	20.39%
2010	82	449	18.26%
Change 2010-13 (£)	25	28	
% change	30.49%	6.24%	

* Part time is defined here as the cost of 25 hours of childcare.

** Figures in cash terms

¹ Sources: Daycare Trust/Family and Childcare Trust Childcare Costs Survey, from 2010 to 2013 ONS, Employment and Earnings - Average Weekly Earnings By Sector (£): SA

Cost of nursery places

One reason high childcare costs are so damaging is that they represent a major barrier to work. A survey for the Department for Work and Pensions found that a third of families said that not being able to afford childcare was stopping them from working or increasing their hours.² This is mounting up costs to the public purse. Calculations by the IPPR suggest that there could be an average net return to the government of £4,860 (over four years) for each additional mother in paid employment.³



Six in ten children say they don't get enough time with their parents

High childcare costs have also put pressure on the budgets of working families, alongside a toxic mix of stagnating wages, the rising cost of essentials such as food, travel and energy, and changes to the benefits system. Energy bills have risen by almost £300 for families since 2010, and the real wages of working people have fallen by £1,600 a year. Over half of people now say they struggle to keep up with bills and loan repayments, up from 35 per cent in 2006, while nearly half (44 per cent) of parents say they have to cut back on spending in the run-up to pay day⁴.

Most crucially of all, high childcare costs mean that for many parents, balancing work and family life is becoming more difficult, and that they need to work long hours to make ends meet. Six in ten children say they don't get enough time with their parents;⁵ and around 40 per cent of parents are spending two hours or less with their children every day, rising to nearly 60 per cent among those who work over 45 hours a week.⁶ The rise of zero hours contracts and insecure work means that planning to spend time with the family, and organising family life is harder. 40 per cent of parents work hours that vary from week to week, and two thirds of parents working atypical hours struggle to find childcare to meet their needs.⁷

² Ingun Borg and Andrew Stocks (2012) A survey of childcare and work decisions among families with children DWP.

³ These calculations assume that free childcare is funded for 25 hours a week. See Dalia Ben Galim (2011) Making the case for Universal Childcare IPPR

⁴ Money Advice Service (2013) The Financial Capability of the UK.

⁵ Family and Childcare Trust (2012) Parents Week 2012 - our survey of time-pressured parents

⁶ Time, Health and the Family - what working families want. Swan J and Cooper CL. Working Families 2011

⁷ Daycare Trust (2011) Open all hours? Flexible childcare in the 24/7 era.

A third of parents still say that no flexible working is available where they work, and more than half of parents report not being able to go home on time.⁸ These pressures on family life are adding to the stress felt by families, and overall levels of stress and poor mental health among parents have risen, particularly among lone parents and less well off parents.⁹ In a survey for Working Families in 2014, a third of parents reported being more stressed than a year ago.¹⁰

The Tories' answers to these pressures fundamentally misunderstand the nature of the pressures on family life.

Their solution to the childcare problem, a fixation on loosening the ratios of carers to children, offers no real help for families. Indeed many providers, professionals and parents are concerned that ratio changes could threaten quality and child safety, affecting the ability of childcare workers to meet the emotional and attachment needs of babies and young children.

And their answer to the pressures on families - the introduction of a tax break for some married couples provides no answers. Nobody chooses to marry - or stay married - for a financial reward, particularly one so small (less than £4 a week). Moreover, six out of seven families with children will not even be eligible for the tax break because both partners pay income tax, and families who claim Universal Credit alongside the tax break will see its value reduced by two thirds.¹¹ It is a policy out of time with how life is lived by most couples.

One Nation Labour

Labour's first priority will be to put power and responsibility in the hands of parents so that they can take control of their own lives.

Because high childcare costs are preventing too many parents from fulfilling their ambitions to work, as well as leaving dents in the family budgets of working families, we will introduce 25 hours free childcare for all working parents of three and four year olds.

44 per cent of parents say they have to cut back on spending in the run-up to pay day

⁸ Working Families (2014) Time, health and the family: what working families want Working Families.

⁹ Nuffield Foundation (2012) Social trends and mental health: introducing the main findings

¹⁰ Working Families (2014) Time, health and the family: what working families want Working Families.

¹¹ Robert Joyce (2013) The new tax break for married couples IFS

And to help all families with primary school aged children to have security about childcare availability, we will offer a 'primary childcare guarantee' to ensure that working parents have access to wrap-around childcare from 8 to 6, helping them to be able to plan their working lives with the security of knowing that childcare will be available when they need it.

Our measures to tackle the cost-of-living crisis and to make work pay will also give parents more choice about their working hours, and help to stabilise family finances. We will tackle low pay by strengthening the National Minimum Wage and promoting the Living Wage, and our freeze on energy prices will reduce the pressure on family budgets. And because zero hours contracts that don't allow families to plan can disrupt family life, we will ban the exploitative use of these contracts so that firms can't require zero-hours workers to be available on the off-chance that they will be needed.



Key Facts:

- Last year childcare costs increased five times faster than wages.
- Almost a third (31per cent) of parents report that there is no flexible working on offer where they work
- More than half of parents report not being able to go home on time
- 40 per cent of parents work irregular hours.

Key policy:

- Labour will extend free childcare for three and four year olds from 15 to 25 hours for working parents, paid for by an increase in the bank levy.
- We will introduce a Primary Childcare Guarantee giving all parents of primary-aged children access to childcare from 8am-6pm through their school.
- Labour will tackle low pay and insecurity by strengthening the minimum wage, promoting the Living Wage, and banning exploitative zero hour contracts that don't allow families to plan their working life to fit with their family commitments.



EDUCATION

Every parent wants to ensure their child gets the best possible education. They do not want to have to fight for access to one good school, or feel like they have no option but to open a school themselves. Parents deserve the peace of mind that comes from straightforward access to a choice of good local schools staffed by qualified and highly skilled teachers.

That is why One Nation Labour will put raising the quality of teaching at the heart of its mission to reform the education system. We are committed to ensuring all teachers become qualified and that they continue to improve and develop their expertise throughout their careers.

Parents also want the security that comes from knowing underperformance in schools will be identified and dealt with early and that they can have an influence on the provision of education in their area. This can only happen through real local accountability and oversight of standards and by empowering communities to have their say. So Labour will devolve power away from Whitehall and reconnect schools to their local communities.

For One Nation Labour, a good education is not only crucial to the life chances of our young people, it is the foundation on which a cohesive, prosperous society is built, in which everyone is equipped to play their part. So Labour will deliver a system that caters for every child, including the 'forgotten 50 per cent' of young people who want the option of a high quality vocational route through education.

Britain today

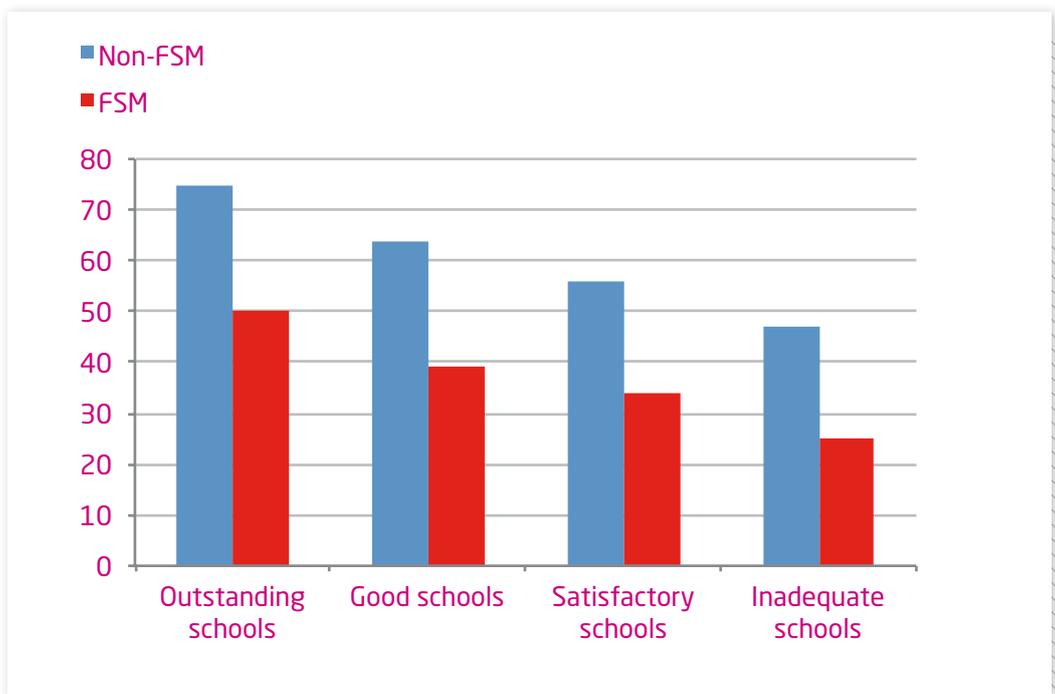
As a country, we are failing too many of our young people who are leaving school without the basics. Last year, the UK came 21st in science, 23rd in reading and 26th in maths in the PISA international league table.¹² A key reason for this is that the gap between young people from disadvantaged backgrounds and the rest in these core subjects is far too wide. Currently, around 40 per cent of young people still do not achieve five GCSEs including English and Maths.¹³

¹² OECD PISA data; 2012

¹³ House of Commons Education Select Committee, January 2013, http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-committees/Education/EIGHTH_REPORT-GCSEs_to_ECBS_Reform-HC_808.pdf

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Percentage of pupils eligible for Free School Meals attaining 5 GCSEs A* to C including English and Maths ¹⁴



Standards tend to improve when parents demand more from their local schools. Yet as a result of the government's reforms, the Secretary of State now singlehandedly decides on the opening of new schools in local areas and is trying to oversee more than 3,500 schools from the Department of Education. So parents and the local community have found themselves shut out of decisions about local education provision, which means poor performance is being left unchallenged for too long. Attempting to oversee thousands of schools from Whitehall is not working - the snapshot assessments of schools available to ministers are too often based on out-of-date data without the benefit of current, local intelligence. This means the system is far too slow in responding to parents' concerns about falling standards.

The Government is instead content to change the structure of schools and then leave them to 'sink or swim', allowing underperformance and inequalities in education to take root. The recent high profile cases of failing "Free Schools" highlight the need for local oversight of standards. These include the Al-Madinah secondary Free School in Derby, now closed after being found by Ofsted to be in 'chaos' and using unqualified teachers without proper training, and the Discovery New School in Crawley, judged inadequate, with Ofsted reporting that "many pupils are in danger of leaving the school without being able to read and write properly".

¹⁴ Ofsted, 'Unseen Children: Access and achievement 20 years on', June 2013

One Nation Labour

One Nation Labour will raise standards and give all parents the certainty that comes from meaningful local accountability and oversight of standards in education; high performing, qualified teachers in all schools; and quality opportunities for every child, including those who want to gain vocational qualifications and an apprenticeship.

1. Raising the quality of teaching

Parents want the peace of mind that comes from knowing teachers in their local school are trained to the highest possible standard. Key to achieving that ambition is improving the status and quality of teaching. Rather than undermining the profession as the government has by allowing schools to hire unqualified teachers, we need to learn from the best performing international systems, such as Shanghai and Singapore. In these jurisdictions the teaching workforce is highly trained and teachers are able to progress and lead innovation in their school and beyond.

One Nation Labour will re-professionalise teaching by ensuring that all teachers in state funded schools become qualified. Once qualified, teachers will have more opportunities to undertake high quality continuous professional development and - in line with many other high status professions - will have their skills and knowledge independently revalidated throughout their careers.

We will also give teachers new opportunities to specialise in their careers. Currently, too many of our best teachers are encouraged out of the classroom and into administrative leadership positions. Instead, we will generate opportunities for teachers who want to progress by building their expertise in a particular subject or teaching practice. This will help us build a workforce of highly skilled teachers - including in critical subjects such as maths, science and ICT where we currently face shortages - to raise standards in their schools, their local area and across the wider education system.

Parents also want the peace of mind that comes from knowing their child is learning in a well ordered classroom. Ofsted's recent annual report found 'low-level disruption' in the classroom to be a significant problem in our schools. This is bad for education standards, with disruptive students often holding other students back. Teachers often report having the requisite powers to deal with bad behaviour but not the confidence or skills to effectively use them. So we will work with teacher training providers to make behaviour management a more significant focus within Initial Teacher Training (ITT). This will help build the skills of newly qualified teachers so they are more prepared to deal with bad behaviour from day one in the classroom.

2. Providing a high standard vocational route through education

One Nation Labour is committed to modernising and shifting the balance in our education system so that vocational and technical learning gains the same status as a purely 'academic' education. Our current failure to deliver quality opportunities to the 'Forgotten 50 per cent' of young people not going to university is preventing them from fully contributing to society and meeting their potential. Parents want to know that whether their child chooses a vocational or academic route they will be offered a high standard education leading to real career opportunities.

So Labour will work to drive up attainment in the core skills of English and maths by ensuring all young people, regardless of their prior achievement, continue to study these subjects up to the age of 18. The applied study of English and maths compliments all other qualifications, vocational and academic, and it is crucial that young people continue to use these skills and develop them post-16 as they are needed in every career.

Labour will also introduce a new gold-standard Technical Baccalaureate for young people to achieve at 18. This will include a work experience placement and a high standard vocational qualification accredited by employers. The Tech Bacc will give young people pursuing a vocational route something prestigious to aim for and act as a stepping stone into an apprenticeship, further study or skilled work at 18.

Further education colleges have been sidelined by successive governments but they hold a great deal of potential. Labour would give colleges a central role in delivering our vision for the forgotten 50 per cent of young people. Whilst many colleges offer innovative teaching and high quality vocational education, we need many others to improve if they are to fulfil this role. So we will transform high performing colleges with top quality teaching, strong employer links and high standards in English and maths into new specialist Institutes of Technical Education. These Institutes will be licensed to deliver Labour's Tech Bacc and the training component of apprenticeships. This will give parents an assurance that the Tech Bacc is high quality and will help drive up standards of vocational education in England, giving other colleges the motivation to improve.

3. Local accountability and tackling underperformance

The international evidence suggests that high performing education systems combine high levels of individual school autonomy with strong frameworks of local accountability. So Labour will end the current divide in our schools between those with freedoms to innovate and those without by extending to all schools the freedoms academies currently enjoy, such as freedom over the national curriculum. With these extra freedoms must come local accountability and oversight to maintain standards, devolve power down away from central government and empower communities to shape education locally.

Labour will therefore introduce a new 'middle tier' between central government and individual schools to ensure underperformance is identified and challenged early and schools are answerable to local parents rather than Whitehall on standards. We believe parents should be given the opportunity to set up parent-led academies, but this can't be the only answer to parental involvement in local education - we also need to empower parents to do much more to shape and improve their existing local schools. This will include giving parents the power to demand local action to address underperformance or issues of concern in all schools, This will help ensure problems are tackled early, before they take root.

With a growing crisis in primary school places Labour will prioritise funding for new schools at areas with a shortage of places, ending the Government's policy of setting up new schools simply where there are bidders to open Free Schools. Local communities should have much more say in the new schools being opened in their area - decisions should be transparent and based on local intelligence regarding the kind of provision that is needed. This includes decisions around the structure of new schools, with bids for new schools, including new academies and maintained schools, being judged on local merit rather than ideology.

We also need a renewed focus on tackling the underperformance that still persists in some schools and areas of the country. Today, new pockets of underperformance exist across England - some coastal towns and rural areas are lagging behind and in particular certain communities and cohorts within them, such as white working class boys. These must be tackled with the same focus on incentivising collaboration between

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in our schools
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with freedoms to
innovate and those
without
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schools and spreading the expertise and best practice in teaching and leadership that worked so well with London Challenge - schools in the capital are now the best in the country.

Key Facts:

- In March this year the National Audit Office warned that we need an additional 256,000 places by 2015. 240,000 of the places needed by 2015 are primary places.
- The proportion of good or outstanding schools in the most deprived areas is 20 percentage points lower than in the least deprived areas.
- The difference between a very effective teacher and a poorly performing teacher is large. For example during one year with a very effective maths teacher, pupils gain 40per cent more in their learning than they would with a poorly performing maths teacher.
- Government policies are failing to reduce educational inequality - the attainment gap between poorer and wealthier pupils increased by 0.3per cent overall last year (it now stands at 26.7per cent), with almost half of local authorities (72 out of 152, 47.4per cent) experiencing a rise.

Key policy:

- Labour will ensure all teachers become qualified and then continue to improve and develop throughout their careers, including requiring all teachers to have their skills and knowledge revalidated throughout their careers;
- All schools will be granted freedoms academies currently enjoy, allowing them to innovate and raise standards within a system of local accountability.
- Instead of seeking to run schools from Whitehall, Labour will introduce a 'middle tier' between schools and central Government to oversee standards, intervene when schools underperform and ensure all children have fair access to education.
- We will give parents the power to 'call-in' an intervention from this middle tier to tackle underperformance or a dip in standards in their school when they have serious concerns.
- To deliver for the Forgotten 50 per cent, we will introduce a Technical Baccalaureate, reform further education colleges to create high quality Institutes of Technical Education licensed to deliver the Tech Bacc and apprenticeships, and ensure all young people undertake work experience.
- We will raise standards in English and maths by only licensing colleges with high performance in these core subjects to deliver the Tech Bacc and apprenticeships. We will also ensure that all young people study English and maths to 18, regardless of their prior achievement.
- Labour will prioritise capital spending at areas with a shortage of school places so every child is offered a local school place.



WHOLE-PERSON CARE

The 21st Century is asking questions of our 20th Century health and care system that it is increasingly unable to answer. At the moment, we have three fragmented systems to deal with different aspects of health and care: physical health in acute hospitals; mental health often in separate services on the fringes of the NHS; and social care in council-run services. This reflects bureaucratic Whitehall silos, rather than the complex reality of people's lives.

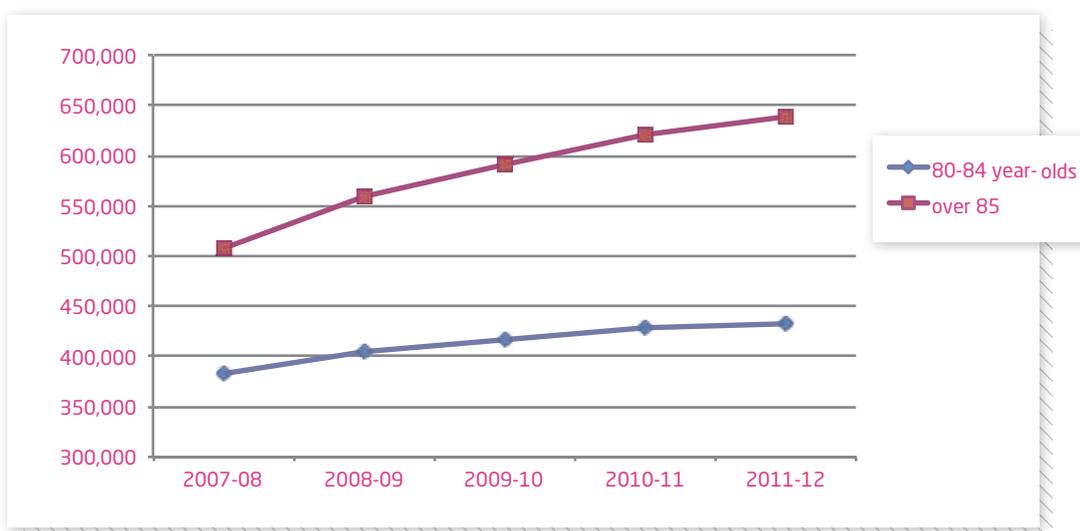
One Nation Labour's vision is 'whole-person care', bringing together physical health, mental health and social care into a single service to meet all of a person's care needs.

Britain today

For too long, we have tolerated a system that places the needs of the bureaucratic state above the people it is supposed to be serving. Whether it be older people isolated and lonely in their homes, the neglect of mental illness, or families passed from pillar to post by different professionals, the system too often leaves people disempowered and frustrated.

Future pressures on the NHS, including pressures caused by an ageing population and increasing numbers of people living with one or more long-term conditions (such as cancer, diabetes and dementia), mean that integration of health and care will be critical if we are going to continue to improve these services when finances are tight. For example, today, we are seeing rising numbers of hospital admissions for elderly people, many of which could be avoided with better preventative care to help people stay healthy and independent in their homes.

The increase in hospital emergency admissions of older people



Yet at the moment, billions of pounds of taxpayers' money is being wasted on paying for failure, for example:

- people with physical illnesses are struggling with undiagnosed mental health problems. According to research from the London School of Economics, untreated mental illness costs the NHS around £10 billion each year;
- people are not being discharged from hospital sufficiently quickly because help is not there at home. In 2013, nearly 872,000 hospital bed days were lost due to delayed discharges, costing the NHS £227million.

Yet rather than focus on re-shaping care around users, the government has instead prioritised a top-down reorganisation, at a cost of £3bn, which has put fragmentation, rather than integration at the heart of the NHS. In particular, there's a real danger that the pressure to put individual services out to competitive tendering will see care packages broken up and important relationships between organisations fractured, hindering collaboration for the benefit of patients and exposing them to market forces in an area of their lives where they don't think it is relevant.

Moreover, as a result of this government's costly reforms, we are seeing the return of the A&E crisis to our NHS: trolley waits are up, ambulance queues are up, and we're even seeing people being ferried to hospitals in police cars because ambulances aren't available.

A major cause of this crisis has been David Cameron's failure to build a 21st century integrated health and care system. Instead we have seen reductions in social care provision leading to fewer older people getting the care they need at home, which means more are having to be admitted to hospital and once treated it's harder to discharge them because the help isn't there at home.

The A&E crisis has also been caused by this Government's systematic dismantling of alternatives to A&E, with a quarter of walk-in centres closed, NHS Direct scrapped, the 48-hour GP appointment guarantee axed and Labour's scheme for GP evening and weekend opening cut. The result has been attendance at hospital A&Es increasing three times faster since 2010 than it did between 2004-2010.

One Nation Labour

One Nation Labour's vision is of a system that puts the interests of patients above those of Whitehall, empowering people to shape the care that will work for them. That involves three priorities for reform.

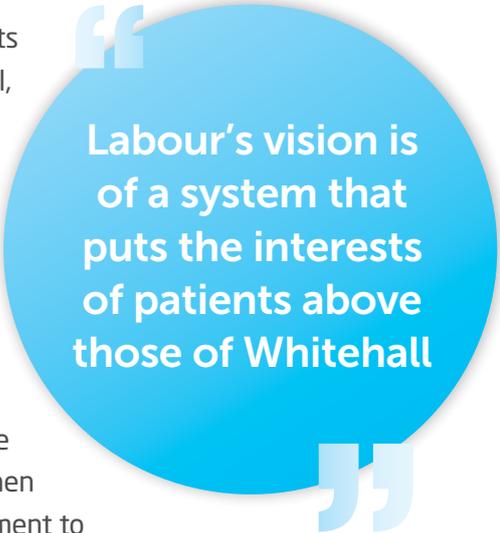
First, the integration of health and care services, including more joined-up, commissioning at local level, with local authorities working in partnership with Clinical Commissioning Groups in order to provide the care that people need. This will be critical at a time when resources are tight because it will enable government to avoid paying for failure, by shifting greater resources into prevention and reducing unnecessary hospital visits.

It would also empower patients and individuals because it would mean:

- People's care being coordinated by a single named person, ending the frustration of families being passed around between different organisations and having to repeat the same information over and over again
- More care provided in people's home - offering greater choice and control about how and where people are treated
- Mental health given as much priority as physical health, helping to tackle the scandal of undiagnosed mental illness which can blight lives and cost the NHS billions, and ensuring that people have the same right to psychological therapies in the NHS as they currently do for drugs and medical treatments

Second, a commitment to no further top-down re-organisations. Our fragile NHS has no capacity for further structural upheaval, having been ground down by the current round. That is why we have been clear that any changes we make will be delivered through the organisations and structures that Labour inherits.

Third, repealing the government's disastrous Health and Social Care Act, to put the right principles back at the heart of the NHS. Compulsory competition and marketisation of health care risks the fragmentation of care when the needs of people in the 21st century demand integration. That is why we would repeal the Act and put the founding principles of cooperation, care and compassion, back at the core of our NHS.



Labour's vision is of a system that puts the interests of patients above those of Whitehall

Key Facts:

- There are thousands fewer nurses in the NHS compared to May 2010, and nurse training places have been reduced by 17 per cent, storing up problems for the future
- David Cameron's damaging top-down reorganisation of the NHS cost £3bn. A YouGov survey of NHS staff in summer 2013 found 69 per cent saying the reorganisation has harmed patient care, compared to just 3 per cent saying it has improved patient care
- Thousands of patients are being denied vital treatments, such as cataract removals and hip replacements, in order to save money - leading to a postcode lottery in services available in different parts of the country. A survey in January 2014 found that seven out of 10 GPs believe rationing of treatments has increased since the government's NHS reforms came into force.
- An A&E crisis: in the last 12 months, almost a million people have waited more than four hours in A&E

Key policy:

- Whole person care, bringing together physical health, mental health and social care into a single service to meet all of a person's needs.
- A pledge to ensure no further top-down reorganisations, should Labour be elected in 2015
- Repealing David Cameron's Health and Social Care Act to put NHS values back at the heart of our health service

SUPPORTING AND REWARDING CONTRIBUTION

A One Nation Society will be one in which everyone has a chance and a responsibility to contribute, and in which that contribution is fairly rewarded. For Labour, the party of work, the social security system is a key building block to make that a reality.

Today, too many people are missing out on the chance to contribute through employment, with thousands of young people, women and disabled people locked out of the labour market in an economy that doesn't work for working people.

We also have a system that fails to reward people's contribution fairly. Too many people in work face low pay and job insecurity. People saving for a pension are subject to rip-off pension charges that mean they won't see the full benefit of their contributions. And those who find themselves needing to rely on the social security system find it does too little to recognise their service while in work, with many feeling that rather than offering 'something for nothing' when they lose their jobs, they get 'nothing for something', with no recognition for the years of contribution they have made.

A One Nation Labour approach will be to do everything we can to increase people's chance to contribute through employment. And we'll go further to recognise the value of that contribution, through tackling low pay, making sure that people get the most out of the wages they have put aside for a pension, and restoring the contributory principle to the heart of our social security system.

Britain Today:

Too many people today are denied the chance to contribute through paid work. We have record levels of youth unemployment with over 900,000 young people unemployed, and without a chance to show what they can do. The Government's flagship scheme to deal with youth unemployment, the Youth Contract has failed to make a dent in the problem, with only one - eightieth of the wage subsidy budget being spent.¹⁵

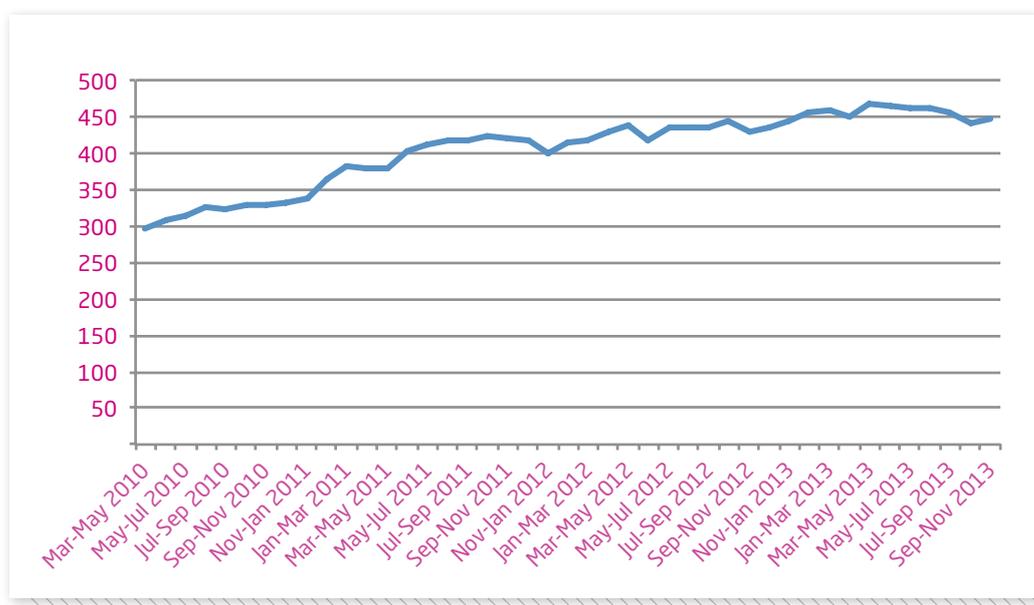
Long term unemployment is also at unacceptable levels, with over 800,000 people out



We have a system that fails to reward people's contribution fairly.

¹⁵ Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission (2013) State of the Nation 2013: social mobility and child poverty in Great Britain

Number of people out of work for 24 months



of work for a year, and over 440,000 out of work for two years.¹⁶ Too many disabled people remain locked out of a labour market they are desperate to get into, with the Government's Work Programme failing to find a job for 95 per cent of people claiming disability benefits who go through it.

When people are in work, their contribution too often is not properly rewarded. Today there are 5 million workers in the UK - 1 in 5 employees and 1 in 3 female employees - who are low paid¹⁷, and wages are an average of £1,600 lower than in 2010.¹⁸ The Tory rhetoric about 'skivers and strivers' conceals the fact that their cuts are reducing the incomes of those in work still further, with House of Commons Library figures suggesting that the value of cuts specifically directed to working people is six times that of those specifically directed at those out of work.¹⁹ For the first time in the poverty statistics collected since 1961, there are more households in poverty where somebody is in work than there are poor out-of-work households.²⁰

And when people need to rely on the system, in old-age, they too often find that it does little to reward their years of contribution. The wages that people have put aside for their pension entitlements are also being eroded by high and hidden charges. The Government have delayed the introduction of a cap on charges, and are rejecting moves to make those charges more transparent, leaving savers still hit with hidden costs.

¹⁶ Labour market statistics, Jan 2014

¹⁷ Low paid workers are defined as earning below two-thirds gross median hourly pay for all employees.

¹⁸ House of Commons Library figures, calculating wages after inflation.

¹⁹ House of Commons Library estimates.

²⁰ House of Commons Library analysis of Households Below Average Income and predecessor statistics.

And because the Tories see everyone out of work as a 'skiver' they don't recognise that many of the unemployed have made years of contributions, with Jobseekers Allowance, offering just £72 a week, whether someone has worked for four years or forty.

One Nation Labour

Labour wants to enable and reward contribution throughout the system, and throughout people's lifetimes. First, that means making sure that everyone has the chance to work, and that those who can't work can contribute in other ways. Second, we want to see fair recognition for the contribution that people make in the labour market, rather than trapping them in low paid and insecure jobs. And third, we want to go back to the principle at the heart of our social security system, that the support that people can draw on when they need it, whether that's in unemployment or old age, should relate to the contributions they've made throughout their life. Too often at present, people feel that the social security system offers not only 'something for nothing', but 'nothing for something', no reward for paying into the system during years in work. So a One Nation Labour government will put contribution back at the heart of our social security system.

Enabling contribution

Labour believes that everyone who can should have the opportunity to contribute to society through paid work, and a responsibility to take up the opportunities that are offered them. At the moment, a one size fits all system of back to work support leaves too many people unable to fulfil their potential.

That's particularly the case for young people and the long-term unemployed, so we'll introduce a Youth Jobs Guarantee for all those who have been out of work for a year, and a compulsory jobs guarantee for all those out of work for two years. We believe in the responsibility as well as the right to contribute, so people who don't take up these jobs will face losing their benefits.

And because skills are so important in today's jobs market, we'll introduce a Basic Skills Test to make sure that all jobseekers get the support they need with the literacy, numeracy and IT skills that too many lack.

We need a new approach to employment for disabled people, with a testing regime that focuses on what they can do, and the support they need to get back into work, as well as looking at what we can do to enable those who can't work to contribute in other ways.

And we'll help many more mothers to achieve their employment ambitions, with a guarantee of wrap-around childcare for primary school aged children, and 25 hours of free childcare for all working parents of 3 and 4 year olds.

Rewarding contribution in work

We want those who do work to receive a fair reward for their contribution. Labour will strengthen the National Minimum Wage, and support the campaign for a Living Wage by requiring listed companies to report on whether or not they pay it, using government procurement to promote the living wage.

In the first year of a Labour government we will introduce 'Make Work Pay' contracts in which all new Living Wage employers who commit to paying the living wage for the whole Parliament will keep the tax and National Insurance exchequer savings for the first year.

Recognising contribution in the social security system

We want a social security system that delivers a fair recognition of the contributions people have made throughout their working lives when they come to draw on it, whether in old age or unemployment. To make sure people see the full benefit of their pension saving we'll cap pension charges, and make sure that all costs are transparent.

We also want to make sure that the back to work support for older people recognises their years of employment, so we will offer extra tailored, support to older workers who lose their jobs.

We have set out plans for Local Authorities to recognise contribution when it comes to allocating social housing, with preference given to those who put something into the community, whether through work or volunteering,

And we will now go further to place the sense of 'something for something' back at the heart of our social security system, examining a fully costed plan to pay a higher rate of Jobseekers Allowance in the first weeks of unemployment to those who have paid into the system for longer.



Key Facts:

- Over 900,000 young people are unemployed.
- 440,000 people have been out of work for two or more years.
- 95 per cent of people on disability benefits leave the Government's Work Programme without finding a job.
- 9 million workers are at risk from hidden costs and charges in pension schemes.
- Contributory Jobseeker's Allowance is paid at the same rate for those who have paid in for four years as those who have paid in for forty.

Key policy:

- A compulsory jobs guarantee for all young people out of work for a year, and everyone out of work for two years, that they will have to take up or lose their benefits.
- A Basic Skills Test to make sure that all jobseekers get the support they need with the literacy, numeracy and IT skills that too many lack.
- Support for the Living Wage with 'Make Work Pay' contracts for all employers who sign up to pay the Living Wage in the first year of a Labour Government.
- A guarantee of wrap-around childcare for primary school aged children, and 25 hours of free childcare for all working parents of 3 and 4 year olds.
- Caps and full transparency on pension charges.
- Recognising contribution through work or volunteering in social housing allocations.
- More support for older workers who lose their jobs.
- Examining how we could fund higher Jobseekers Allowance in the first weeks of unemployment for people who have paid into the system for longer.



HOUSING

Britain is not building enough new homes to meet the country's growing demand.²¹ According to independent experts, we are building less than half of the homes a year we need to meet demand. This means fewer houses for young people starting out in their working life and less homes for families trying to get ahead.

The ability to get ahead, to live in the type of home you aspire to, and the security of knowing you can afford to live in your home is the cornerstone of a strong society. It's a basic aspiration that working people want for themselves and their children - one that should be open to everyone. And yet for too long, families have been left powerless to change things - blocked by developers sitting on land, and by politicians unwilling to take the tough decisions necessary to build the homes people need.

One Nation Labour will push power and responsibility down to local communities, so they are able to build the homes this country needs.

Britain Today

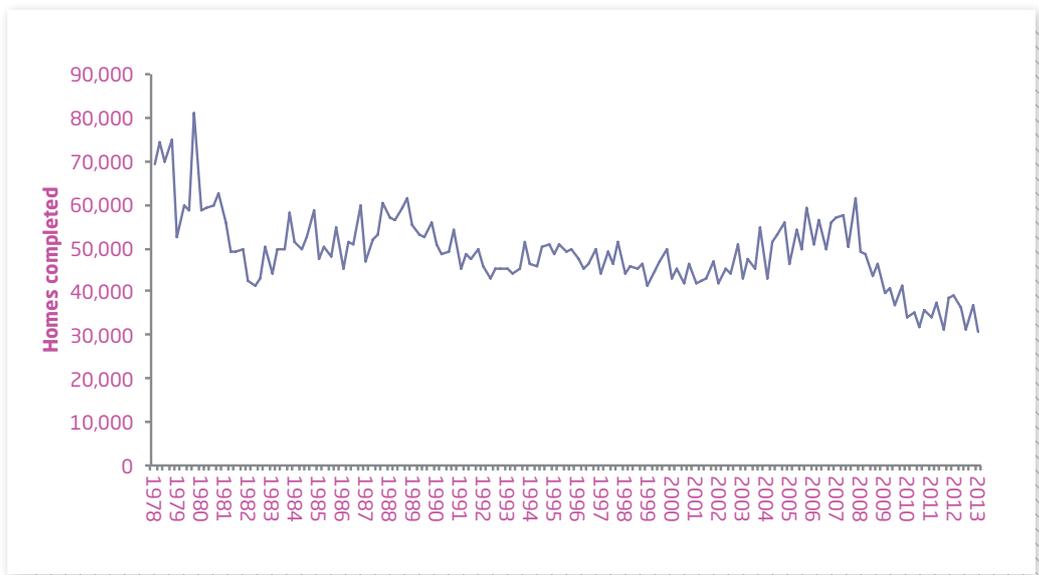
Today, Britain is in the midst of the biggest housing crisis in a generation. The gap between the number of homes we build each year and what we need is unprecedented at over 100,000 each year. If unchecked, the overall gap between housing supply and need is set to rise to 2 million by 2020 - the equivalent of 5 cities the size of Birmingham, the second most populated city in the UK. This housing shortage means that more and more working people are unable to afford the homes they aspire to. Home ownership is becoming impossible for millions of people and pushing ever greater numbers into an insecure and expensive rental market. This has an enormous impact on our communities. It puts pressure on family budgets and pushes people into poor and indecent homes. It stops people putting down roots and feeling part of a community. It affects people's health and emotional well-being, their achievement in education and their ability to get work.

Families up and down the country have paid the price for this reality, but have been powerless to do anything to change it because of developers who, too often, have a stake in keeping supply below demand and politicians that have been unwilling to take the tough decisions needed to build the homes that communities need.

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²¹ Mind the Gap, Housing Supply in a Cold Climate, Smith Institute, 2011: <http://www.smith-institute.org.uk/file/MindtheGapHousingSupplyinaColdClimate.pdf>

Homes Completed



Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-house-building> and clicking on table 211.

The Government has made no headway in tackling this problem. Under Labour, in the second half of the last decade house building grew to 176,650 in 2007, but in the last 12 months under the Coalition completions fell to 107,950. The Government's policies are more about propping up a broken market than they are about bringing about the real reform that is required. The Tories' flagship housebuilding policy, the New Homes Bonus, has failed to have any impact.²² Three years of upheaval under this Government's planning reforms has resulted in fewer, not more consents for new housing. And while Labour supports Help-to-Buy, a policy of boosting housing demand with a taxpayer guarantee without taking steps to increase supply will only make homes more unaffordable in the medium term.

One Nation Labour

With the biggest housing crisis in a generation and a squeeze on living standards, building homes for working people trying to get ahead will be a priority for a One Nation Labour Government. Labour will commit to closing the gap between supply and demand which currently stands at over 100,000 homes a year. And our ambition, by the end of the next Parliament, is that at least 200,000 homes are being built a year.

²² The National Audit Office recently concluded: 'We found no association between individual local authorities' planning application approval rates and their number of homes qualifying for the Bonus'.

This will mean more decent, affordable homes for young people trying to get on the housing ladder, for families trying to put down roots and for older people trying to downsize.

To deliver this ambition, we will build the next generation of New Towns and Garden Cities in the areas where people are demanding more homes. We will create New Town Development Corporations, in partnership with local areas, with the power to raise finance, assemble land and undertake development.

We will also strengthen the powers that councils have to unlock development. We will tackle land banking and speculation by giving local authorities stronger 'use it or lose it powers'. Councils will be able to charge developers escalating fees for sitting on land with planning permission to incentivise them to release the land. And if they don't, councils would be able to use compulsory purchase powers to release the land as a last resort. We will also give local authorities that want to expand a "right to grow" with access to a fast-track planning process that will resolve disputes with neighbouring authorities that are blocking development. We will reform the Housing Revenue Account system so that councils can make better use of the resources at their disposal.

Finally, we will give communities a larger share of the gains from development to invest in additional homes, new infrastructure, services and improvements in their communities. We will also take steps to ensure that local people benefit from housing in their area. By supporting the growth of small and custom builders, we will increase the diversity of the homes we build and give communities the chance to design the homes they want.

The Labour Party has commissioned Sir Michael Lyons to develop a roadmap for how we would implement all these policies and deliver our ambition.

By getting Britain building again, we will help bring down the cost of living by bringing home ownership within reach of many more people and applying downward pressure on rents. But with 9 million people renting privately, including over 1 million families with children, in a sector that is all too often unaffordable, unstable and subject to poor conditions and bad management, we must do more. So we will regulate letting agents and end rip-off fees for tenants; provide stability and affordability by enabling long term tenancies and predictable rents; and tackle rogue landlords through a national register of landlords and greater powers for local councils to introduce licensing schemes.

Key Facts:

- David Cameron has presided over the lowest level of homes built than any other prime minister in peacetime since the 1920s.
- And based on current levels the gap between housing supply and need will increase to 2 million homes by 2020.
- An affordability gap: millions of hard working people are increasingly priced out of buying their own home. It would take an ordinary family with one child on an average income 22 years to save for a deposit.
- The rise of "Generation rent": Over 1.3 million families with children and 9 million people in all are now part of "generation rent". They are paying private rents which are rising faster than wages. For private renters, rent payments were on average 41per cent of their gross income, compared with 30per cent for social renters and 19per cent for owner occupiers and mortgage payments.
- Lengthening waiting lists and bill to the taxpayer: The waiting list for social homes is at a record high of 1.7 million households.. And as result of the housing crisis, wage stagnation, and rising unemployment, the cost to the taxpayer through housing benefit has increased to £24bn over the current parliament.

“
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working people
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home
”

Key policy:

Building new homes

- Deliver the next generation of New Towns and Garden cities.
- Discourage land banking by giving local authorities “use it or lose it” powers so they can charge escalating fees or buy, assemble and grant planning permission on land that is being hoarded and is holding back development.
- Reform the Housing Revenue Account system to enable local authorities to make better use of the resources at their disposal.
- Create a new ‘Right to Grow’ so that those that want to expand are able to.
- Ensure a larger share of the windfall gains from planning permission goes to local communities and that local people benefit from housing in the area.

A better deal for renters

- Regulate letting agents and end rip-off fees for tenants.
- Provide greater stability and affordability for renters through removing barriers for landlords to offer longer term tenancies and predictable rents. Families must be able to plan where they send their kids to school and their household budgets;
- Drive standards up and rogue landlords out through introducing a national register of landlords and giving councils greater freedoms to tackle problems in their area.



SAFER COMMUNITIES

The first duty of any government is to keep people safe, yet time and again, the government has shown themselves to be complacent about crime. Front-line police have been cut back, the government has ruled nothing in or out for large privatisation, and the hard won shift to 'neighbourhood policing' achieved under the last Labour government - with police visibly patrolling the streets - has been put at risk, with police retreating back into their cars. Meanwhile, victims continue to lack a voice in the justice system, meaning that too often they are passed from pillar to post by professionals.

One Nation Labour will take a different approach: pushing power down to local communities so they are able to influence local policing priorities and ensure a continuous visible presence on the streets; and overhauling the justice system, in order to put victims at its heart, rather than on the margins.

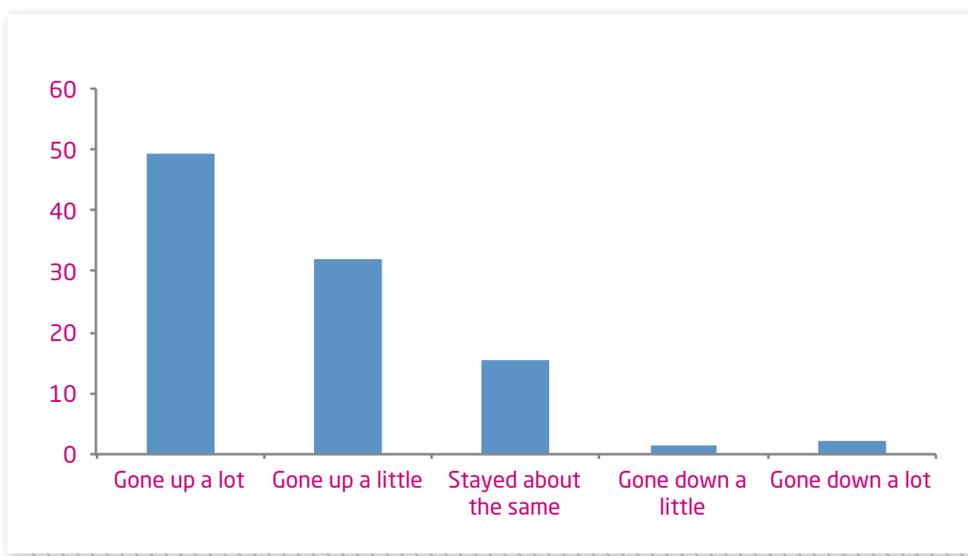
Britain today

Communities left to sink or swim

Steady falls in the volume of crimes mask the fact that crime patterns are shifting, with more criminality online and signs that certain types of acquisitive crimes are beginning to rise, such as shop-lifting and theft from the person.

Moreover, concern about anti-social behaviour is showing signs of going up, particularly in the most deprived communities, creating consequent pressure on the police to intervene.

Perception of the level of anti-social behaviour in England and Wales over the past few years (2011-2012, Crime Survey, England & Wales)



Yet instead of being empowered to deal with these challenges, communities are being left to sink or swim; with power centralised in the hands of a few large private firms and decisions taken by Police and Crime Commissioners operating at a level that is remote from most people's lives. In particular, local policing is being hollowed out, with evidence that in many areas, the police are retreating to a more reactive model of crime control, rather than working in partnership with local authorities, schools and health services to prevent crime.

This hollowing out of policing has also led to a decline in action against the most serious criminals. The number of rape, domestic violence and child abuse cases reported to the police has gone up. Yet the number of cases that the police have brought forwards for prosecution has plummeted. This is putting public safety at risk and undermining people's confidence that justice will be served.

Victims voiceless

The bedrock of our criminal justice system is the public - whether as jurors, magistrates or witnesses, or as ordinary citizens abiding by the rule of law and setting an example in their communities. But it is the one element that the system at best takes for granted and at worst rides roughshod over.

The most visible example of that is the state's treatment of victims, some of society's most vulnerable people. Without their willingness to come forward and report crimes, our criminal justice system would cease to be able to function. Yet for the most part, victims have traditionally been treated as an inconvenience, with little say in the service they receive and no means of redress when things go wrong.

Instead of attempting to address this imbalance, the government is making it worse, strengthening the power of the executive at the expense of citizens' rights. By stripping back judicial review and legal aid, they are making it harder for bereaved families, like the Hillsborough campaigners, to challenge terrible decisions, whilst making it harder for victims of domestic violence to break away from abusive partners.

And by recklessly threatening to abolish human rights laws - they are putting at risk hard-won protection for victims of crime, for example, the right for rape victims to no longer be cross-examined by their attackers, or the right for bereaved families to find out how loved ones died

One Nation Labour

One Nation Labour believes in an evidence-based approach to crime and justice. That is why in 2011 we established the Independent Commission for Policing, chaired by Lord Stevens, which concluded its work in November 2013 ²³ and why we have launched a Victims' Taskforce, chaired by Keir Starmer, to report back in 2014. The work of these reviews will inform Labour's policy review, but our approach is already mapping out a Labour alternative to the Conservatives' minimalist agenda and will be underpinned by five basic principles.

First, promoting a social justice model of policing. One Nation Labour believes policing is more than reacting to crime and catching criminals when wrongdoing has already happened. That is why we agree with the Independent Commission's recommendation that the social purpose of the police should be enshrined in law, meaning the police should improve the safety and well-being of persons, localities and communities.

Second, giving local people more of a say in the way their communities are policed; including a say in the appointment of local police commanders and devolving Policing and Crime Plans down to community level - with lower tier local authorities given the power to set priorities for neighbourhood policing and the policing of anti-social behaviour. The Independent Commission also proposed local participatory budgeting, by enabling local authorities to retain some of the police precept of council tax, which they would then be able to use to commission local policing from the force.

Third, creating effective partnerships between police, communities and other local services. Labour would introduce a Local Policing Commitment, establishing a guaranteed minimum level of local policing, emergency response times and enhanced interaction and relationships between citizens and their police. And we would legally require the police to organise internal police force boundaries in ways that were coterminous with the lowest relevant tier of local government - strengthening local partnerships and localising neighbourhood policing.

Fourth, strengthening individual redress when things go wrong. Labour would replace the IPCC with a powerful new inspection and standards body to hold the police to account. And we would legislate to introduce the country's first ever victims' law, with



giving local people
more of a say
in the way their
communities are
policed

²³ yourbritain.org.uk

new entitlements to minimum service standards as well as the ability to hold those services to account when standards are not met.

Fifth, we will reform services to be able to deliver more with less, collaborating more strategically with agencies across the criminal justice system and beyond. The Independent Commission for Policing has already identified £60m worth of savings through smarter procurement alone - money which could be re-invested back into front-line police officers.

Key Facts:

- 10,000 front-line police officers have lost their jobs since 2010
- 999 response times have increased - taking up to 30 per cent longer to reach night time emergency calls, so victims are waiting longer when they are most afraid
- Nearly 30,000 fewer crimes a year are being solved. Reports of domestic violence and rape are going up, yet 13per cent fewer cases of domestic violence are being referred for prosecution and 33per cent fewer cases of rape are being referred for prosecution
- In 2011, an IPSOS Mori/Victim Support ²⁴ found that 42per cent of victims feel they are treated unfairly by the criminal justice system and over 1/3 victims weren't told what happened by the justice system after they reported a crime.

²⁴ victimsupport.org.uk/About-us/News/2011/07/lpos-Mori

Key policy:

- The social purpose of the police to be enshrined in law
- Legislating to give community safety partnerships - involving local people - a say in the appointment of local police commanders and to set priorities for neighbourhood policing and the policing of anti-social behaviour
- Examining the case for participatory budgeting, enabling lower tier local government to retain some of the police precept of council tax which they would then be able to use to commission relevant local policing from the force
- Introducing a legal requirement for the police to organise internal police force boundaries in ways that were coterminous with the lowest relevant tier of local government
- Introducing a Local Policing Commitment, establishing a guaranteed minimum level of local policing, emergency response times and enhanced interaction and relationships between citizens and their police
- The creation of a powerful new body to regulate and inspect policing and the introduction of a public register of police officers
- Introduction of the country's first ever Victims' Law, enshrining in statute new entitlements for victims to hold services to account and seek redress when things go wrong



INTEGRATION

Social, cultural and ethnic diversity is not only a reality of modern Britain, it is an integral part of what makes people so proud of our country. This was highlighted powerfully during the London 2012 Olympic Games - a time when the whole country came together to celebrate both its diverse heritage and its openness to the world.

But at the same time as celebrating what is good about diversity, One Nation Labour recognises that we cannot take integration for granted. The sheer pace of change in some communities, particularly as a result of low skilled migration from Eastern Europe, has generated challenges and understandable concern that requires a proper integration strategy, including measures to ensure that migrants have a responsibility to learn English.

Britain today

Britain's diversity is one of its greatest strengths. But we can't afford to take that success for granted. In some areas the scale and speed of change has created concern that the pressures migration has brought have not been properly addressed.

It's about more than the people coming here, but about how we live together too. In the past, we were too slow to realise that the capacity of our economy to absorb new migrants was greater than the capacity of some of our communities to adapt.

English language

The ability to be able to communicate is fundamental to integration: without basic language skills, people are left isolated and liable to be exploited in the workplace. Yet the most recent Census (2011) data revealed that there are more than three quarters of a million (866,000) people living in Britain today who either don't speak English well or don't speak it at all.²⁵



Britain's
diversity is one
of its greatest
strengths.

²⁵ Census 2012

British residents aged three and over whose main language is not English



Housing

At the moment, it is far too easy for unscrupulous landlords to prey on newcomers to our country by packing large numbers of people into sub-standard accommodation. That is terrible for people in the neighbourhood and terrible for people living in the house. We can't expect people to embrace their neighbours, to build a community, if huge numbers of people have been crammed into the house next door.

The workplace

We have encountered instances of people not meeting and mixing in the workplace.. There are recruitment agencies that close their books to local workers and hire only from overseas, often advertising only in foreign languages. And in some industries, there are some shifts and tasks that are still segregated by national origin.²⁶

The Tories have demonstrated how they want to respond to these challenges - with the worst form of divisive politics. Sending vans into areas of Britain where people's mothers and grandparents have lived for generations and telling people to "go home". Britain deserves better than that.

²⁶ Research into the horticultural industry published in 2011 found tasks allocated on the basis of nationality i.e. with 'Ukrainian teams' harvesting strawberries; Donna Simpson, University of Sussex, 2013

One Nation Labour

The last Labour government took some steps to help people from different backgrounds interact; introducing a citizenship test for those seeking to settle here, and citizenship ceremonies to celebrate their achievement. These were important changes. But they weren't enough. The truth is that too often we were overly optimistic, thinking people's connections with each other would just take care of themselves.

One Nation Labour will take a different approach. Our strategy for integration will be rooted in the reality of modern Britain: rejecting on the one hand forced assimilation, which assumes we can only have one single identity, whilst on the other, the idea that it is ok for people to live separate lives.

Our vision of society is one in which everyone contributes and nobody opts out. That means encouraging integration through the language people speak, the communities in which they live and the places they work.

First, English language. We all know that the beginning of any real connection with a neighbour or colleague, workmate or friend is a conversation. But we can only converse if we can speak the same language. If we are going to build One Nation, our goal should be that everyone who comes to this country should be able to speak English. That is why we would require public sector workers in public-facing roles to have a basic standard of English proficiency.

And English language is particularly important for the next generation. In schools, teaching of English as an additional language is essential. And the earlier that support is given the better for all the children in a school. Where there are Home School Agreements, English language learning should be included. This would ensure that both schools and parents share the responsibility for helping foreign-born children learn how to speak English.

Second, we will take action on housing. We can't expect people to embrace their neighbours, to build a community, if the house next door has been over-crowded with people. So we will crack down on criminal landlords with a register of landlords and end the practice of using tied housing to undercut the minimum wage, which locks many migrant workers into shocking housing conditions, isolated from mainstream societies.

Third, we will do more to foster integration in the workplace. We will stop recruitment agencies from closing their books to local workers and hiring only from overseas, often advertising only in foreign languages. And we will end the shocking practices of employers who segregate shifts and tasks by national origin.

Key Facts:

- There are 866,000 people living in the UK who do not speak English well or at all;
- Schools in the UK are some of the most socially segregated in the developed world, with 80per cent of migrant families being clustered in the same schools, rather than being spread across different schools
- Local authorities have told Shelter they are aware of some 1,477 serial rogue landlords. Yet, in the past year only 270 landlords were prosecuted

Key policy:

- Require all public sector workers in publicly-funded, public-facing jobs to reach a basic level of English proficiency
- Encourage local authorities to prioritise English language learning (ESOL) for newcomers, rather than written translation materials
- Include statements on English language learning within Home School Agreements
- We would introduce tougher fines for criminal landlords and empower local authorities to introduce local licensing regimes to regulate Landlords
- Ban shift segregation by nationality

HIGH STREETS

For generations high streets have been at the heart of British communities; centres that bring people together and define the character of a place. But stagnant growth over the past three years has left our high streets under pressure. Many are blighted by empty shops, saturated with betting shops and payday lenders and increasingly disconnected from the character of the community around them. In the face of this there is a growing feeling of powerlessness and a sense that communities have lost control of their own high streets. Local Councils have found that the Tory-led Government's planning rules do not enable the change local people and businesses want to see.

high streets are fundamental to creating strong, vibrant local communities

One Nation Labour believes our high streets are fundamental to creating strong, vibrant local communities. That is why we want local people to have the power to ensure that they evolve in ways that reflect and benefit the community.

Britain today

Today, one in seven of Britain's shops lie empty - a threefold rise since 2008.²⁷ There are 40,000 empty shops up and down the country.²⁸ At the same time, we are seeing a decline in the variety of businesses that make up our high streets and a clustering of particular types of shops.²⁹ Betting shops with fixed odds betting terminals (FOBTs), pawn shops and pay day lenders are becoming symbols of Britain's cost of living crisis. Figures published last year show that in a period of just twelve months 20 per cent more payday lending shops opened.³⁰ There are now more than twice as many betting shops on British high streets as all the cinemas, bingo halls, museums, bowling alleys, arcades, galleries and snooker halls combined. And we have seen the spread of exploitive FOBTs in our poorest communities. In Newham there are 87 betting shops with an estimated 348 FOBT machines and across the five Liverpool constituencies there are 153 betting shops with around 559 FOBTs. This has huge consequences for our communities, causing debt and misery for families, and often acting as a magnet for crime and anti-social behaviour.

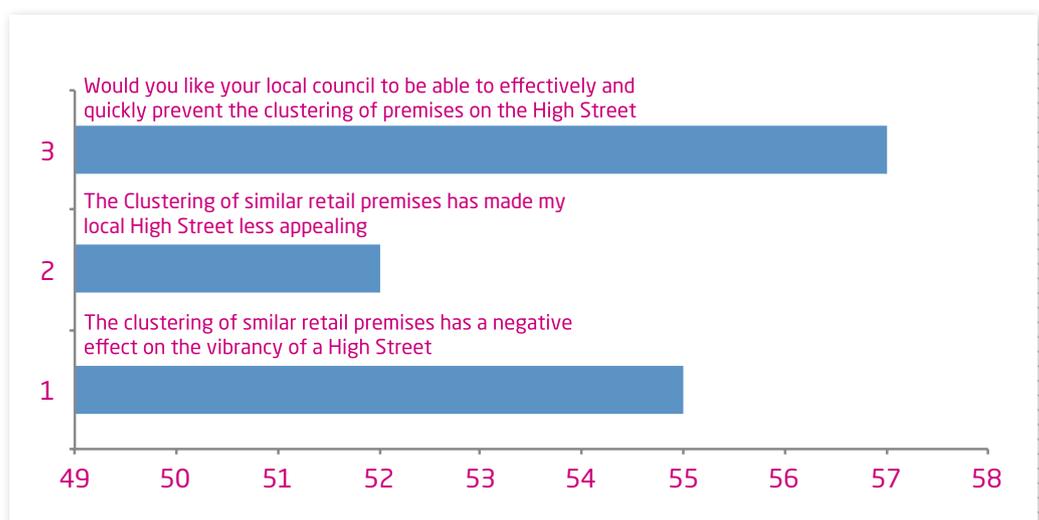
²⁷ Local Data Company (2013) http://pwc.blogs.com/press_room/2013/09/18-stores-a-day-shutting-but-gap-between-openings-and-closures-cut-by-almost-80-says-pwc-and-local-d.html

²⁸ Grimsey Review (2013) <http://www.vanishinghighstreet.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/GrimseyReview04.092.pdf>

²⁹ Local Data Company (2013) http://pwc.blogs.com/press_room/2013/09/18-stores-a-day-shutting-but-gap-between-openings-and-closures-cut-by-almost-80-says-pwc-and-local-d.html

³⁰ Local Data Company (2013) http://pwc.blogs.com/press_room/2013/02/reta.html

Public Perception of the High Streets, 2012



Source: LGA, High Street Survey, 2012.

Our high streets and town centres are the hearts of our communities. They offer jobs, services and can be a place to bring communities together and anchor local economies. We need to help our high streets recover and thrive. Our high streets need to adapt and evolve but communities should not be left as powerless bystanders who feel they can do nothing about the nature of their local high street. Communities need to take on responsibility for shaping, developing and promoting their area and getting actively involved in creating places they and their neighbours will value, spending time and invest in.

The Government has done nothing to help communities shape their high streets. Local communities feel increasingly powerless to influence their town centres or to stop the clustering of payday loan and betting shops. Recent changes to the planning system are making things worse not better by making it even easier for payday lenders and betting shops to open up without getting permission from the local people.

One Nation Labour

We want to empower people to take back their high streets and work with businesses and landlords to build town centres that people want to live, shop, work and invest in. We believe communities have the local knowledge to shape what their high streets look like and determine the balance of shops, entertainment, leisure and housing in their area. A recent opinion poll found that nearly three quarters of people are in favour of giving more powers to councils to help shape the high street based on the local communities' wishes.³¹

A One Nation Labour Government will help high streets up and down the country by giving local authorities the freedom and powers they need to create places that their communities want.

Local authorities are currently unable to stop the spread of betting shops on our high streets, but by allowing them to put betting shops in a separate local use class, the local community will be able to require bookies to apply for planning permission in order to open. Local authorities would, in turn, have the ability to reject such applications in areas where betting shops are a problem. This will deal with the spread of new betting shops but won't address the existing concentration of FOBTs. So we will legislate to give councils powers to review betting shop licenses in their area and retrospectively reduce the number of FOBTs in existing betting shops (or to ban them entirely) in response to local concerns.

Labour would also grant local communities a greater say on the presence of payday loan businesses on high streets. Currently, payday loan shops are generally classed as financial institutions, meaning that if a bank or building society closes a branch it can be converted to a payday loan shop without any oversight. Stronger powers over use classes would allow local councils to decide if they want to place some premises in a separate category. They could then refuse planning permission to control the spread of payday loan outlets, as with betting shops. But we need to go further than simply restricting the spread of these

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”

³¹ LGA, High Street Survey, 2012

exploitative businesses. With some lenders making as much as £1m a week profit, we will introduce a levy on these profits to raise capital for alternative and affordable sources of credit through Credit Unions. This could double the level of Government funding for Credit Unions so that they could offer more financial support to people in need of credit and create alternatives to payday lenders on our high streets.

Finally, we will help local businesses that are under real pressure to become the driving force behind thriving communities. Business rates have risen by an average of £1,500 since 2010. Local shops and businesses are facing a continued squeeze that is making it impossible to stay in business. To support local businesses, Labour will cut business rates on properties with an annual rental value of less than £50,000 in 2015 and freeze them in 2016. This will mean an average saving of over £400 on 1.5 million properties.

Key Facts:

- There are 40,000 empty shops up and down the country
- There are now more than twice as many betting shops on British high streets as all the cinemas, bingo halls, museums, bowling alleys, arcades, galleries and snooker halls combined.
- There are 35,244 Fixed Odds Betting Terminals (FOBTs) across the country, many of which are clustered in deprived areas
- A Local Government Association/ComRes poll found that more than three quarters (76 per cent) of people want central government to give councils the powers they have been calling for to improve their high streets in the interests of their communities

Key policy:

- Give councils the power to create a separate locally-determined 'umbrella use class' so that they can require particular types of shops to apply for planning permission
- Legislate to give councils powers to review betting shop licenses in their area and retrospectively reduce the number of FOBTs in existing betting shops (or ban them entirely) in response to local concerns.
- Give councils the power to restrict the number of payday lending shops and introduce a levy on these profits to raise capital for alternative and affordable sources of credit through Credit Unions.
- Cut business rates on properties with an annual rental value of less than £50,000 in 2015 and freeze them in 2016.

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