

FABIAN REVIEW

The quarterly magazine of the Fabian Society

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DIVIDED

*After Brexit: How a continent, country and party were pulled apart, with Ruth Davis, John Denham, Andrew Harrop and Duncan Weldon p2 / Angela Eagle speaks to Conor Pope p14 / A special feature marking 60 years since Tony Crosland's *The Future of Socialism*, with Stephen Bush, Patrick Diamond, Kate Green, Kathryn Perera and Mari Williams p16*

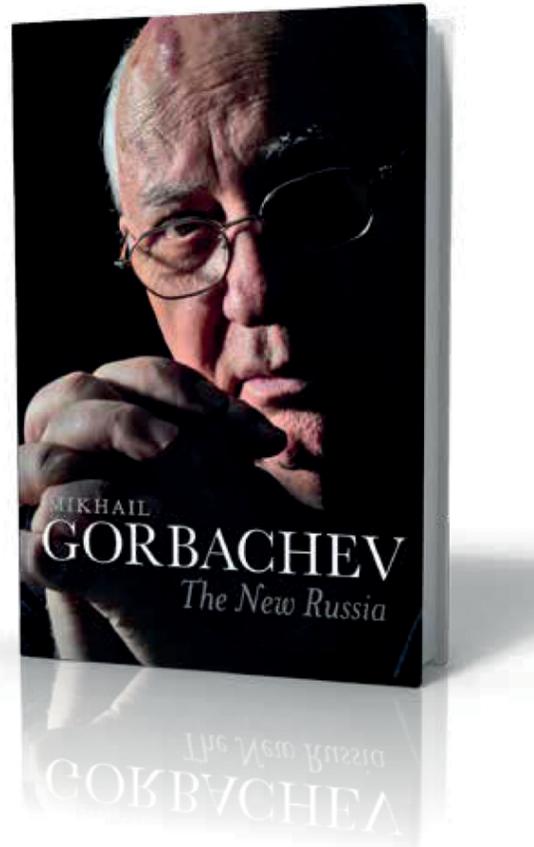
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FABIAN REVIEW

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FABIAN SOCIETY

FABIAN REVIEW

Fabian Review is the quarterly journal of the Fabian Society. Like all publications of the Fabian Society, it represents not the collective view of the Society, but only the views of the individual writers. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving its publications as worthy of consideration within the Labour movement.

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review@fabian-society.org.uk

FABIAN SOCIETY

61 Petty France
London SW1H 9EU
020 7227 4900 (main)
020 7976 7153 (fax)
info@fabian-society.org.uk
www.fabians.org.uk

General Secretary,
Andrew Harrop

Events and Partnerships
Head of Partnerships
and Events, Alex Sanderson
Events and Office Assistant,
Caitlin Griffith Otway

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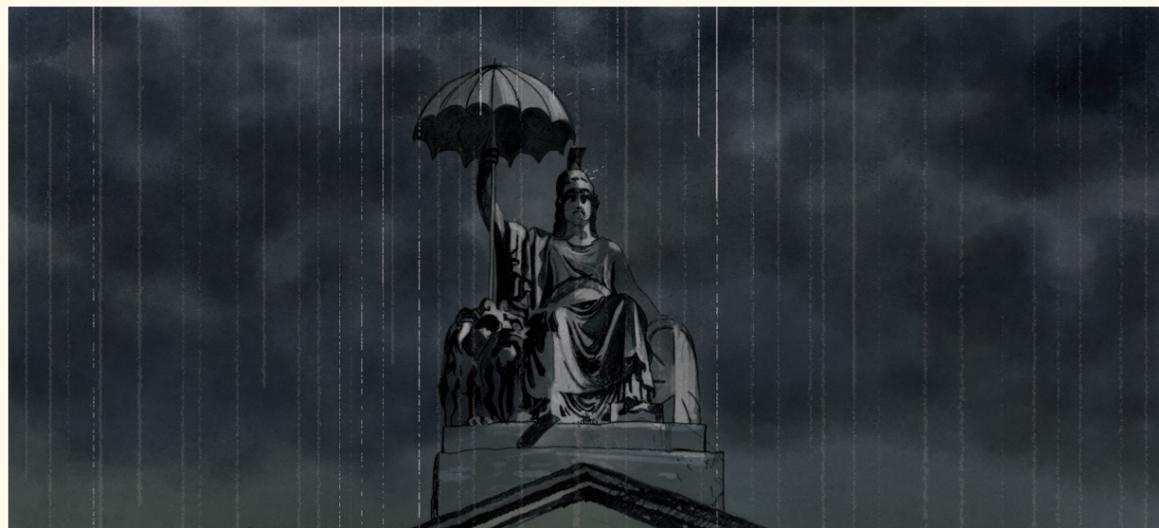
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Deborah Stoate

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Fabian Women's Network

Ivana Bartoletti,
fabianwomen@fabian-society.org.uk



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Left outside

Labour must look beyond its own internal troubles and set out a democratic socialist vision for Britain after Brexit, writes *Andrew Harrop*

THESE ARE DARK days for Britain, for the left, and for the Fabian way. The outcome of the referendum was a defeat for Fabianism – a rejection of our internationalism, our collectivism, our spirit of tolerance and openness. It was a defeat for evidence, reason and expertise. On the left, there were individual leave supporters who wanted Brexit for good reasons. But the proposition put to the electorate, and the conduct of the campaign, makes this a victory for right-wing politics: for deceitful populism, close-minded nostalgia and unabated free-market economics.

Perhaps there is a slim chance that Brexit will never happen, if the UK is offered a terrible deal in the context of deepening recession. But the left cannot proceed on that basis. It must instead aim to shape the future, by offering strong parliamentary opposition to Theresa May's right-wing cabal of Brexit ministers. On the one hand, Labour MPs must make the case for the UK remaining as integrated with our neighbours as possible (not least so we can remain a single, united kingdom). On the other hand, MPs cannot ignore the public's verdict on migration, which is the only clear message from the Brexit vote.

Balancing these two requirements demands political acumen, dexterity and rigour – three qualities which the Labour frontbench seems incapable of mustering today. Indeed, as things stand, the party offers no opposition worthy of the name. The Conservatives may have created this crisis, but they have moved fast to crown a new prime minister and preserve their grip on power. By contrast, after a referendum defeat that was not of its making, Labour faces an existential crisis unseen since the early 1930s.

The ultimate source of the party's problems is its broken relationship with the people it exists to serve. The Labour party was founded to give low and middle

earners a voice and a platform, but a clear majority of non-graduates rejected Labour in the referendum and would not vote for it in an election today. Labour has no electoral future unless it rebuilds this relationship. Its current 'Obama' coalition of liberal-minded graduates, public sector workers and ethnic minorities is not enough, especially with our current electoral system.

Almost all Labour MPs know this, even though most of them come from the party's dominant metropolitan milieu. But it seems the same is not true of a growing number of party members and, tragically, of the leadership of the major trade unions. The present crisis has arisen because too many seem intent on putting narrow ideological purity ahead of electoral success, practical social reform and relationships with typical voters.

This is not to say that Labour should be a rudderless vessel for the electorate's passing whims. But Labour's civil war is not between true socialists and tepid focus-group centrists. Jeremy Corbyn won in 2015 because the rest of the Labour party seemed to have nothing new to say, but that is starting to change. Supposedly moderate backbenchers are now backing radical ideas, from a tax on worldwide wealth to a basic income for all, and Owen Smith's platform is sincerely collectivist and egalitarian.

The divide is instead about the purpose of the Labour party as a political project: to represent members or communities? To organise as a movement or win parliamentary power? For Fabians, Labour is first and foremost a force to change people's lives through parliamentary democracy and elected government. After all, in 1906, the Labour party was named not by affiliated unions or by members, but by its MPs. With such huge divisions within Britain and Europe, Labour must look beyond its own internal troubles, reunite around its parliamentary party and set out a democratic socialist vision for Britain after Brexit. ■

Open space

As British politics tries to divine the true meaning of Brexit, there is a political opportunity for a party to be pro-openness but also pro-redistribution, argues *Duncan Weldon*



In 2014, Labour was on the winning side of the referendum on Scottish independence and yet ended up paying a huge political price. In 2016 it was on the losing side of the vote and yet may again be forced to pay the bill. Although about two thirds of Labour voters backed remaining in the European Union, across vast swathes of the party's traditional heartlands the leave campaign clocked up large wins.

Although the leave side won a victory on a big turnout, it is unclear exactly what 'leave' means. The prime minister says that "Brexit means Brexit", to which a reasonable retort is 'yes, but what does Brexit mean?'

The economic impact of joining the European Economic Area (a Norway-ish deal that would guarantee single market access but mean continuing freedom of movement, paying contributions and accepting EU-designed regulations over which the UK would have no official say) would be fairly minimal. On the other hand, losing access to the single market and being forced to trade under World Trade Organisation rules would have a far more detrimental effect.

But the changes to Britain ahead are potentially far more sweeping than raw economics. Our entire political economy is now in flux. In theory the fundamentals should be good for Labour. The government have lost a proven election winner as leader, their reputation for competence is in tatters and their economic credibility under threat from a self-inflicted downturn. In addition, their politically potent but economically damaging dividing line on debt funded infrastructure spending appears to be gone. And yet it is Labour rather than the Conservatives who face an existential threat.

If the government ends up doing a deal to stay in the EEA and accepting continuing free movement, it is not hard to see a surge in UKIP support from leave voters crying betrayal. Any such surge would disproportionately hit Labour.

As commentators are falling over themselves to point out, 'open vs closed' is now a real cleavage in British politics. Should we remain an open, outward facing economy with all that entails in terms of migration or should we seek to shut ourselves off to some extent from the rest of the world? What exactly did the 52 per cent vote for?

Open vs closed politics look grim for Labour. It isn't too hard to see the UK ending up with a version of Polish politics – a centre right 'open', economically liberal party (the Conservatives) facing off against a harder right, 'closed' party which favours tighter limits on immigration and perhaps less liberal economics (a role UKIP could fulfil if it's next leader can appeal in Labour voting areas).

The open vs closed cleavage cuts across both main parties but is an issue in particular for Labour. It potentially divides the party's two core areas of support – working class communities having voted to leave whilst London and university Labour-held seats voted for remain.

But all the talk of open vs closed misses an important point – yes it is a significant cleavage but it is not the only one. Left vs right matters too. Ed Balls and George Osborne may have both campaigned for remain, but their fiscal plans last year had the widest gap between the major parties in two and half decades. Their visions of the size of the state, of the role and extent of social security and of public services are miles apart. Whilst the '48 per cent' may agree on the European question, they disagree on much else.

Even if these differences could be papered over – and I don't think they could – a new

centre party of the 48 per cent (the political wing of *The Economist* magazine) feels far less likely following Theresa May's victory (a remainer) in the Conservative leadership election. It is now very hard to see pro-remain Conservatives joining such a party, even if that was desirable.

Strip out the Conservative remainers and you are left with not a new centre party of the 48 per cent but a coalition of Labour and Lib Dem remainers – a potential new centre-left party. Call it the 'party of the 35 per cent'. That's a strategy that has been tested to destruction.

The answer for Labour – and for progressives in general – is to acknowledge that whilst open vs closed matters, so too does left vs right. Faced with a new cleavage, parties have a choice: pick a side or try to build alliances across it. The political space is open for a party to be pro-openness but also pro-redistribution.

Globalisation has made the UK richer but also widened the divides in society. The classic case for free trade is that some of the gains from the winners can be redistributed to the losers, making everyone better off. That works in theory but has not often happened in practice.

An electoral coalition of globalisation's losers with the winners who recognise that for the game to carry on they have to give up some winnings has potential. It would emphasise a close and continuing relationship with the EU – ideally through joining the EEA – with a domestic focus on house building, child and social care, well-funded public services and growth driving infrastructure spending in areas other than London. Amidst the despair and division, that is a version of Brexit it would be worth the left leading the fight for. ■

Duncan Weldon is head of research at the Resolution Group, he was previously economics correspondent at BBC Newsnight

England: a crisis

England is a country divided, but it can be built as a nation of shared progressive values, led by an English Labour movement, writes *John Denham*



John Denham is the director of the Centre for English Identity and Politics, and the Southern Policy Centre. He is a former Labour MP and cabinet minister

England was a fractured country well before the 24th June; the tensions that are now widely acknowledged had been developing for many years. A different result would have just left the other half of England feeling they had lost their country. The centre ground of politics is hollowing out – with the socially conservative more resistant to change; the radical more open to radicalism; and still others more sceptical about any politicians. Our diverse society is much less genuinely integrated or at ease with itself than we have liked to pretend. New dynamics are at play that require a new politics and a new progressive movement.

The overriding need for social democracy is unchanged. Formed to challenge the unaccountable power of market capitalism, social democracy's historic mission has always been to hold capital to account and bend it to the common good. Unrestrained markets always lead to concentration of wealth, power and influence. While global capitalism is often dynamic and creative it is often also hugely destructive of security, income, communities and human relationships. With greater or lesser success, social democracy has always worked to create an elected majority capable of challenging the failures of markets and the abuse of their power.

Social democracy's base was the organised industrial

working class, with its strong institutions and tough-minded collective values of solidarity, contribution and reciprocity. Here voting Labour was not so much a political choice of policy and ideology but a statement of identity. But as the economy has changed the old industrial working class has declined, triggering a crisis of social democracy across Europe. Millions today have never shared the experiences that generated identity with the Labour party. The modern economy creates hugely different lives, stratified by education, privilege, class, geography, ethnicity, faith, age and employment. Sometimes we barely understand our neighbours' lives, let alone sense what we share with those we don't know. And so our bewilderingly diverse society seems hard to unite. Yet, just as all seems lost, new opportunities are opening up.

In response to the insecurity and inequality of global capitalism people are creating a new politics of identity; new ways of identifying common interest. The most dynamic political movements are those of nation, people and place. The most successful parties those that have established a relationship with voters on the basis of 'who we are' and 'who stands for me'. It's why the SNP have displaced Labour in Scotland (and why UKIP threatens Labour's base in England), and is one of the reasons for Welsh Labour's relative resilience.

Two generations ago, the Labour movement had little difficulty with patriotism (though Orwell said that English intellectuals were the only ones ashamed of their own country). More recently and disastrously, the left has treated national identity politics with suspicion. In doing so, it has let the populist right set the agenda. There are dangers in right wing populism, but the turn towards nation, people and place is not created by the right. It is a spontaneous response to globalisation. It is also the left's best chance of creating a new, collectivist, popular base for social democracy. National identity reaches across social gulfs. We share deep attachment, across communities and class, to where we live. The left's politics need to be the politics of progressive patriotism, a politics that brings people together, not a bitter politics of division and fear.

The steady emergence of English identity is becoming politicised as voters distinguish English interests from those of the UK. The 2015 general election saw four different national elections take place, with different issues in play and different parties emerging successful. For the first time a distinct English issue – the so-called SNP threat – became a talking point for millions of English voters and may have tipped the balance in key seats. In the EU referendum, those feeling most intensely English were far more likely to have supported leave.

These English interests won't go away but will intensify as the diverging interests of different parts of the UK become more apparent over the coming months and years. Scotland wants to be in the EU and (possibly) out of the union. England – whether we like it or not – wants to be out of the EU and (probably) in the Union. Scotland wants open borders, England clearly doesn't. In these circum-

stances, who speaks for England and who for the UK in the Brexit process?

The separateness of the Scottish and English (and Welsh and Northern Irish) political debates will rekindle resentment that English voters cannot elect representatives to determine domestic policy as other UK voters do. Pure electoral calculations – it is easier to win a Labour majority in England than in the UK, yet UKIP may steal our base – should focus Labour attention on England like never before.

England can be built as a nation of shared progressive values; with a powerful story of how we came to be here and what we are building together. At the heart of our national story would be the need to challenge capital to meet the common good. But to do so, we need to create the democratic institutions of England and create an English Labour movement that can live up to this moment of opportunity.

A distinct, progressive and patriotic Englishness cannot mature while there are no democratic forums or systems of democratic government to provide the focus and crucible of debate. An English parliament – whether directly elected, part of Westminster or some form of super EVEL

Sometimes we barely understand our neighbours' lives, let alone sense what we share with those we don't know. And so our bewilderingly diverse society seems hard to unite

– is now an essential Labour movement demand. English devolution is also critical to counteract London centric politics and should be established as a right, not a whim of Westminster government. While we need to devolve within the English nation, only a federal constitution holds any hope of holding the Union together.

An English Labour movement must lead the drive for constitutional change. But it must also be equipped to build a progressive, patriotic nation. English identity is on the rise, but its form is far from settled. It can sometimes be seen as ethnic and exclusive, sometimes civic and inclusive. It's often a 'conditional' civic identity – anyone can belong as long as you play by the rules. For most people it is and has always been one of several identities – regional, British, ethnic or faith.

National identities are created, not discovered, and the progressive patriotic Englishness we need is not yet fully formed. English Labour has to be a vehicle for nation-building; a place where the common ground can be found to define the sense of fairness that underpins society, share the need to hold the powerful to account, and work together to defend our ancient and recent rights.

Is there sufficient common ground in our divided country? Yes, if we are prepared to look for it. We can find it in our traditions of freedom and our commitment to voluntary action; our instincts to support those most in need at the same time as we reward contribution; and our belief in strong communities with obligations to each other. We can find it in our belief that markets can be challenged to tackle inequalities of wealth and power. We can find support for diversity so long as we respect the limits of rapid change.

As we survey our divided nation, and our divided party, Labour needs a new vehicle for progressive patriotic politics. An English Labour movement could fill that gap. ■

Home is where the heart is

Ruth Davis traces how the green movement and the wider left became estranged from people's everyday lives – and how we might come together again around an English politics of nature



Ruth Davis is a writer, campaigner and political analyst

A MONTH BEFORE THE EU referendum vote, I sat down to write an essay about how the environment movement in England had become estranged from many of its natural supporters – including those living in the countryside, and the worse off in society who bear the brunt of bad housing and poor air and have little or no access to green spaces.

The reality of that estrangement could not have appeared more stark than on the morning of 24th June, when it became clear that the country had voted to leave the European Union.

For the green movement, the vote was a major blow – leaving many feeling that decades of work to protect nature, public health and the climate were now at risk. But whilst that sense of hurt is understandable, giving it expression by attempting to challenge the legitimacy of the result, or blame leave voters, will serve neither us nor the country well.

Leave voters did not vote for shoddier housing, dirtier air or less wildlife. But neither did we offer them a shared language or a shared sense of endeavour, around which we could come together. And as long as we are staring at our fellow countrymen and women across a cultural chasm, we will all lose.

I now believe more passionately than ever, that it is through the recovery of a more generous politics of place here in England that we can begin to bridge the gap. The left has neglected a love of family, home, work and country that is central to most people's lives. We need to try to imagine an Englishness that speaks to our past, whilst involving everyone in owning and shaping our future. The urgency of doing so is now startling. The pleasures and rewards are yet to come.

Thatcherism and the death of the post-war conservation movement

The division that became so obvious during the referendum campaign has in reality been decades in the making. To understand it we need to go back to 1979. I was 12

years old and I can recall the chilly exoticism of evenings lit by candles during the three day week and the unease that possessed the country as it struggled with economic stagnation and industrial unrest. As the general election neared, dread engulfed me. I had a feeling that something enormously important was ending. Until that moment perhaps it had been possible to believe we were a country with a sense of common purpose – that post-war solidarity was still alive. With the election of the Thatcher government, and the implicit declaration of industrial civil war, it died.

Bitter strife followed, dividing north from south, police from civilians, workers from employers and financiers, town from country. For those who lost their jobs it was a disaster. It was only later, though, that the cultural impact of this schism was fully understood, as the habits, traditions, values and contribution of millions of English people were buried; not just by the economic policies of the 1980s, but by the response of the modern left.

Looking through the lens of environmentalism offers an insight into this wider story, because the trends that influenced green politics also contributed to the crisis of trust that now exists between Labour and its potential voters. These trends help to explain the reluctance of the progressive left to embrace and shape a resurgent sense of Englishness.

Losing the English people

As we lurched into the 1980s the land itself became a battleground. Agricultural intensification was changing rural England beyond recognition. Hedges – the bones and sinews of our countryside – were being grubbed out. Walking through the fields at this time was a hazardous business, with crops sown to within an inch of every footpath and bathed in a mist of chemicals that made your eyes water. Green lanes and paths of custom going back thousands of years were blocked or went under the plough.

Alongside the growth of this prairie agriculture, other iconic battles raged between conservationists and the government. Road schemes proliferated. The Twyford

Down section of the M3 desecrated one of loveliest hills in southern England and the infamous Newbury bypass cut through 120 acres of woodland. The response was varied, and sometimes included direct physical opposition. The anti-roads movement was perhaps the closest thing we had to an authentic, place-based politics of resistance, uniting concerned residents with artists and activists. Its protests had an anarchistic joy, manifested in the take-over of major highways, but for all their creativity they remained mired in the wider problems of the left at the time. They struggled to connect with mainstream society and were viewed with suspicion by more socially conservative and reticent parts of the Labour movement.

Conservation bodies were painfully ill-equipped to respond to the crisis. The Nature Conservancy Council, established by Royal Charter in 1949 to protect Britain's wildlife and special places, took on Mrs Thatcher over tree planting in the Scottish peat-lands and lost. We have never again had such a clear-sighted constitutional champion of nature. Nor did the numerous amateur natural history societies fare any better. I can remember looking out over a desolate Northamptonshire field one summer's day and cursing the silent army of botanists and birders who cared enough to record the destruction of the countryside, but not to fight back.

My response was, I suspect, characteristic of many who later came to shape the New Labour project. The only things that seemed to matter anymore were money and the law. Long established customs, unwritten contracts, conservation delivered through benign neglect – all that was over. The free-market was at the gate. The public was disinclined to wrap itself in the flag of international socialism. We needed a modern, rational environmentalism. We didn't need love, we needed numbers.

Environmentalism in the new century: A flight from the politics of place

And so the contemporary green movement began to take shape. Conservationists like me embraced New Labour with alacrity. We developed an action plan for biodiversity with an attendant plethora of targets. The plan itself had some very impressive results. But almost by its very nature, it was indifferent to place. It didn't matter ultimately where you provided the 2.5 bitterns per hectare as long as you met your KPI.

And whilst conservation became more professional, green activism became more international. Environmentalists united with economic justice campaigners to protest about the impacts of globalisation. Then climate change rapidly emerged as a colossal threat to the life chances of future generations and of millions of people in the developing world. The zeal of green groups was directed against fossil fuel production and consumption. Less time went into protecting local water or air quality, or safeguarding green spaces – not least because our membership of the European Union meant that we could take some basic protections for granted, rather than having to fight for them at a national or local level.

I am in no doubt whatsoever about the urgency of tackling climate change and the need for sustained international co-operation to do so. I also believe that the quality of our environment was greatly improved through our membership of the EU. Yet I also worry that this collective shift in perspective left us with too little to say to people about the importance of place and the wonder of nature; or about the role of our sector in improving their everyday lives.

This estrangement helps to explain the difficulty we found ourselves in 2008, and after the subsequent general election which brought the coalition government to power. Under pressure from the right and desperate to kick-start the economy, David Cameron quickly shed his erstwhile public enthusiasm for green issues. George Osborne was even famously reported as viewing Britain's bird-life as 'feathered obstacles to growth.' Their collective judgement was that much of the working class, as well as many voters in middle England had come to see green policies as irrelevant or even alien to their interests.

With hindsight, we can now see that these very same groups of voters thought that the European Union was alien to their interests, and voted against it in great numbers last month.

For the green movement, the unavoidable conclusion must be that our politics has become entangled in the public imagination with a broadly metropolitan sensibility that is culturally alien to much of England, and is of little of relevance to the poor.

For a movement founded to protect the countryside, and to help ordinary people fight off

land-grabs and pollution, this is a parlous state of affairs. Indeed without action it could become an existential threat. So what could be done?

Thankfully, the seeds of an answer have already been sown. For almost a decade now, the National Trust, Woodland Trust and RSPB have been investing carefully in re-building the foundations of their support by connecting people to places and nature. Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace have begun to use their substantial clout in campaigns against air pollution in our cities. Anti-fracking protests have united local people with activists in towns from Sussex to Lancashire. Slowly but surely, the green movement is starting to remember how to tap into public concern.

Where we come from matters: Re-connecting with English voters

But any authentic politics of place must listen to people when they describe where they come from; and huge numbers of our people call themselves English. They are proud of their country and its rich artistic and political traditions which are often intimately linked with its land. The support of these people, many of whom feel their Englishness has been neglected or belittled by the left, and who voted in droves to leave the EU, remains critical to the environment movement if we wish to renew our political legitimacy.

If green campaigners fail to respond to the concerns of working people struggling with poor housing, meagre

employment prospects, and a degraded local environment we cannot realistically think of ourselves as 'on the side' of the disenfranchised. If we don't find common ground with England's rural and coastal communities, our hopes of protecting our land, natural resources and workforce from exploitation in a post Brexit world will founder. People up and down the country are making and re-making their local identities and creating a generous Englishness. What is stopping us being a part of this renaissance?

The answer is that we are the problem. Parts of the left continue either to reject any form of national identity as regressive, or see Englishness as a coded endorsement of colonialism, or worse, an accommodation with racism. In green circles this manifests itself in a fear that love of the English countryside is part of a cultural project that undermines diversity and protects privilege. Such a narrow and defensive approach to our cultural life is unworthy of the left, and we have seen its political consequences. We can do better and imagine our kind of England, proud of our land, language and culture, and open to its diversity. A patriotism that is welcoming to all who wish to contribute to our shared life and common good.

Innumerable English writers and artists have understood that by walking over the land and working on it, we can come to know it intimately, and claim it as our own. An English politics of nature that draws on Jon Cruddas' ideas of earning and belonging, would be something worth fighting for. Its heroes and heroines would be the custodians of our parks and pavements, as well as our seas, mountains and rivers. They would be botanists and ornithologists, farmers, builders, mechanics and inventors, anyone who participates in the poetic and practical business of walking on and working for the land.

Building such a movement would be a shared civic endeavour, in which green groups and wildlife societies, local co-operatives, clubs, schools and faith communities all played their part.

An English politics of nature – Four acts of renewal

We could begin by promising to help the children of England visit and spend time in the countryside, working alongside farmers, foresters and fishers to learn about and appreciate nature. There are already brilliant people making this happen, including the author Michael Morpurgo and his wife Claire, who run the ground-breaking Farms for City Children. But we could multiply this a thousand times if it was the core of a new politics of nature, and we actively recruited people up and down the country to help.

Next, let's re-ignite the community of amateur naturalists and citizen scientists that built the conservation movement, and whom we need now more than ever. The erosion of the independence and expertise of bodies such as the Nature Conservancy Council might have begun under Mrs Thatcher, but it has continued ever since with vengeance. Every day more pressure is placed on government scientists to say less about the state of nature. In the world after Brexit, when many of our existing nature and public health laws may come under pressure or need to be rewritten, our civic power will become our most powerful and necessary defence. We can record the presence or absence of wildlife in our gardens, fields and hedges, or the presence of



© Natural England

dangerous chemicals in our food and water, and share this information as never before. We can monitor the air quality on our streets when government fails to do so. We can build the case for British nature and environment laws based on publicly owned and independent sources of information, and designed to protect the health of our population and our countryside.

Using modern mapping tools, we can also start to protect the places that we love – whether meadows, allotments, parks or playing fields. By describing what we want to preserve or change in our communities and capturing these things in neighbourhood plans, we can lay the foundations of a new English Commons. And when government or private capital threatens to destroy or enclose them, we can organise around their defence and come to each other's aid. As a statement of our intent, let's set up parish and neighbourhood walks, marking out the boundaries of our special places and laying out where we want to see decent, affordable homes.

And last but not least, let's back ourselves to lead a new English industrial revolution, inventing and manufacturing the kinds of goods and technologies that heal rather than harm nature. This wouldn't just make our homes warmer and our air cleaner; it would also see our products being sold all over the world, in a booming global market that is already worth trillions. As we seek to re-establish our economic place in the world, we can own concepts like the 'northern powerhouse', using them to make us world beaters in technologies like electric vehicles.

If we were to do only a part of this, we would immeasurably strengthen our ability to remodel a political economy that pits people against nature and nature against progress. We would also provide ourselves with a powerful foundation for renewed international leadership on issues such as climate change, where our withdrawal from the EU creates the need for a fresh start. But whatever the ideals we work towards, and whatever the global solutions we seek, let us remember that home is where the heart is. Humans are sticky creatures; like burs, they cling to where they land, the hooks of their affections burrowing deep into things that strangers would scarcely notice. The places we live in, the country we live in, is crossed over and over by invisible trails of love and belonging. When we forget this, we forget ourselves. ■

Shortcuts



WHERE POWER LIES

'Taking back control' must mean more power to effect change locally,
—*Miatta Fahnbulleh*

The tremors from Brexit are already being felt. The economy is in shock and a recession looks inevitable; the survival of the United Kingdom is under threat; and the political class has descended into turmoil.

In the face of something as seismic as the UK's decision to leave the European Union, talk of English devolution may feel peripheral. The move to transfer power and resources from Whitehall to local areas has been incremental and the pace of change slow. Eight devolution deals have been negotiated in this parliament. Each one follows the same formula: a commitment to create a regional mayor in return for a 30-year investment fund and modest powers over skills, employment support, transport and housing. Greater Manchester stands as an outlier, with the promise of greater control over health and justice. The gains through devolution deals have all been hard won and ground has been made in the fight to prise power out of Whitehall. But English devolution is still at the margins.

For many, an agenda that has yet to shift the dial may feel eclipsed by more profound events in the aftermath of the vote for Brexit. But perhaps it is Brexit that will give this agenda a renewed urgency that opens the door to a more radical transfer of power. One of the clear messages sent by leave voters across the country was that they were tired of being ignored and left behind. The divide between the economic fortunes of London and other parts of the country has been put under the spotlight. The failure to tackle some of the deep-seated concerns of communities that were struggling whilst London was thriving is clear. And the inadequacies of a political system that concentrates power in London at the expense of other areas has been exposed.



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As politicians grapple with how to deal with this in the months and years ahead, devolution may become the de facto response. Putting power in the hands of people who live in, work in and understand the communities they are trying to help, may be the answer to the complex question of how we deal with this divide. If politicians in Westminster do not come to this conclusion themselves, they may be pushed into it by forces beyond their control.

Those that hoped Brexit would be the panacea to many of their problems may soon be disappointed. When 'taking back control' from Europe fails to deliver the pace of change that people want, the wave of frustration and anger that erupted in the referendum will turn from Europe to Whitehall. The creation of directly elected mayors across the north and midlands in 2017 will give new voice and focus to this cause. Mayors elected with a mandate to effect change, but without the levers to do so, will be at the forefront of the clamour for greater devolution. London's mayor called for new powers within days of the referendum and others will follow.

Such calls for devolution may also be helped by events north of the border. The renewed drive for Scottish independence will gather pace. Early indications suggest that if asked again, Scotland may opt to leave the Union. The only antidote to this will be to offer home rule to Scotland.

This will open the door to a federal Union in which the English question will have to be confronted once and for all. When combined with ever louder calls for greater autonomy from Whitehall, the momentum needed to achieve a new constitutional settlement may be unstoppable.

The question will be whether a government still dealing with the fallout from Brexit and embroiled in a complex divorce with its European partners, will have the political will or the bandwidth to take this on. Perhaps here lies the political space for the Labour party. It was in Labour's heartlands that the roar of discontent in the referendum was loudest. It is Labour that will suffer the political cost of not responding to its traditional base. So there is an incentive for Labour to champion a radical new settlement in the wake of Brexit that allows communities to truly take back control. But this must go beyond technocratic questions of governance and constitution. It must be about new ideas to effect change locally, backed up by the powers to make this a reality. And perhaps this is the political project that could unlock the party's own renewal in the aftermath of the biggest crisis it has faced for a generation. ■

Miatta Fahnbulleh runs a consultancy that specialises in devolution and local economic development. She is a former political adviser to Ed Miliband



END JAM-TODAY POLITICS

We should create Britain's first social wealth fund—*Stewart Lansley*

If Labour is to create a fairer and more dynamic economy, it will have to tackle the increasingly entrenched British model of corporate capitalism. The private sector will always have a big role to play in wealth creation. But Britain's long experiment with

a market-dominant economic model, engineered by decades of rolling privatisation, deregulation and antipathy to collectivism, is unsustainable. The excessive emphasis on the private has proved incompatible with economic vitality and is out of line with most other rich nations.

Big corporations have an unhealthy dominance over consumers, small businesses and too often government, while the excessive concentration of economic ownership has been the key driver of rising inequality. Large firms (with over 500 employees) account for 45 per cent of total private sector turnover, with great chunks of vital economic activity – from energy supply to accountancy services – controlled by a handful of giant firms. Shareholding has become increasingly speculative and destabilising, with less than 12 per cent of shares owned by individuals. Big business has used the rise in the profit share since the 1980s to enrich a small financial and corporate elite, rather than to invest in the long term future of the economy.

Deconcentrating this power and spreading capital ownership must be part of a progressive alternative. There are many ways of achieving this, from tighter regulation over an increasingly oligopolistic economy to the encouragement of alternative business models, from co-operatives to partnerships.

As shown in *A Sharing Economy*, one of the most effective ways of challenging the over-dominance of private capital would be the creation of one or more social wealth funds. These are collectively held financial funds, created from the pooling of existing resources and fully owned by the public. Such funds – widely used in other countries – would ensure that a higher proportion of the national wealth is held in common and used for public benefit and not to serve, as now, the interests of the few. They would ensure that at least part of the benefits of some economic activity are pooled and shared among all citizens and across generations. Such funds would tackle inequality from both ends and contribute to the goals of a ‘sharing economy’, one in which the fruits of growth are more equally distributed.

Social wealth funds, allowed to grow over time to form a growing share of the economy, could be used to boost public investment and other social programmes. Or, as advocated in the 1960s by the Nobel laureate James Meade, they might also be used to pay an annual citizen’s dividend, or help fund a basic income scheme.

Britain had the opportunity to create such a fund in the 1980s by using some of the

gains from the bonanza of North Sea oil, but instead used the proceeds to cut taxes and boost current consumption – a huge historic policy error.

Although the UK has spent most of its oil revenue, such funds could still be established using other sources of income. These could include the dividends from a range of other assets that should be held in common, including other natural resources, urban land, the electromagnetic spectrum and parts of the financial system. The occasional one-off taxes on windfall profits, such as those levied in the past on banks and energy companies, could also be paid into a dedicated fund, possibly in the form of shares.

Britain’s first social wealth fund could be created by ending the privatisation juggernaut – a classic example of ‘jam-today’ politics that will be paid for over and over again by the public. Instead, a single ring-fenced public ownership fund could be established by pooling all publicly owned assets, from land and property to remaining publicly-owned companies. Such a move – offering a compromise between nationalisation and privatisation – would preserve what remains of the family silver and ensure that the revenue from the better management of such assets is used to strengthen the productive base, and by building the pool of public assets, greatly strengthen the public finances.

Imagine the shape of the British economy today if such a fund had been established in the 1980s. It would have grown to represent a very sizeable chunk of the economy’s overall wealth, providing a powerful balance to private capital.

Public ownership funds already exist in a diversity of nations, from Austria to Singapore, delivering decent returns for public use. For 30 years, Alaska has operated a highly popular oil-financed fund which pays an annual dividend to all citizens. There is an important principle implicit to the Alaskan fund – that citizens are the proper owners of the environment and have the right to share equally in its benefits.

Social wealth funds are a potentially powerful tool in the progressive policy armoury. Widely used elsewhere, they would tackle inequality at source, would boost social investment and greatly improve the overall balance sheet of the public finances in the process. ■

Stewart Lansley is an economist and author of A Sharing Economy: How Social Wealth Funds Can Reduce Inequality and Help Balance the Books



LABOUR’S IDENTITY CRISIS

Labour must bridge the cultural divide that Brexit exposed

—*Luke Murphy*

Labour must bridge the cultural divide that Brexit exposed, writes Luke Murphy. The result of the referendum on the UK’s membership of the EU threw the country into unprecedented political, economic and social turmoil. It also revealed a deeply divided country. Overall, the leave campaign garnered 17.4 million votes winning nine of the UK’s nations and regions, with the remain campaign gathering 16.1 million votes coming top in just three (Scotland, London and Northern Ireland).

Yet the divide wasn’t just geographical. People who voted remain are more likely to be younger, well-qualified, richer than the average, hold a professional job and have a passport. Comfortable with, and winners from, globalisation, they reside in London, Manchester, and other big metropolitan areas.

These are the people who, like me, were left feeling shocked, in pain and anguished by the result. It felt personal for many of us, like we were waking up in a country we didn’t understand with decisions taken against our own interests.

But as Rob Ford – the academic and co-author of *Revolt on the Right* – and others have pointed out, this is exactly how many of the 52 per cent have felt for some time. Those who voted leave are more likely to be older, less educated than average, poorer, less likely to have a professional job and less likely to hold a passport. Uncomfortable with the pace of change, and either actual or perceived losers from globalisation, they reside in provincial towns or rural areas.

Unshackled from the restraints of the first-past-the-post electoral system, and given the chance to take back some control (however illusory), they grabbed it with both hands – and gave the establishment a bloody nose in the process.

Much has been made of the leave campaign’s relentless focus on immigration. Whilst it was a distinctly negative and mendacious campaign, deliberately playing on fears of the ‘other’, that doesn’t tell the

whole story. Some of the best performances for the leave vote were in areas with stagnating economies following the loss of traditional industries with little or nothing coming in their place.

Yes, the vote was about immigration, but it was also about the wider process of globalisation: the sense of a loss of control over their own lives, the perceived inability of their own government to act on their behalf, and an erosion of national identity. Polling by Lord Ashcroft shows that nearly half of Leave voters said the biggest single reason for wanting to leave the EU was “the principle that decisions about the UK should be taken in the UK”.

The vote also revealed a deeper cultural divide. Lord Ashcroft’s polling showed that two thirds of those who considered themselves more English than British voted to leave and vice versa for remain. More uncomfortably, a large majority of those who voted leave see multiculturalism, feminism, the green movement, globalisation and immigration as forces for ill.

Which brings us to the Labour party. Some have argued that amidst the wreckage of Brexit lies a distinct opening for Labour. The 16 million remainers represent an opportunity for Labour to build a new coalition around the new cultural politics of ‘open versus closed’.

Yet if the country was shown to be divided by the referendum, then Labour is riven. Research by the Fabian Society has shown areas where Labour secures more than 30 per cent of the vote represent both some of the best and worst results for remain. Of the 40 counting areas with the highest Labour vote, 25 voted to leave and 15 voted to remain. Separate research by Chris Hanretty of the University of East Anglia, suggests that 7 in 10 Labour-held constituencies voted leave.

What’s more, an exclusive appeal to the 48 per cent would be a doubling down on the strategy that has led Labour into the electoral cul-de-sac that it currently finds itself in. Jon Cruddas’ independent review into the 2015 election demonstrated that Labour is becoming an exclusive brand made-up of progressive and social liberals increasingly detached from its working-class base. It also warned, presciently, that identity and culture now trump all else in politics.

The bind, of course, is that the 48 per cent value their sense of culture and identity as much as the 52 per cent – can Labour appeal to people from both? The truth is, on current demographics, Labour can’t win an election under the first-past-the-post system unless it does.

In the days following the referendum result, I took to the sofa and watched the movie *Pride* to cheer myself up. The film, based on a true story, depicts the building of an unlikely alliance between a group of London-based LGBT activists and families from a small mining village in Wales. Against all the odds, the alliance was proof that solidarity could be forged between two very different communities with distinctive identities for the common good.

In the aftermath of a referendum, particularly one that was so heated and acrimonious, divisions can feel impossible to overcome. But in reality, those divisions are neither as wide or as insurmountable as they might appear. It is for the Labour party to build a new national political coalition that brings together people of different identities in the spirit that they really do have more in common. Put simply, the Labour party must seek to build a one-nation politics within which people from all walks of life can be at home. ■

Luke Murphy is a Labour councillor in Lambeth and a former political adviser to the Labour party



HAS BREXIT LEFT YOUNG PEOPLE BEHIND?

Amidst the uncertainty, there are countless opportunities for young people to shape our post-Brexit future—*Caroline Macfarland*

The feeling of fear and shock over the result of the referendum, particularly among younger people, scarcely needs evidence to back it up, so widely has it been covered in the press since the result was announced. Whilst polls can no longer be relied on to predict the outcome of elections, they did consistently indicate that the EU referendum was going to be a close vote. So why did the result provoke so much emotion, anger and sometimes vitriol from younger people, many of whom would rarely have publicly announced an interest in politics before?

It is a now well-known fact that younger

voters are more likely to have supported the vote to remain. Two thirds of those between 18 and 34 are estimated to have voted to stay in the EU, whilst the picture is almost exactly the reverse for over-55s. These differences were by no means a new phenomenon, but became ever more salient when many predicted that the youth vote could have a deciding effect on the outcome.

These attitudes towards the EU are underpinned – or perhaps compounded by – other factors such as more favourable attitudes towards migration, global identities and higher levels of education amongst the millennial generation. Younger people have grown up with a more internationalist outlook, are more likely to be concerned about global issues such as environmentalism, human rights and humanitarian aid. Whilst older voters were concerned more with issues relating to immigration and sovereignty, younger voters’ views meant that the desire to ‘control’ the UK’s borders or laws had much less of an appeal.

The millennials have also spent their formative years in an economic recession, which has contributed towards being more risk averse. Despite distrusting large institutions, this risk aversion perhaps also is manifested in a pragmatic level of support for the EU, given that younger people are more likely to believe that a Brexit would result in a weaker economy, worsened jobs market and less international influence.

However, the crux of the generational divide lies in the fact that younger people are notably less likely to vote than older generations, or indeed participate in other forms of traditional politics. This gap has been increasing over time, which may indicate a permanent trend for the cohort of millennials, as opposed to just a sign of where they are in their life cycle.

Some would have speculated that the referendum, being a single-issue, campaign-led vote, would have presented a key opportunity to reflect the terms of engagement with which this generation is comfortable. And indeed whilst the figure of 36 per cent turnout amongst 18–24 year olds has been used repeatedly since the referendum, our own estimates are that turnout among under 35s was almost certainly higher than in any recent general election. However, it is still lower than older generations.

In our post-referendum poll with Opinium, we asked those who did vote *why* they voted. Under 35s were much more likely to say they voted in order to have their voice heard, compared to over 35s who were more likely to say it is important to vote as the duty or responsibility of a citizen.

This suggests that older people are more likely to see the intrinsic value of voting, that is, as a value in and of itself, and therefore will try harder to ensure they vote, even where they are busy or unwell. Younger people, by contrast, are more likely to vote in order to have their opinion heard or because they feel strongly about a certain issue, in other words the extrinsic value. This suggests they are more easily deterred from voting.

Research on referendums posits that campaigns matter more than in general elections, where voting is more habitual and based on entrenched attitudes.

The shortcomings of the remain campaign, who missed a trick in not fully mobilising their support base with messages that appealed to a generation optimistic about the future of the EU, coupled with the narrow and negative coverage by the media, may have been key reasons for the vote in favour of leave.

But these issues are symptomatic of wider failings in the political system. Low voter turnout is an indicator, not a cause, of a malfunctioning democracy. So as the country prepares for Brexit, against the majority of their views, will young people be left behind?

The decision to break away from the EU will undoubtedly have consequences for decades to come. This is a time of uncertainty, but in the midst of this there are countless opportunities to have a say in the changes that will come. The vote to leave does not determine the basis of how we renegotiate our relationship with Europe and others.

So, this could also be a moment of historical opportunity. Our political parties are fractured, but younger people are less likely to hold conventional party affiliations in the first place. Our economy faces challenges, but this generation has had to think of new ways to adapt to the challenges of recession and austerity. Britain's role in the world will be negotiated heavily, the terms of which will have to account for the internationalist outlook of the younger population.

One thing has become clear since the referendum: the millennials are passionate about politics. Perhaps the referendum can serve as the wake-up call that is needed, not only for younger people need to re-engage with the political system, but for the political process to become more responsive to our expectations too. ■

Caroline Macfarland is founder and director, Common Vision (CoVi). Their report, A generation apart? Analysing youth attitudes in the EU referendum, is published in July



KEEPING TOGETHER

The call for a second referendum in Scotland may not be so imminent after all—*Ann McKechnin*

There is no doubt that Nicola Sturgeon desires independence for Scotland with every fibre of her body. But her 20 months in office have proved that she is much more cautious politician than her predecessor. And it is that caution and the need to rely on hard evidence which is far more likely than emotive rhetoric to drive any timetable for further constitutional change.

It pays dividends in the constitutional chess game to examine the details rather than relying on the headline announcement. The SNP manifesto for this year's Scottish parliament elections did talk about indyref2 but it deliberately wasn't a firm undertaking. The trigger for the Scottish government seeking a new plebiscite was to be either clear and sustained evidence that the majority of Scots preferred option was independence or "a significant and material change in the circumstances that prevailed in 2014, such as Scotland being taken out of the EU against our will." The entire control of determining what constituted the material change in circumstances rested not with the people of Scotland but exclusively with the leadership of its biggest political party.

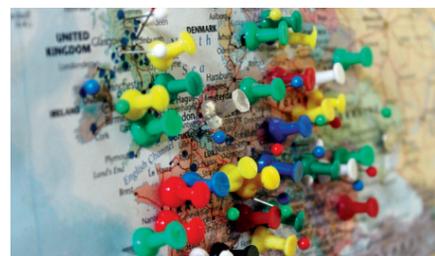
It's the phrase 'Scotland being taken out of the EU' which has had many commentators rushing to a conclusion but forgetting the first part of the SNP's equation. For the SNP, clear and sustained evidence would be opinion polls over a prolonged period showing a consistent support for independence at 60 per cent plus – currently they are nowhere close to that figure. Prior to the EU referendum, support for independence was showing a slow decline towards the 40 per cent mark – inevitably the couple of polls taken within 48 hours of the shock of the Brexit result showed a surge in support but they only climbed to the mid-50s. The first and for Nicola Sturgeon, the most important test has not been met.

Many Scottish Labour activists have commented on the absence of SNP campaigning during the EU referendum.

Their normal heavy presence at polling stations was completely absent and not a leaflet or poster was distributed by the party itself. One local SNP activist I met during June admitted he wasn't really keen on the EU at all and was only voting remain with the greatest reluctance. Opinion polls have also shown that amongst the three main parties in Scotland, SNP voters were the least enthusiastic for remain. This is hardly surprising given that the nationalist credo is based on the virtues of 'going it alone' and 'having full control of your destiny'.

For me, the absence of SNP activists was hardly surprising but the more intriguing aspect was their huge presence at the Glasgow count (and elsewhere). Obtaining precision calculations on each ballot box was a key priority. As the votes were counted across the city a much more mixed story was revealed than Scotland as the republic of Remania. As a leading figure in the leave campaign admitted to me, they had failed to conduct any meaningful campaigning across the whole of Scotland but yet achieved a vote share of 37 per cent which was higher than predicted by any of the numerous polls. As with the rest of the UK, the economic and generational divides could also be identified in the ballot box evidence. In Nicola's own constituency the voting figures between both sides were reported to be evenly balanced and leave was in a clear lead in the east of the city. It was only the considerably higher turnout in the more prosperous areas of the city where voters overwhelmingly voted remain that carried the city's vote to their side.

The Brexit result undoubtedly showed up major regional and national divides and it is hardly surprising that a leave campaign dominated by figures representing a distinct English nationalism was hardly likely to attract wavering voters in other parts of the UK. But for the SNP it would be a far harder sell to base a new campaign for independence on re-entry to the EU – this wouldn't be a campaign dominated by the likes of Boris Johnson or Nigel Farage so the two other major influences of economic and generational divide are likely to be far more prominent in voters' thinking. There is in



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addition a much more real risk that preserving open doors to other EU states across the seas could lead in turn to a closed border with our nearest neighbours.

Whilst it would be imprudent at this point to rule out a second referendum altogether, it is important to recognise that the calls are often used simply as a tactic to convey strength. In the longer term we may also witness a further change in voters' views of the political process. Perhaps the superficial attraction of political campaigns based on a single question plebiscite, so you can tick a box and instantaneously change 'your' world, will on the evidence of the fallout from the Brexit result not be quite so attractive. ■

Ann McKechnin is a member of the Scottish Fabian Executive Committee and a former Labour MP



BEYOND TAX AND SPEND

A fairer, healthier economy will have to do more than redistribute income—*John McDonnell*

Brexit negotiations are rightly the focus of much economic commentary this summer. But we should not let the economic uncertainty unleashed by the Tories' mismanaging of the referendum debate obscure economic problems which already existed.

Much recent debate in economic circles has centred around two big questions: extremes of inequality and the persistently disappointing economic growth since the financial crisis. A growing disquiet about inequality has been discernible for some time. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett's *The Spirit Level* provided evidence for what many had felt for some time, while pioneering work by Anthony Atkinson and Branko Milanovic has popularised a topic which for years had been generally ignored in macroeconomics.

2013's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* by Thomas Piketty put the role of wealth inequality firmly on the agenda, positing that returns accumulate more quickly to those with existing assets in periods of slow

economic growth. The ownership of wealth in the UK is even more unequal than that of income: 45 per cent is owned by the richest 10 per cent. Unsurprisingly, the inequality across parts of the UK is similarly dramatic, with an average household in the north east having wealth equal to around £100,000, compared with nearly £350,000 in the south east.

Astonishingly, this level of wealth inequality is not notably high by international standards, but it is worryingly increasing. Figures released by the Office for National Statistics last year indicated a rise in wealth inequality, largely on the back of property price rises concentrated in the south-east of England.

Between 2012 and 2014 the value of assets owned by the wealthiest 20 per cent was 117 times that of the poorest 20 per cent: an increase from 97 times, only a couple of years earlier. Some of this will be driven by global factors but the policy choices of right-wing governments have also clearly played a role.

Polarisation gives both opportunities and challenges for socialists and social democrats. The Occupy movement in the United States, and the candidacy for Democrat nominee of Bernie Sanders, put at the forefront the idea of 'the 1 per cent'. Across the Western world, the perception of a super-wealthy elite who have not been seriously inconvenienced by austerity measures or recession is a powerful one.

Solutions within the existing political framework, however, are challenging. One of the effects of the poor productivity growth which underlies weak GDP growth has been the longest fall in real wages in living memory and poor wage forecasts for the future, reducing the potential for income tax as a source of government income. Looking further ahead, the move towards robots and automation in large parts of the economy has the potential in many economists' eyes of significantly reducing the demand for labour.

Aside from all the other social challenges these changes would mean, the traditional social-democratic model of taxes on income to pay for the welfare state may be fatally undermined. If more and more of the fruits of industry accumulate to capital, rather than labour, how do we redesign the tax system to take this into account? The problem is particularly acute bearing in mind the extreme mobility of capital in the 21st century.

There are fundamental questions here for how we raise the tax revenues we want to create the better society we believe

in. The alternative – or complement – to fixing our tax-and-spend model is more fundamental reform. If we can find ways to broaden the ownership of wealth and assets in society, there will be less pressure on the existing redistribution mechanisms to reduce inequality.

We need to look again at an asset-based welfare system. The axing of schemes such as the child trust fund by the Tories cannot be the death knell of such approaches. Policies which redistribute assets must be a major part of the future of the left. Under Jeremy Corbyn's leadership Labour have considered ideas which begin to address this. I spoke earlier this year about a 'right to own' for workers to participate in the running and ownership of their workplaces.

As well as the concept that 'slow growth exacerbates inequality', it is also even possible that the reverse is true: the hoarding of wealth could be a factor in the sluggish growth of recent years. If wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few, that may have consequences for the level of global savings and possibly the 'secular stagnation' thesis based on low interest rates.

Andy Haldane, the chief economist of the Bank of England, rightly said in a recent speech that the fruits of the UK's recent recovery have accumulated disproportionately to those who already own assets. For all our sakes, this cannot continue to be the case: a fairer, healthier economy will have to do more than redistribute income.

It's essential for the future economic health of the country, as well as the political future of the left and the wellbeing of the people the Labour party exists to represent, that progressive solutions to these questions are found. ■

John McDonnell MP is the shadow chancellor

FAREWELL TO FABIAN REVIEW EDITOR ED WALLIS

This is the last *Fabian Review* to be edited by Ed Wallis, who leaves this summer after 8 years with the society. As editor of the magazine since 2011 and commissioning editor of our Fabian books, pamphlets and policy reports, Ed has been a lynchpin of the society. He has also led our research on environmental policy and localism which will stand him in excellent stead in his new role at Locality, the network of community-led organisations. Everyone at the Fabians will miss him immensely and we wish him the very best for the future. AH

Challenging times

She did not emerge as the candidate, but Angela Eagle sparked Labour's leadership contest after Brexit led the parliamentary party's uneasy truce to collapse. She tells *Conor Pope* why Labour can't go on as it is – and why there is hope for the future



Conor Pope is senior reporter at LabourList

IT WAS THE EU referendum result that was the final straw. It led to “a collective snapping of the parliamentary party’s patience” with Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership, Angela Eagle tells me. Labour MPs had watched in horror as entire regions that have traditionally formed the party’s base simply ignored the warnings and opted to leave the European Union.

Having seen what had happened with their colleagues in Scotland, and how the independence referendum had acted as a trigger for Scottish Labour’s collapse, revealing deep-set and long-term problems about the way the party communicated with its core support, many saw a grim parallel.

Within hours of the result on Friday morning, moves were underway to organise a vote of no confidence in Corbyn as leader. On Sunday, after the middle of the night sacking of Hilary Benn, 12 shadow cabinet ministers resigned. A day later, eight more followed. All in all, there were more than 60 resignations from Labour’s frontbench over the course of just a few days.

Yet Corbyn held on, and he is still firmly in place by the time I meet Eagle in the office where she is planning her

shortlived leadership challenge, days before Owen Smith is crowned as the ‘unity’ candidate.

Having just moved in, the only thing notable about her campaign base at this point is the familiarity of the faces: the staffers and volunteers largely appear to be former aides to shadow ministers, recently made redundant by their bosses’ resignations. It is they who, over the last 10 months, have been trying to ensure Labour maintains a functional opposition to the Tories in increasingly difficult circumstances. It is they, perhaps, who have the most right to be aggrieved by the ways things have turned out.

Currently, the job of leader of the Labour party does not look particularly appealing. It would be an incredibly difficult task for even the most gifted of politicians. The party feels like it needs piecing back together; that a safe pair of hands would only be looking after the shards.

Eagle makes no attempt to gloss over the trouble the party is in. After announcing her challenge to Corbyn, a brick was thrown through her constituency office window, her staff had to stop answering the phones due to the level of abuse, and a man was arrested for threatening to kill her.

But all of that has only appeared to stiffen her resolve. “I

saw it in the 1980s. I fought it in the 1980s, and I’m fighting it again.” Only this time, she adds, it’s worse: “We didn’t used to get death threats in the 1980s.”

This animosity and vitriol has only fed a sense among those sceptical of the Corbyn project that they are wresting back control of the party, on behalf of Labour voters. “MPs up and down the country [are] being intimidated for expressing their genuine views about Labour voters’ needs and wants. There’s nine million Labour voters. We’ve all got our mandate from the people,” Eagle says, wryly referencing the common defence against criticism of the leader. “I think what’s happening is utterly deplorable. And it should stop.”

And she is not the only victim of this. Local Labour party meetings have been suspended nationwide because of growing concerns about unwelcome atmospheres and bullying. “How can we say we are a democratic party when people are being chased away from meetings because they’re so intimidatory?”

The problem is within the new membership, she says. Not the vast majority – arguing that more ought to be done to “engage” properly with the new joiners – but the large numbers involved has meant that “there’s been a move back into the party by some of the elements thrown out in the 1990s, and they’re back doing what they always do.”

Having overcome these problems before, however, she is adamant that Labour can do so again without the need for a split. What is needed, she says, is a rediscovery of Labour’s *raison d’être*: parliamentary representation.

That idea, it seems, has fallen by the wayside under Corbyn: “I think we’ve got to reaffirm the purpose of the Labour party. The Labour party was created – Clause 1 of its constitution – to get representatives into parliament so they could legislate in the interest of working people. We’ve always been a parliamentary party and a movement. I think Jeremy’s only interested in the movement outside. He’s not interested in parliament. I’ve come to this conclusion from months of trying to make being on his frontbench work and realising he’s not interested.”

Eagle has been appealing to the party’s rich heritage. “I’ve given my life to the labour movement and the Labour party,” she says. “When I was growing up I saw the Labour party as the only vehicle through which we could make our society work better for the majority of people and I still think that. That’s why I’m doing this. We cannot let the Labour party, as a vehicle for change, just turn into a protest thing that turns up, waves a few banners, sells a few newspapers and then disappears.”

It is a smart strategy, and one which Corbyn himself executed to great success last year, positioning himself not in the centre of modern British politics, but at the centre of the Labour party historically. It is one of Blairism’s failings that, by styling itself as a ‘New’ Labour apart from the old, it wrote itself out of the party’s traditions and allowed itself to be portrayed as an entryism of sorts. Through that, it has lost its claim to a medium-term legacy in its own party.

That is one reason why the challengers who put themselves forward to take on Corbyn are several notches to the left of Ed Miliband. After the first hustings of the contest, which featured Eagle, Corbyn and Owen Smith in front of the parliamentary Labour party, the excitement from one MP

was palpable: “The rest of the Labour family right across the country are in for a treat, a huge surprise. They will begin to realise that they have their party back from New Labour.”

Eagle is certainly not shy about placing herself on the political spectrum. “I’m on the left. I’ve lived my politics, I didn’t learn them. I was born into a family that was working class, where there hadn’t been anyone with any privileges and I was fortunate enough to get my education and go on and do the things I did.” She’s also clear that, even without Corbyn, a future Labour government must be anti-austerity.

Here is where another of her criticisms of Corbyn comes – she is furious about the incompetence she sees in Labour’s top team. Not just in terms of media communications and campaigning, but in terms of policy formation and getting the basics right. “We have to have a proper anti-austerity policy rather than just a slogan,” she says.

“Jeremy is full of nice notions about peace and justice but no hard policies have emerged. John McDonnell, his council of economic advisors was a really good innovation, but they’ve all resigned or told him that they can’t work with the current set-up. We haven’t got detailed policy after nine months of John. They’re just not doing the day job.”

This frustration is clearly borne out among a number of former shadow ministers. MPs such as Lilian Greenwood and Thangam Debbonaire, neither known for having confrontational attitudes, have shared their stories of poor management, and Angela adds her own.

“I had a weekly meeting with John McDonnell as shadow business secretary cancelled every single time except for one, in nine months. I would wake up and read things in the papers about areas that I’m meant to be covering, as policies that were just put in behind my back into Jeremy’s speeches. Absolutely no attempt to co-ordinate, to bring me on board in any way. You can’t have a collective shadow cabinet capacity to have a compelling policy offer if that’s how you behave.”

It is easy, then, to feel a little hopeless about Labour’s current fortunes. The party faces huge difficulties communicating with its own supposed core base – a problem which Eagle says they knew existed under Ed Miliband and is “worse” under Corbyn. After six years of austerity, Labour is still struggling to get its message across, and it has a leader the majority of its MPs would publicly say will never become prime minister.

But, says Eagle, it is still too soon to write off the next election. “Particularly after Brexit,” she says. “Those who wanted remain to win are aghast and very, very worried,” while on the other side, “leavers who were expressing what I’d call a howl of pain about the economic situation and their prospects are expecting all this extra money to the NHS and an end to immigration, and they’re not going to get it.”

The flux in British politics looks to many to be working against Labour in almost every conceivable way. Yet in the face of what some would see as an existential crisis, she sees an opportunity. “We are at a stage in our politics where voting patterns are completely up for grabs,” she says.

At a time of division, animosity and austerity, maybe Angela Eagle has landed on the one thing that can turn it around for Labour: ambition. ■

Finding a new future

60 years on from the publication of *The Future of Socialism*, social democracy faces an unprecedented intellectual and electoral crisis. Over the next five pages, the *Fabian Review* investigates what lessons today's left can draw from Tony Crosland's revisionism. To introduce this special feature, Patrick Diamond writes that while the prospects for UK social democracy hardly appear propitious, Crosland's vision still offers a persuasive prospectus...



Patrick Diamond is executive chair of Policy Network and university lecturer in public policy at Queen Mary, University of London

ANTHONY CROSLAND'S ENDURING relevance as an intellectual reference point for the British left is hard to dispute. In the wake of the party's 2015 defeat, *The Financial Times* insisted Labour had to "reawaken the modernising impulse in the party's past, championed by figures such as Tony Crosland" to re-emerge as a credible governing force.

Yet returning to Crosland's legacy 60 years after *The Future of Socialism* might appear incongruous. By the time of Crosland's death in 1977, his judgement that post-war Britain was on the road to sustained economic growth and greater social equality appeared suspect: conflict between employers and the workforce had intensified; the industries that had been nationalised after the second world war performed erratically; many western nations were experiencing prolonged stagnation. Social democracy offered few obvious answers, paving the way for neo-liberal hegemony in the 1980s and 1990s. Ever since the Callaghan government acceded to the IMF bail-out in 1976, the Labour party has wrestled with the same fundamental question: what is Labour's answer to neo-liberalism in a global, footloose, international economy?

New Labour's third way in the 1990s led to an electoral revival, but the 'new' revisionism proved deficient: there was a mistaken assumption that capitalist economies were becoming knowledge-based, eradicating the structural antagonism between workers and management. In fact, global capitalism was becoming harder to regulate. The gap between rich and poor increased markedly.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, Labour was exposed: just as a social democratic critique of the market was necessary, the moderate left was 'asleep at the wheel'.

Having sanctioned decades of light-touch regulation, delighting in the exuberance of markets which delivered a sizeable surplus for social investment, Labour had become a victim of the 'Faustian pact' with capital. British social liberalism and social democracy were premised historically on a radical critique of the market; but as progressives sought to reclaim the market economy in the 1990s to achieve electoral success, any critical perspective was lost at exactly the moment when markets were demonstrably "prone to instability, excess and abuse".

The prospects for UK social democracy 40 years after Crosland's death and more than a decade since Labour last won a national election scarcely appear propitious. John Gray and Vernon Bogdanor insist globalisation alongside devolution to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has eaten away at the centre-left's structural support. The constitutionally unified, indivisible British state that was integral to social democratic politics is no more. Of course, nation states are devising new means of exercising power. As Geoff Mulgan has written: "the basic powers of governments have not diminished... the idea that governments have become impotent is an illusion, albeit one that can provide a useful alibi". States retain their capacity to raise taxes and spend public resources; they resolve collective problems from organised crime to environmental degradation; and states are enhancing their role in relation to challenges from early childhood disadvantage to the demographic pressures of population ageing.

But there can be little doubt that social democracy in Britain faces major difficulties, underlined by the decision on 23 June to quit the European Union, a choice that is unleashing a wave of political and economic shocks with

highly unpredictable long-term consequences. So what can be achieved by returning to Crosland's revisionism in the new political context? It is tempting to dismiss Crosland as a throwback to a bygone era. The revisionist assault on Marxism was undertaken by Bernstein in the 1890s; the post-war society in which Crosland was immersed was a very different age. There was no successor generation of 'Croslandites' in British politics: figures who once claimed the revisionist mantle such as Shirley Williams and Bill Rodgers defected to the SDP. Those who remained in the Labour party, notably Roy Hattersley and Giles Radice, found Crosland intolerably arrogant and aloof, unwilling to encourage the next generation of revisionists; Crosland "gave them little encouragement in their own efforts to think out new strategies... he said at one point that he was 'too bloody busy' to rethink his whole philosophy".

Nonetheless, Crosland's vision of social justice through collective action combined with personal liberty still offers a persuasive social democratic prospectus. As Raymond Plant has testified, rather than imperilling freedom, an extended role for the state is compatible with liberty, choice and autonomy enabling us to shape lives truly worth living. Crosland was a passionate supporter of the comprehensive reform of legislation governing personal behaviour: Britain in the 1960s and 1970s became a more libertarian, 'permissive' society thanks to his influence. Crosland's view of political economy accepted the primacy of property rights and the profit motive. The aim of replacing capitalism with an alternative economic system was futile: social democracy must reform markets, rather than abolishing them. As such, Crosland's vision of the enabling state aimed to guarantee every individual access to opportunities and material resources, narrowing the class divide while minimising inequalities in the distribution of wealth, income and power. Finally, Crosland's vision involved the tenacious commitment to a liberal democratic polity: social problems should be resolved through rational analysis and persuasion rather than prejudice, intolerance and fear. Crosland would have condemned the crude populism of left and right currently threatening to sweep through Europe. For him, Labour must be a party receptive to a diversity of traditions; constitutional politics and parliamentary institutions served Britain well; public service and duty was the fundamental vocation of politics.

What Crosland bequeathed to the centre-left, above all, was a method of practising social democratic politics in a changing society. He emphasised, most famously, the separation of institutional means from ideological ends, the sine qua non of revisionism. And his political outlook was shaped by powerful intellectual impulses of continuing relevance today. Firstly, Labour would never win as a "class-based, socialist party"; it had to build support as a national party in the name of a truly classless society. Secondly, socialism was a moral enterprise that was about more than the production and distribution of material goods; it emphasised quality of life and a public realm that broke down the "distance factors" between classes. Instead of preaching "abstinence and a good filing system", social

democracy must enhance the right to private enjoyment and self-fulfilment. Thirdly, Croslandite revisionism was fiercely anti-paternalistic: the role of collective institutions was to equip individuals with the 'capabilities' to lead flourishing lives. As such, it is wrong to label Crosland as an incipient Fabian bureaucrat. He believed that the left and liberty were natural bedfellows, while his deeply felt egalitarian beliefs constituted an attack on "the indefensible differences of status and income that disfigure our society". Fourthly, the left had to apply its "sociological imagination" to understand the complexity of social and cultural change in Britain; instead of mourning the loss of traditional institutions and political identities, socialism had to positively embrace the post-war world. Fifthly, Crosland eschewed liberal cosmopolitanism having represented Grimsby, a port on the east coast of England; he acknowledged the importance of national and communal attachments that enabled citizens to sustain a sense of belonging and solidarity. Nonetheless, Crosland rejected jingoistic chauvinism: he had no time for "old dreams of empire"; Crosland was an internationalist who believed "we should link our destinies with a dynamic and resurgent Europe", as he once wrote in *The Conservative Enemy*.

These are powerful legacies which British social democracy should embrace. Had he observed the contemporary Labour party, in all likelihood (although we cannot know for certain) Crosland would have been dismayed by what he saw: he would have viewed the current leadership's

agenda as merely concerned with reviving socialist policies first proposed in the 1970s, out of touch with the new society. He would also have been unnerved by the emergence of 'Blue Labour' communitarianism as a means of reconnecting to the party's so-called working-class base. Crosland dismissed the communitarian romanticisation of working-class life (and he was especially critical of New Left theorists, notably Raymond Williams), while he did not believe that the commitment to 'community' was sufficient as a guiding principle for the left. He sought to put liberty and freedom at the centre stage of Labour's politics; as the party navigates the treacherous post-Brexit political landscape, Labour will need to reflect on how to rebuild the progressive alliances that swept the party to victory in 1945, 1964 and 1997, against the backdrop of unprecedented fragmentation in the body politic.

60 years since *The Future of Socialism*, Crosland's analysis remains "the benchmark" against which Labour's political thought is measured, and his vision of radical humanitarianism "still contains the seeds of a rich harvest", as David Lipsey and Dick Leonard attest. The post-war historian Kenneth O. Morgan concurs: "There has been no significant statement of socialist doctrine in this country – perhaps in any country – since Crosland in the mid-1950s". His strategies and politics remain a critical reference point by which the quality of the party's ideas and leadership should be judged. ■

The Crosland Legacy: The future of British social democracy, by Patrick Diamond is published by Policy Press

What Crosland bequeathed to the centre-left, above all, was a method of practising social democratic politics in a changing society



PUT CHILDREN FIRST

In an uncertain world, children's welfare is the best investment, argues *Kate Green*

The context for progressive policymaking has undergone massive change over the 60 years since *The Future of Socialism*. Globalisation, technology, changing attitudes to women's role, immigration, and increased longevity have all had an impact on patterns of family and working life, and the recent vote to leave the European Union has created further turbulence and uncertainty. The context in which the defining mission of social democracy – greater equality – must be achieved has shifted (and continues to shift) beyond recognition.

A series of reforms to our welfare state has attempted to address the implications of these trends. Some have been very successful: the record of Labour governments in reducing child and pensioner poverty between 1997 and 2010 stands out. But an emphasis on social security as a tool for responding to a rapidly changing society has brought the question of its fitness for purpose – indeed, what its purpose *is* – into sharp relief.

Today, it's fair to say that while the vast majority of us will benefit across our life course from the protection offered by our social security system, the attitude of the public towards it is one of mistrust and dislike. Conservatives condemn the system for fostering 'dependence' (and costing too much), while progressives complain about its failure to reduce inequality. Those in receipt of benefits report feelings of shame and stigma, while cuts have reduced the value of the social support that they receive. Meanwhile, a complex system of means testing, and increasingly punitive conditionality, have depressed take-up and led to a sharp rise in sanctions for non-compliance.

In the workplace, a hollowing out of the labour market has divided the well-qualified, well-paid, and those with a secure attachment to the labour market, from others whose employment experience is fragile, exploitative and sporadic. The inability of the social security system to respond adequately to this phenomenon has opened the way for the concept of 'predistribution'. Even so, the policy solutions that resulted have proved

limited in effect. Poverty among working households continues to increase.

Devising policies to address these challenges against the devastating legacy of austerity and post-EU membership will be imperative for a future Labour government. But the policy territory is crowded, and contested, and there will be some hard choices that we'll have to make.

Of course, reducing inequality and ending poverty will be central to our programme. But is reducing inequality by tackling excess income and wealth at the top more effective and more important than lifting those at the bottom out of poverty? and are we attending sufficiently to both? Do we favour an insurance-based model, pooling and sharing risks? Or should we offer more choice and autonomy to individuals to manage their own lives? Is the priority universal services, or maximising family income? Should the system continue to compensate for labour market failures, or should we refocus our energies on an industrial strategy that transforms the prospects of those most marginalised in the workplace? Do we see the social security system as providing a safety net or can we transform it into a springboard?

The answer will be a mix of all of the above, but the left needs to be clear about how we select our priorities. So we must start by setting out the principles on which we'll base our policy agenda. The basis for the choices we make must be future-focused and future-proof. That means prioritising investment in the next generation.

Today, children have been all but airbrushed out of the list of priorities for our social welfare system. Mothers (usually the main carers of children) have seen financial support to meet their children's needs reduced. Investment in the early years and Sure Start has been slashed. Pressure on school budgets is leading to teaching and ancillary staff cuts, while children with special educational or mental health needs find them increasingly unmet. Young people have lost entitlement to a range of benefits that encourage their learning and promote independence. Specialist youth and careers services on which they rely have closed, they lack rights at work available to older workers, and they're increasingly expected to build their adult lives on a shaky foundation of soaring levels of personal debt, and in a world of shrinking opportunities exacerbated by our departure from the European Union.

In this period of exceptional uncertainty, committing to prioritising our children's future makes the choices that we'll have to face to repair the damage that we'll inherit

a little easier to make. That means above all addressing the poverty that so harms children's life chances. Our priority therefore should be to invest in services to support young people and children (especially in the early years), and in financial support for children. Meanwhile, our industrial strategy must focus on improving mothers' labour market participation and experience.

Our explicit and overriding goal must be to put our children first. In a fast-changing and uncertain world, their welfare is the best investment we can make. **F**

Kate Green is MP for Stretford & Urmston



MEANS AND ENDS

The movement is neither everything nor nothing, writes *Kathryn Perera*

Few would lump the words 'Crosland' and 'communitarianism' into one sentence. In outlining his vision for the future of socialism, Anthony Crosland barely gave a nod to the importance of community in the functioning of political life. Indeed, when Maurice Glasman launched Blue Labour, Crosland was his chief villain. According to Glasman, in Crosland's view "the ends were everything and the means were nothing."

This overstates matters, of course. Crosland never argued that the movement is nothing. No doubt he was too astute a politician to view it as a binary choice. Yet Crosland's curious failure to address this component of Labour's historic success does suggest a limit to the lessons for Labour's current revisionist moment. To those who are as interested in *how* Labour 'does politics' as in what it does politics for, Crosland falls short.

So what does Crosland offer those re-thinking the practice of Labour politics in communities?

In *The Future of Socialism*, Crosland famously outlined a dozen traditions which found their political expression through Labour. In doing so, Crosland did not merely note the truism that "Labour is a broad church". He pointed expressly to Labour's

multiple traditions, unconstrained by rigid doctrine, as a basis for its success.

This insight is worth consideration. The certainties of the Fabians' dominant orthodoxy bear much responsibility for the current state of Labour's organisation. Centralist by instinct and focused on the state, that orthodoxy formed the intellectual basis of an approach to politics that was about doing things for and to people rather than with them. That Labour became, in organising terms, a shell of its former self owes much to this mindset. As the heterodox Fabian thinker RH Tawney noted: "The certainties of one age are the problems of the next."

Crosland reminds us that this centralist practice of politics is only one tradition from which revisionists need draw. The rich and often contradictory wider traditions of the Fabians need their place, whether Tawney's conception of the common good or GDH and Margaret Cole's ideas of self-government.

Drawing on these strands, Blue Labour gave intellectual force to the idea of relational organising. Many of its insights remain salient. A reliance on administrative methods to achieve transformative ends cannot suffice. Yet it stalled in realising a more community-based politics. The practice of Labour transforming communities through organising was left to a third-party organisation without formalised institutional support (Movement for Change) and an American community organiser-cum-consultant, whose individual reach was inevitably limited (Arnie Graf). Their ability to achieve transformative impact beyond circumscribed projects was compromised. As an intellectual project uncoupled from practice, Blue Labour did not generate the energy, strategy or narratives which could have translated it into a *political* project. That is the work of organising.

To realise communitarian values within a pluralist Labour tradition, an organising mindset is required. This means framing Labour's overall basis for action in terms of building and disrupting relationships. It means *organising* "in the country a political Labour party", as clause I of Labour's constitution calls us to do. This means integrating organising methodology and practice rather than setting it apart as 'community organising'. This, in turn, requires courage in thinking more broadly about Labour's founding purpose. Labour winning at the ballot box will – *must* – be its ultimate test. Yet a party whose way of doing politics does not reflect its values claim will never achieve transformative impact. In this work, the

movement is neither everything nor nothing. If we believe that how we do politics matters as much as what we do it for, then the choice is nonsensical. Organising is the means by which we create and then realise a political project. But without an end in mind, we might well ask: movement to where?

In *The Future of Socialism*, Crosland described a Labour party "furiously searching for its lost soul". He rightly labeled this effort futile. No one tradition encompasses that soul. We cannot dust off the works of Crosland, Tawney and others expecting to find answers for our current moment, any more than Crosland could lean on Hardie and Lansbury. At best, then, Crosland's articulation of Labour's multiple traditions, refined through practice and creative experimentation, can mark a direction. Adapt those traditions for the world we live in today. Refine them through sustained organising and reasoned argument. That is the Fabian way. **F**

Kathryn Perera is a 2015–16 US-UK Fulbright Scholar and visiting fellow at Harvard University. She was previously the national director of Movement for Change



SIGNS OF LIFE

Crosland's boundless ambition is key to a social democratic revival, writes *Stephen Bush*

When Anthony Crosland was in the cabinet, he trained his children to interrupt dinner parties with the words "the prime minister is on the telephone" when Match of the Day was about to start. He would retreat to another room, where, under the guise of talking politics, he would watch the football highlights.

That feels almost unimaginable now, not least because a modern cabinet minister would need to cajole his children into calling his mobile from another room if they were looking to pull off the same trick.

But it also feels remote because the idea of a social democrat getting that near to the

corridors of power in Britain feels like the stuff of history books. It was Tony Judt who coined the term "defensive social democracy" to describe how social democrats went from increasing the frontiers of the state to merely seeking to protect the gains of their predecessors. Now social democracy is on the defensive on two fronts, against the right and the left, whether that is within the established social democratic party or without in the shape of a populist challenger.

Just as defensive social democracy has proved an electorally unconvincing posture, it has, thus far, failed to convince internally. For Britain's social democrats, their best-case scenario has been internal victory via a backroom deal and external triumph thanks to a Brexit-induced recession.

The social democrat's theme tune has become a funeral dirge. To the right: a picture of public services in at best a state of disrepair and at worst on the brink of destruction. To the left: a warning of right-wing government without opposition and without end.

Unsurprisingly, that grisly picture has found few buyers. For social democracy to recover against its enemies within and without, it needs to recover its own sense of hope. Hope and energy are in plentiful supply in Crosland's work. But they also contain something more important than hope: ambition.

Crosland set out a series of rallying cries for Labour's next term in office: "abolish Lord Chamberlain [who had the power to veto any new play], abolish divorce laws, bring flagellation back into sex, have open air cafes open all night". A government which had achieved all that alone would have done more than enough to ensure its place in history – and although Crosland was not a natural ally of Labour's next prime minister, Harold Wilson, under his government, it was very much 'mission accomplished' as far as that list was concerned: censorship of the theatres halted in 1968. Divorce reform 1969. Wilson's government found time, too, to usher in Britain's last great era of municipal housebuilding and to found the Open University.

Yes, "open air cafes open all night" had to wait for Tony Blair, who in his best moments borrowed liberally from the Crosland playbook. But it wasn't a bad record, all told.

Although a promise to restore flagellation to the bedroom is unlikely to trigger a social democratic revival, the vaulting ambition of Crosland, and the sense that redistribution must start with financial transfers but it should not end there, hold the key to a renaissance.

The national calamity of Britain's Brexit vote has, among other things, thrown the future of both Scotland and Northern Ireland into doubt, handed the left perhaps its greatest defeat in a century, and put the British economy on the brink. But it has also put life into the social democratic project once more.

Austerity – always a political stick to hit Labour and reduce the size of the state, rather than an economic strategy – is no more, with the government's fiscal targets abandoned and the realisation that, to weather the storm, even a Conservative government will have to borrow money and build.

Although there is a world of difference between the stimulus offered by Theresa May – airport expansion and cuts to business rate versus housebuilding and green energy – revived Croslandite ambition offers a way out of a mere bidding war.

Just as man cannot live by bread alone, Crosland recognised that social democracy had to offer not just new houses but houses that people wanted to live in, calling for “statues in the centre of new housing estates, better designed new street lamps and telephone kiosks and so on ad infinitum”. That sense of boundless ambition, and beauty in public life, are the key to a social democratic revival.

The telephone kiosks are probably a non-starter though. ■

Stephen Bush is special correspondent at the New Statesman



MISSED OPPORTUNITY

Crosland's focus on school structure left an unhelpful legacy, argues *Mari Williams*

Tony Crosland set out his vision for education in *The Future of Socialism*.

“...all children can, if the society so decides, at least be given an equal chance of access to the best education. This chance does not exist in Britain, since the wealthier classes can purchase for their children the overwhelming social privilege denied to

other children equally deserving but less fortunate than their parents, of a public school education.”

The 1964 Labour manifesto promised, in the spirit of this vision, “an educational trust to advise on the best way of integrating the public schools into the state system of education”.

Crosland followed up on this commitment by setting up a public school commission in 1965 to look at “the best way of integrating the public schools with the state system of education.” However, the report ended up as two reports published in 1968 and 1970 and their only impact was to persuade the Conservative government in 1970 to introduce an assisted place scheme.

However, it was his actions on the secondary selection system that Crosland will be remembered for. Labour's 1964 manifesto promised to “get rid of the segregation of children into separate schools caused by 11-plus selection: secondary education will be reorganised on comprehensive lines.” The manifesto promised to “extend” the grammar school system so that “in future no child will be denied the opportunity of benefiting from it through arbitrary selection at the age of 11.” This was a recognition of the rising feeling amongst Britain's growing professional classes that the 11-plus system was unfair and did not benefit their children. By the mid-1960s, one in four children attended grammar schools so the vast majority of children attended secondary modern schools. More and more middle-class parents wanted the opportunity that grammar schools provided. Labour's aim was to extend this provision and comprehensives were intended for this purpose.

Crosland's circular 10/65 asked local authorities “to prepare and submit to him plans for reorganising secondary education in their areas on comprehensive lines.” Crosland's critics have argued that the circular was weak as it did not require local authorities to do this.

Some councils like Leicester were quick to take the chance but some resisted. Nevertheless, in the 10 years that followed 90 per cent of schools in England and 100 per cent in Wales became comprehensive. A small but significant number of local authorities resisted the change completely. Today, there are 164 grammar schools in England and the main political parties – with the exception of UKIP and the Welsh Conservatives – do not support the opening of any more.

Ultimately though, Crosland missed his chance. At a time when other countries such as Sweden were abandoning selection and really pushing the comprehensive system, and

with the professional classes clamouring for change, there was an opportunity to make the education system in Britain much more equal.

Crosland started a process where the majority of schools became comprehensive. These comprehensives sometimes took on the culture and tone of grammar schools but often were a new name for secondary moderns. But his focus on structure within schools has left an unhelpful legacy, which has become the focus of political debate rather than what really matters: high quality teaching and school leadership.

Between 1997 and 2010 the Labour government tried once again to tackle what had been labeled the “bog standard comprehensive”, through better management and new academies. But again, a reforming Labour government focused on the structure of schools rather than on the structures of society that produced educational inequality, including house prices and private schools.

Crosland's legacy therefore was to entrench the division between state and private schools and to keep the educational argument focused around structure rather than teaching, teachers and leaders. As the debate around enforced academisation continues, and more and more teachers leave the profession, now is the time to remember that building consensus on great schools is not about structures but people.

On the left we need to be arguing for getting the best people to work and stay in our schools. We need ‘golden hellos’ and ‘golden oldies’ to reward teachers who stick with the profession and continue to make a difference. We need to make sure teachers are rewarded for extras such as holiday and Saturday classes. We need to support and train the next generation of head teachers as well as ensuring all teachers are entitled to high quality training. All these measures cost money but an investment in education is better for Britain and its future economy.

Crosland's analysis of the divisions in society in 1956 remain all too relevant. Education is what will change children's life chances. But it is time to move on from structure. Building a consensus around the importance of the people leading and teaching in schools is key to delivering Crosland's vision. ■

Mari Williams is a deputy headteacher in a London secondary school and was a Labour parliamentary candidate in 2015

Comprehensive reform

Our economy and society are changing at rapid pace, but our school system remains fundamentally as it was in the 1960s. *Sally Prentice* outlines how education could be redesigned to meet the needs of the 21st century



Sally Prentice is a member of the Fabian Executive and stood in Herefordshire North in the 2015 general election. Sally is a former cabinet member for children and young people in Lambeth

IT IS OVER 50 years since Tony Crosland issued the Department of Education and Science circular 10/65 which “requested” that local authorities “go comprehensive”. Since then, the school leaving age, funding, curriculum, qualifications, management and governance have constantly changed. Yet, at a fundamental level the school system remains largely the same as it was in the 1960s: children go to primary school at the age of five, secondary school at the age of 11, take exams at 16, and leave at the age of 16 or 18.

British society is now at a crossroads after the EU referendum, which highlighted stark inequalities by geography, age and income. People with few or no qualifications overwhelmingly voted to leave the EU, feeling that they had nothing to lose in an economy that did not benefit them. Even before Brexit, doing more of the same was not the answer to major questions of how to solve the British economy's productivity problem, reduce social inequality and the economic decline of towns across the country. As Jim Knight has recently written for *Fabian Review*, Britain needs a different school system to enable young people to adapt to the digital age.

The recent Tory debacle on forcing all schools to become academies is reflective of an arid Westminster discourse. Labour hasn't been much better. First under Brown, then Miliband and then Corbyn, Labour has

showed almost no interest in education, the engine of opportunity, equality and life chances. MPs of all parties are focused on a narrow agenda of compliance, structures and Ofsted inspections: no one is asking whether our school system is equipping future generations of young people for life in an increasingly globalised and complex world. A 21st century education system could be organised in a radically different way. To achieve it, Labour needs to regain the intellectual and political leadership on education, as Harold Wilson did in 1964 and Tony Blair in 1997.

From Wilson to Blair: Labour's education reforms

In 1964, education was central to Labour's modernising platform. This was shaped by Tony Crosland's thinking in *The Future of Socialism*, which argued that “as an investment, education yields a generous return: we badly need more of it”.

Wilson saw ‘the white heat of technology’ as the agent of social change: scientific and technological innovation combined with the abolition of the 11 plus, the creation of comprehensive schools and the opening up of higher education to many more young people would create a fairer and more productive society and economy. His government implemented the Robbins report, establishing

seven new universities, including Warwick, York and Lancaster; founded 27 polytechnics and created the Open University. In his masterly biography, Ben Pimlott argued that Wilson changed higher education from “a rare privilege available only to the wealthy and a few exceptional others to a reasonable aspiration for any bright and industrious teenager”.

If Wilson and Crosland were alive today, they would probably be impressed and delighted by the transformation in the numbers of young people going to university; depressed by the persistence of structural unemployment and economic decline in towns such as Crosland's Grimsby constituency; and appalled by the deepening social inequalities in British society. In his recent book, *Social Class in the 21st Century*, Mike Savage concluded that educational outcomes and life chances for children and young people are increasingly determined by social class background and that social mobility is, at best, flat.

For the New Labour government elected in 1997, education was central to its mission. Raising school standards and expanding opportunities for post compulsory education and training were a top priority in the 1997, 2001 and 2005 Labour manifestos. Investment, growth and reform characterised Labour's approach to education: per pupil

expenditure increased very significantly given the flat figures in the 1990s, with more money directed to disadvantaged pupils and schools in deprived neighbourhoods; failing schools were turned round through creating city academies, with major successes in London in particular. John Hills and his team at the London School of Economics concluded in their review of Labour's record that efforts to tackle educational inequalities from 1997 to 2010 were "extensive, expensive and sustained". Yet while inequalities in educational outcomes were lower than they would have been without the Labour governments, the socio-economic attainment gap is still very large. Although expenditure on childcare and nursery education increased substantially through Sure Start, investment in early years still lags well behind other EU countries: provision is better, but of high cost, variable quality and patchy availability. Sure Start funding was then cut back very significantly by the coalition government; children's centres did not become a fundamental part of the welfare state like schools and hospitals.

Fit for purpose? Why further reform is needed

Although there are now more good and outstanding state schools than ever before, there are persistent structural weaknesses in our education system. The performance of schools and FE colleges in England and Wales simply isn't good enough. In 2014 only 53 per cent of our young people achieved six GCSEs A to C grades with English and maths. The PISA league tables show that 15 year olds in the OECD perform averagely in reading and maths, and at a slightly higher level in science.

The education select committee report *Underachievement in Education* by White Working Class Children describes how working class boys and girls perform significantly less well at school than their middle class peers. Their below average educational performance has adversely impacted upon regional economic growth, rising inequality and alienation from civic and political life. Poor educational achievement is particularly endemic in coastal resorts, mining communities, and towns and cities that were once dominated by heavy industry and have been experiencing painful economic decline for decades. The Ofsted chief inspector, Michael Wilshaw, in his most recent annual report, highlighted the poor performance of schools in the north west of England as a major barrier to increasing economic performance in the 'northern powerhouse'.

In order to begin the process of reform, the left has to have the courage to accept that



© Natalie Bowers

significant investment in schools and post-16 education and training during the Labour's years in office did little to improve our international competitiveness, reduce long-term youth unemployment or reduce social and economic inequalities.

The UK economy suffers from poor productivity, skill shortages and low pay. UK employers consistently complain about difficulties in recruiting employees with the right technical and 'soft' skills, and increasingly find it easier to send offshore technical roles or to recruit migrant labour. The demand for higher level technical skills is increasing due to business growth and employee retirement. The Royal Academy of Engineering forecasts that the UK economy will require 830,000 more engineers by 2020. The IPPR estimate there will be around 3.6 million new and replacement technician and associate professional level roles by 2020, yet our education and training system is not designed to address these requirements.

We do not do education and training for 14 to 19 year olds well in this country, except for academic high fliers. The outcomes for further education students are not good, either for them, employers or society. Richard Brooks details in the Fabian pamphlet *Out of Sight* how one in three young people in England reach the age of 19 without English and maths qualifications at GCSE grade C, which is the standard requirement for entry

into level three qualifications such as A levels and advanced apprenticeships. Too many young people drift through further education taking several different vocational courses with poor employment outcomes. These young people are not deprived, socially excluded or hard to help: they simply have poor literacy and numeracy and few qualifications.

Over the last 40 years, there have been numerous debates about the relative advantages and disadvantages of 11 to 18 schools compared with 11 to 16 schools; school sixth forms, free standing sixth form colleges (usually specialising in A levels) and further education colleges; the role of employers in preparing young people for the world of work; and numerous initiatives to provide 'parity of esteem' for vocational qualifications.

These questions were first asked by another Labour prime minister, Jim Callaghan, in a speech at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1976. Callaghan's speech aimed to start a 'great debate' on the school curriculum: what should be taught, how and who should decide, with the prime minister advocating a core curriculum with universal standards; greater importance attached to reading, writing and arithmetic; closer involvement of parents and industry with schools; and a greater focus on teaching technology. These questions are still relevant today: all educationalists, civil servants and politicians have been doing is going round in circles, frequently revisiting these

policy issues, introducing different interventions but without significant improvements in outcomes. Young people, employers and wider society have been the losers.

Co-ordinating, and more importantly, holding to account the myriad of agencies responsible for funding, delivering and inspecting 16 to 19 education and training has proved exceptionally difficult. The Manpower Services Commission, Training and Enterprise Councils, Further Education Funding Councils, Learning and Skills Councils, Sector Skills Councils, Regional Development Agencies have all come and gone. Unlike at the ages of 11 and 16, no one institution or leader is held to account for young people's qualifications and progression into employment or higher education at 19. Until this changes there will be no significant improvement in outcomes for young people.

Our education 'system' has failed too many young people under both Conservative and Labour governments. The problem is not a shortage of funding or of good intentions. Since 2014 all young people have had to stay in education or training until they are 18. National funding is available for full time study for all young people up to the age of 19. It is how this money is spent that is crucial.

We need a different education system. Our economy and society are changing very radically and the pace of change will only increase: we need a school system which is designed to meet the needs of the 21st century not one designed for the post 1945 era.

Comprehensive reform: a new schools agenda for the 2020s

Labour needs to think big – it should consider a fundamental change to our school system by creating a new three tiered model.

Each neighbourhood would have a children's centre for children aged 0 to 5 and their parents and carers: early intervention is fundamental to reducing inequalities in education and life chances more broadly. The children's centre would provide play, childcare, nursery education, health advice and family support. Most services would be free but childcare for working parents would be subsidised. The centres would offer universal provision for all families, but with a specific focus to ensure that those families with additional needs – whether due to disability, language or low income – felt welcome and confident to use the services provided. Intensive support would be given to children to ensure that every child met the development goals in the early years foundation stage. The children's centre would provide nursery education for two, three and four year

olds and the first year or two of compulsory schooling: on the continent children do not start formal school until they are six and they follow an early years play based curriculum.

Children would then attend a junior school from the ages of 6 to 13, to give children a broad education in all-ability schools. Older pupils would have different teachers for maths, English, languages and science, to provide specialist teaching in critical subjects from an earlier age. At 13 young people would choose to go to a 14 to 19 college, which would offer young people a core curriculum alongside opportunities to specialise and develop their skills, talents and knowledge in subjects and careers that interest them, in a supportive environment.

All colleges would teach a core curriculum of English, Maths, science, technology, citizenship, creative arts and sport but they would have a specialist focus – such as

Labour needs to think big – it should consider a fundamental change to our school system by creating a new three tiered model

engineering, health sciences, technology, performing and visual arts, environmental science or the humanities – tailored to the requirements of regional industries and employers. How teaching and learning is delivered would need to fundamentally change: post-14 schooling should be much more research-based, collaborative, knowledge-making and self-directed; it should be relating to real world challenges and collaborating with those outside education.

At the age of 13 young people would be able to be much more involved in deciding where and what they wanted to study than at the age of ten. A new network of 14 to 19 colleges would be much easier for employers, particularly small and micro businesses to engage with on a consistent basis, providing work experience, mentoring, projects and careers advice. There would be risks, not least that colleges specialising in engineering, technology and construction would be full of boys: but politicians, policy makers, school and college leaders and employers cannot shy away from the gender segregation in the labour market any longer. Society needs more female engineers and male primary school teachers.

This three-tiered model – children's centres/nursery schools for children from 0 to five; junior schools for children aged six

to 13; and colleges for young people aged 14 to 19 – would be a fundamental change to our school and college system and would of course meet with strong resistance. The teaching profession and their unions are unlikely to be enthusiasts and will argue that young people should not narrow their options by specialising so early in life. But it is surely better for all young people to reach 18 with the skills and qualifications to go to university or take up an advanced apprenticeship, even if they will have to retrain for roles that have yet to be created later in life. It is far better to be able to adapt to change from a position of career success than from insecure, low paid, low skilled work.

Adapting buildings would be difficult and require significant investment which the Treasury will be very reluctant to provide. However, the Treasury needs to be forced to face up to the fact that doing more of the same is not the answer to the UK economy's fundamental weaknesses of low productivity and skill shortages, and that freedom of movement will not be a solution to recruitment problems for much longer after Brexit. With the economic uncertainty caused by the referendum result, now is the time for bold thinking.

Labour MPs, city mayors and council leaders are best placed to challenge Treasury thinking. Together with major employers, small business leaders, head teachers, college principals and university vice chancellors, they need to ask searching questions about how their local education system should be changed. Now budgets for skills are being devolved to elected mayors in new combined authorities, further education will be reviewed in their cities. Fundamentally redesigning the structure of our schools and colleges will provide an opportunity to configure new institutions to meet the requirements of business, industry and public services in different regions: what is needed in the West Midlands will not necessarily be appropriate in Devon and Cornwall.

Education is fundamental to the left's core purpose. Labour won large majorities under Attlee, Wilson and Blair because they offered working people a vision of a better future for them and their families. As importantly, they showed how to get there: education reform was right at the heart of our manifestos in 1945, 1964 and 1997. Labour needs to rediscover a passion for 'education, education, education' to enable current and future generations to adapt and thrive in the digital economy of the 21st century. Reforming our school and college system so every young person can have a successful career would be a good place to start. ■

Giving refugees and communities a say in resettlement

A 'Local Refugee Match' would give agency to refugees, while also respecting the needs of local communities, argue *Will Jones* and *Alexander Teytelboym*



Will Jones is a lecturer in international relations at Royal Holloway, University of London, Alex Teytelboym is the Otto Poon research fellow at the Institute for New Economic Thinking, University of Oxford

PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON refugee protection tends to focus on headline numbers set by policymakers. In Britain one of these numbers is 20,000. That is, in September 2015 David Cameron promised to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in Britain by 2020. The public debate has thus far focused on whether this number is too low or high. But irrespective of what this number actually is, a further pressing question is where in Britain these vulnerable refugees are going to settle.

Labour's asylum policy has not historically given this question much consideration, or empowered communities in refugee resettlement. Since the Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999, the UK has relocated refugees (who tend to be temporarily housed in detention centres) away from the south east of England to a series of 'dispersal zones' within urban centres, largely in the north of England, Scotland, and Wales. This process was administered by the National Asylum Support Service (NASS, until its absorption into the Home Office). Although NASS entered into contracts with local authorities to house refugees, there was no systematic process to attempt to make sure that refugees and local areas were particularly suited to each other. In fact, refugees have no choice about where in the country they are relocated.

This came under much criticism for being unacceptably punitive, for removing refugees from precisely the social networks and community structures that could have helped their integration, and leading to community tensions (things got bad enough for NASS to suspend relocations to six areas in 2004). Surveys conducted in these areas found that both those granted asylum and hosting communities expressed deep anxiety over the policy, and

that existing residents felt particularly frustrated at a lack of consultation.

As many local communities announced that they would not participate in further rounds of contracts, NASS shifted to private sector companies, which have come under considerable criticism for their expense (estimated in the region of £620 million by 2012) and the high volume of cases of abuse, harassment, and disproportionate force during deportation conducted by some of these companies. The local communities, where refugees end up being hosted, feel even more excluded and frustrated by the process, and it has been argued that the privatisation of provision in these cities has fostered further anti-refugee sentiment.

This is also crucial for the rights and livelihoods of refugees themselves. There is abundant evidence from random dispersal schemes used in Denmark and Sweden in the '90s that refugees who are resettled into less affluent communities fare badly as a result. Many forms of protection and welfare support are not provided in every local area: the rights of disabled refugees, LGBT refugees, those suffering from PTSD or other forms of mental illness, all require particular services in order to properly vitiate their rights. In other contexts, many rights require appropriate community resources for their practical actualisation: not all local authorities have the same civil society capacities to call upon in making these rights real. Crucially, different areas may be able to provide differently: one community may have a well-organised network of Kinyarwanda-speaking churches, another will have Tigrinya-speaking mosques. The practical ability of refugees to access such community resources, which could be crucial to their realisation of their conception of the good, requires that they be in particular

parts of the country. To precisely that extent, the provision of these resources is also likely to relate directly to whether refugees and communities are able to integrate rapidly and durably.

Therefore a genuinely progressive refugee policy has to balance two important commitments. The cosmopolitan duty to help Syrians, Libyans, Eritreans and others in desperate need is often seen as in tension with respecting the legitimate desires and concerns of local communities. We propose a system which can reconcile the needs of refugees with the priorities of communities, by giving both a say in the process.

There are three problems with systems for matching refugees to local authorities in the status quo. Firstly, these processes are invariably 'bespoke': they rely on long interviews, contacting local authorities one by one, and manually allocating refugees to particular areas. When resettlement or relocation needs to happen rapidly, such bespoke matching becomes impossible. Secondly, this process is generally subject to minimal public scrutiny. This is a product of the focus on 'how many' rather than 'where'. Once a state has committed to a headline resettlement figure, there is comparatively little discourse around how it was determined that a particular refugee ended up in a particular place. Thirdly, insofar as refugees are consulted about where they would like to go, their preferences are inferred and acted on by agencies, rather than directly and honestly stated and implemented.

By analogy, imagine a world, similar to this one, where the state commits to educate every child. However, once that is settled, the state simply allocated each child to a school somewhere in the country. Thereafter, children were not permitted to switch schools, but have to make do. Little effort would be made to take into account anything about any child: where she and her parents might live, what skills she has, where her friends already attend, what her faith is, or what her interests are. The preferences of the children or of their parents would be completely ignored. So would the priorities and capacities of schools. In this world, there would be a lot of unhappy children in a lot of schools that would struggle to educate them.

Refugees and communities are not so different. In this context, we propose a centralised 'matching system' – the 'Local Refugee Match' – which would enable both refugees and local authorities to express, for themselves, their preferences as to where they would like to go, or which refugees they feel most capable of hosting.

The Local Refugee Match would function similarly to the matching systems used successfully to match children to schools in the UK. This system would come into effect after it is agreed that a given population of refugees is to be resettled, and that particular communities agree to host some proportion of that total number. At that point both parties get a say: they submit a ranking to a centralised clearinghouse: refugees (as families) would submit their preferences over where they wish to go, and communities their priorities as to which categories of refugees they feel best able to help.

Local authorities would not rank refugees individually. Instead, they would have 'priority categories' corresponding to their provision capacities, which they would rank. The provision capacities of local authorities are more diverse than is usually thought: for example, some hospitals specialise in providing for particular conditions. In a local authority with a hospital treating unusual medical conditions (eg tropical medicine), the highest priority might be for refugees who have those conditions. Other priority categories might include: the suitability of accommodation, particular care services, the availability of particular forms of in-kind welfare, educational opportunities (eg spaces in schools), employment opportunities, the presence of particular civil society groups in a position to play support roles in refugee reception, and other integration services.

The state should decide what the priority categories could be, but local authorities themselves could control their ranking of those categories. Deciding what categories it is permissible to rank on is important in order to prevent local authorities attempting to prioritise refugees in morally repugnant ways (eg were a local authority to try and take only white refugees). One possible way to do this would be to make the priority categories correspond to the categories of vulnerability and particular need already collected by UNHCR and other resettlement agencies. Then, it would be a simple matter to

guarantee that refugees with those particular needs were matched to local areas which actually possessed the capacity to meet them.

Refugees also have diverse preferences over where they most wish to go: they will have eclectic skills, needs and life goals. For example, refugees with children

have very different aspirations to refugees in or nearing retirement. Different refugee families will have friends or relatives in different parts of the country, will speak different languages, be of different faiths, and so on. Right now, centralised bureaucracies try to collate this information and infer preferences on behalf of refugees. While bureaucrats may have some idea about the top preference of a refugee family, they are extremely unlikely to identify correctly their second, third, fourth etc. preferences. Realistically, it will not be possible to give every refugee their top choice, so having a good idea what the next preferences are can dramatically improve the number of apt matches between refugees and communities.

The Local Refugee Match will not help any more refugees than the government has already agreed to help. But by taking their preferences seriously it can ensure that the resettled refugees have the best chance in starting their new life in Britain. We also hope that the transparency and the effectiveness of the system would encourage more local authorities to participate (since just over 70 do so currently on a voluntary basis) in resettling refugees. Most importantly, the Local Refugee Match would give agency and dignity to those refugees coming to Britain, while also respecting the priorities and needs of local communities. That surely is what any truly progressive and fair asylum policy must aspire to do. ■

The Local Refugee Match would function similarly to the matching systems used successfully to match children to schools in the UK

Books

In defence of politics

In an era of anti-politics, Joan Ruddock's memoir is a reminder of the value of public service, writes *Deborah Stoate*



Deborah Stoate is local societies officer at the Fabian Society



Going Nowhere:
A memoir
Joan Ruddock
(Biteback, 2016
£25.00)

Joan Ruddock's autobiography comes out at a crossroads in British political life, against a backdrop of an ugly public mood of contempt and distrust for politicians. MPs are demonised and despised, sneered at and mocked, and physically attacked. They're all the same, only in it for themselves' seems the current default opinion and acknowledgement that most MPs – from all sides – are genuinely in the job for good and altruistic reasons, is hard to find. Social media encourages this, and women MPs in particular are targeted for vitriolic abuse.

So to read Joan Ruddock's detailed catalogue of a political life devoted to serving her constituents and fighting for the causes she espoused is a welcome antidote to this cynicism.

This book charts Joan's life both political and personal, from her birth in the Welsh Valleys, going on to chair CND in the early 80s, being the MP for Lewisham Deptford between 1987 and 2015 including various spells as a minister. Radical university politics led her to abandon her PhD in genetics and take a job with Shelter, during which her commitment to equality and feminism deepened. She set up a campaign against cruise missiles at Greenham Common and her role at CND brought both adulation and derision as well as surveillance by MI5 and a government attempt to get her sacked from her day job at Citizens Advice.

Elected in 1987 she held three consecutive shadow portfolios and by 1987 was thought to be on the fast track to high office. So why then did Tony Blair pass her over in his first round of appointments leaving her 'going nowhere'? This slight was soon rectified when she was made minister for women – although Tory opponents were quick to seek to exploit that it was an unpaid position. Unfortunately after pushing through a radical agenda with Harriet Harman, she was sacked a year later.

"I get to see Tony in his Westminster office. He's sitting there with the Cabinet Office secretary. He smiles and says simply 'I'm sorry I have to let you go'. I blurt out: 'No you don't' and ask to know why. There is of course no explanation ... Being sacked is a horrible experience for anyone, but a second rejection from someone I had previously worked with so closely and served so loyally is devasta-

tion. I feel completely worthless ... In two years I'd lost my womb, my husband, my house and now my ministerial job. I couldn't feel much worse".

Anyone looking for salacious political gossip should look elsewhere. Her allegiances are obvious, though there is a noticeable transition from referring to Tony Blair as "Tony", then "prime minister", followed by "Tony Blair" and finally "Blair". Her vocal opposition to the Iraq war did not help the relationship. She writes on 7 March 2003: "There can be no justification for war. Every night I lie awake thinking about it. I feel a profound sense of powerlessness. How can intelligent men with a knowledge of the world behave so irrationally? But then I reflect on George Bush's ignorance and Tony Blair's lack of experience in foreign affairs before becoming PM. It seems bizarre that I should believe that I know better than they do, but how can I think otherwise?"

During her time on the back benches, she fought for many causes and successfully led the campaign to elect Harriet Harman as deputy leader. She was rewarded by the new PM Gordon Brown in June 2007 with a junior ministerial position at DEFRA, then in the newly-created DECC, with the climate change brief which delighted her. In June 2009 with the country in recession, Labour sliding in the polls and the House in turmoil over expenses, she was promoted to minister of state. Despite the intensity of the schedule and the passion for the brief, the sense of the government unravelling is palpable. Colleagues die suddenly – "workload and the vilification of MPs over expenses are taking their toll".

This is not an easy read. It is dense and over keen on minutiae. Yet it describes in fascinating detail the complexity of life as a member of parliament, grappling with local, national and international issues whilst trying to deal with sometimes tragic personal problems – as well as just trying to have fun. It may make some people realise that it's not as easy as it seems from the outside, to be an MP; it may indeed put people off wanting to be one themselves. Yet as Harriet Harman says, "this is the memoir of a pioneer. Joan was a woman ahead of her time ... Future generations who read this memoir will learn a great deal about how to make progressive change". **F**

The demand side

Pimp State shows the debate surrounding prostitution should not just be about a choice made by those who sell, when it's a choice for those who buy as well, writes *Ellie Cumbo*



Ellie Cumbo works in law and justice policy, has a background in the Violence Against Women and Girls sector, and sits on the Fabian Women's Network Executive Committee



Pimp State:
Sex, Money
and the Future
of Equality
Kat Banyard
(Faber & Faber,
2016, £12.99)

When Jeremy Corbyn said that he favoured decriminalisation of the sex industry, the backlash was immediate. Harriet Harman, Jess Phillips, Stella Creasy and other MPs known for their work on women's equality spoke of exploitation, abuse and violence; another was reportedly reduced to tears at the subsequent PLP meeting.

It later emerged that, according to a spokesman, Corbyn was referring exclusively to those who sell. He had not meant to suggest removing penalties for those who buy. Whatever his true position is, the Labour leader is not alone in casually eliding prostitution as a whole with those who supply its services, as though the demand did not exist at all, let alone deserve legislative scrutiny. Any internet search on the sex industry reveals countless articles which speak only of 'sex workers', who are mostly women, with zero mention of punters, who are overwhelmingly men. It seems the right time, then, for Kat Banyard's new book to put them, and this entire gendered dimension, firmly in the spotlight.

Unsurprisingly, it is not pretty. In six chapters covering what Banyard posits are six myths about commercialised sex, including pornography, the men who consume it reveal attitudes ranging from entitlement to detachment to outright contempt. What they aren't, however, is under any illusions about mutuality and shared desire. "Obviously, it's my money", says one. "I want them to treat me the way I want, and not the way they want". Another ruminates at length about the sad histories that may have brought the women he sees to this situation, but has no hesitation in telling Banyard how imperative it is that they offer him "a good service". The women interviewed concur: the power imbalance isn't incidental here; it's what these men are paying for.

For this reason, *Pimp State* will be a particularly challenging read for those who would categorise themselves as being on the liberal left, whether or not they also identify as feminists, since this is an area where those two ideologies are in direct conflict with each other. The rise of socially liberal attitudes to sex and sexuality in recent decades has led to significant victories for LGBT equality, but has arguably embedded a resistance to seeing how sexual freedom in heterosexual encounters is complicated

by the continuing economic and cultural inequality of women. Meanwhile, a classic left-of-centre analysis of prostitution, as with any industry, would place less emphasis on the binary question of choice versus coercion, and more on the realities of where power lies when one person pays another.

To add a more recent flavour from Milibandite or Blue Labour thinking, many progressives are profoundly invested in making our economy and society less transactional and more relational in nature. To transform sex from a voluntary act between equal partners, to a service which one person must provide to the satisfaction of another in exchange for money, is the complete reverse. As Banyard says in her chapter on pornography, "The second-by-second feeling of genuinely wanting to continue having sex with someone does not obey the contractual rules of the market".

She takes this to its logical conclusion by asking employment lawyers how laws making such contracts legally enforceable would look in practice. The thought of men like those who post scathing reviews of women on punter websites for 'not being into it' actually being able to sue for non-performance is surely a grotesque one for all but the most ardent libertarians.

In these ways, Banyard's book is relevant to a wide readership, though she will not convince everyone of the radical feminist perspective that prostitution is inherently violent. While it is vital that women who have experienced the sex industry as innately abusive are heard, it is also not possible to magic away those who say the opposite.

But the impact of *Pimp State* deserves to be that prostitution is no longer talked of as though it is solely a choice made by those who sell, when by definition it is also a choice for those who buy. Legislators and commentators alike must be prepared to acknowledge the role of male sexual entitlement and misogyny among those who make this choice. And when we come to talk about what laws are needed, we should remember violence does not exist in the abstract. It is meted out by real men who live in our communities, whose motives and behaviour must be confronted and considered – before ambiguous phrases like 'decriminalising the sex industry' are used in public. **F**

Noticeboard

Fabian Executive Elections

In 2015 the Fabian Executive Committee was elected for a two-year term. There are accordingly no elections for this committee in 2016.

Fabian Women's Network Elections

The Fabian Women's Network Executive Committee was also elected for a two-year term, and there are no elections for this committee in 2016.

Young Fabian Executive Elections

Nominations are open, for any member under the age of 31 on the date of the AGM (19 November 2016), for the annual elections to the Young Fabian Executive Committee. You can nominate yourself. Nominations, of not more than 70 words, should be emailed to giles.wright@fabians.org.uk by 26 August, with "Young Fabian elections" in the subject line. Full details will be posted on the Young Fabian website, www.youngfabians.org.uk

Fabian Fortune Fund

WINNERS:

Linda Nicklin £100
Half the income from the Fabian Fortune Fund goes to support our research programme. Forms and further information from Giles Wright, giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

Annual General Meeting

The AGM will take place on Saturday 19 November at 2pm in central London. Any full member, national or local, may submit a resolution to the AGM. Resolutions must not be of a political character expressing an opinion or calling for action, other than in relation to the running of the Society itself. The deadline for resolutions is Friday 12 August 2016. They should be addressed to the general secretary at the address above or emailed to giles.wright@fabians.org.uk. Resolutions will be circulated in the autumn issue of Fabian Review and amendments will be invited. Any amendments must be submitted five weeks before the AGM. Please contact Giles Wright at giles.wright@fabians.org.uk or phone 020 7227 4903 for more information about the above.

Pat Haynes, 1931–2016

There are local Fabian Societies, and there is the Islington Fabian Society. The latter is unique, and the creation of the late Pat Haynes. Why unique? Because, when he discovered the Islington North CLP was 'full' and closed to new members, he set up the Fabian Society which allowed people to join, to gather, to affiliate and thence become party members.

Indeed, at the celebration of his life in May in Islington Town Hall, Jeremy Corbyn both read a testimony from Margaret Hodge that she might never have got onto the council without Pat's groundwork, but also paid his own tribute to Pat not just for such help in his selection for parliament, but in a host of ways over the 30 years they worked together, and for being a bicycling politician.

Pat didn't just use the local society as a Trojan horse. He turned it into a proper local society, with speakers from Paul and Michael Foot (on different occasions), Eric Heffer, Peter Shore, Shirley Williams, Tony Benn and a myriad of others over the years. He took networking and political education seriously, whilst also organising Fabian dinners and the Islington FS ramble during his unbelievable 40 years as secretary.

Pat Haynes was a true Fabian, motivated by socialism but also evidence-based, practical policies to achieve those ends, helping to draft the party's local election manifesto such that, over time, it was all implemented. He was also a national Fabian, attending schools, conferences, social events – and endless AGMs on rainy Saturdays in November.

Other societies appreciated his example and his efforts, and he was elected the local societies rep on the Executive Committee in 1988–9, 1993–5, 2000–1, always conscientious in attending meetings, and giving great support to Fabian staff – as I can testify.

Pat was, above all, Islington man. A councillor for some 30 years, mayor, and foremost supporter of umpteen voluntary organisations and campaigns in the borough, as well as being a JP and prison visitor. And all the while a local historian, authoring numerous pamphlets and books about Islington, its council and the Fabian Society, and establishing the Islington library. **F**

Dianne Hayter (Former general secretary of the Fabian Society) May 2016

BIRMINGHAM

For details and information, please contact Andrew Coulson at Andrew@CoulsonBirmingham.co.uk

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

The Society celebrates its 125th anniversary in 2017 with activities and meetings. Contact Ian for details 28 October. Lord Roger Liddle 25 November. Prof. Alan Whitehead MP Meetings at The Friends Meeting House, Wharncliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth at 7.30. Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com

BRIGHTON & HOVE

Meetings start 8pm at Brighton Friends' Meeting House, Ship St (use Meeting House Lane back entrance) BN1 1AF: Fri 23 Sept: Prof Michael Kenny - 'Labour & the Politics of National Identity'. Fri 21 Oct: Andrew Harrop Gen Sec Fabian Society Details of all meetings from Ralph Bayley: ralphbayley@gmail.com

BRISTOL

Regular meetings. Contact Ges Rosenberg for details on grosenberg@churchside.me.uk or Arthur Massey 0117 9573330

CARDIFF

Society reforming. Please contact Jonathan Evans at wynneevans@phonecoop.coop if you're interested

CENTRAL LONDON

Details from Giles Wright on 0207 227 4904 or giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

All meetings at 8.00 in Committee Room, Chiswick Town Hall Details from the secretary, Alison Baker at a.m.baker@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

Hexagonal Room, Quaker Meeting House, 6 Church St, Colchester Details of meetings from Maurice Austin – maurice.austin@phonecoop.coop

COUNTY DURHAM

10 September. Primary Academy Trusts. Developing a Partnership of Equals. Jon Lovatt. CEO Societas Trust, Stoke on Trent 19 November. Urgent care as an example of work by North Durham GGC. Dr Jan Panke Meetings in alternate months at the Lionmouth Rural Centre, near Esh Winning, DH7 9QE, Saturday 12.15–2.00 £3.00 including a light lunch. Membership not needed at 1st visit. Details from the secretary, Professor Alan Townsend, 62A Low Willington, Crook, Durham DL15 0BG, 01388 746479, Alan.Townsend@dur.ac.uk

CROYDON AND SUTTON

New Society with regular meetings. Contact Paul Waddell on 07540 764596 CUMBRIA & NORTH LANCASHIRE Meetings, 6.30 for 7.00 at Castle Green Hotel, Kendal. For information contact Robin Cope at robincope@waitrose.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

Regular meetings at 8.00 in Dartford Working Men's Club, Essex Rd, Dartford. Details from Deborah Stoate on 0207 227 4904 email debstoate@hotmail.com

DERBY

Details for meetings from Alan Jones on 01283 217140 or alan.mandh@btinternet.com

DONCASTER AND DISTRICT

New Society forming, for details and information contact Kevin Rodgers on 07962 019168 email k.t.rodgers@gmail.com

EAST LOTHIAN

7.30 in the Buffet Room, the Town House, Haddington Details of all meetings from Noel Foy on 01620 824386 email noelfoy@lewisk3.plus.com

EPSOM and EWELL

New Society forming. If you are interested, please contact Carl Dawson at carldawson@gmail.com

FINCHLEY

Enquiries to Mike Walsh on 07980 602122 mike.walsh44@ntlworld.com

GLASGOW

Now holding regular meetings. Contact Martin Hutchinson on mail@iathach.net

GLOUCESTER

Regular meetings at TGWU, 1 Pullman Court, Great Western Rd, Gloucester. Details from Malcolm Perry at malcolmperry3@btinternet.com

GREENWICH

New Society forming. Contact Thomas Murphy at t.anthonymurphy@gmail.com GRIMSBY Regular meetings. Details from Pat Holland – hollandpat@hotmail.com

HARROW

Details from Marilyn Devine on 0208 424 9034. Fabians from other areas where there are no local Fabian Societies are very welcome to join us.

HASTINGS and RYE

Meetings held on last Friday of each month. Please contact Valerie Threadgill at val.threadgill@gmail.com

HAVERING

14 September. Jemima Olchawski of the Fawcett Society. 7.30 Details of all meetings from David Marshall email david.c.marshall@talk21.com tel 01708 441189 For latest information, see the website haveringfabians.org.uk Havering Fabians:

IPSWICH

Details of all meetings from John Cook: contact@ipswich-labour.org.uk twitter.com/suffolklabians

ISLINGTON

Society re-forming. For details contact Brendon Rafferty at whyworktoday@gmail.com

Listings

LEEDS

Details of all meetings from John Bracken at leedsfabians@gmail.com

LEICESTER

New Society forming. Anyone interested, please contact Peter Broadhurst at pjbroadhurst@hotmail.co.uk

MERSEYSIDE

Please contact James Roberts at jamesroberts1986@gmail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA

For details and booking contact Pat Hobson: pat.hobson@hotmail.com

NORTHAMPTON AREA

Please contact Dave Brede on davidbrede@yahoo.com

NORTH EAST LONDON

Contact Ibrahim Dogus at ibrahimdogus@gmail.com

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE

Please contact Richard Gorton on r.gorton748@btinternet.com

NORFOLK

New Society forming. Contact Stephen McNair for details. stephen.mcnair@btinternet.com

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Details from Lee Garland: secretary@nottsfabians.org.uk, www.nottsfabians.org.uk, twitter @NottsFabians

OXFORD

Please contact Michael Weatherburn at michael.weatherburn@gmail.com

PETERBOROUGH

Meetings at 8.00 at the Ramada Hotel, Thorpe Meadows, Peterborough. Details from Brian Keegan on 01733 265769, email brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk

READING & DISTRICT

For details of all meetings, contact Tony Skuse at tony@skuse.net

SALISBURY

New Society Forming. If interested, please contact Dan Wright on 07763 307677 or at daniel.korbey.wright@gmail.com

SHEFFIELD

Regular meetings on the 3rd Thursday of the month at The Quaker Meeting House, 10, St James St, Sheffield.S1 2EW Details and information from Rob Murray on 0114 255 8341or email robertjmurray@hotmail.com

SOUTH EAST LONDON

Contact sally.prentice@btinternet.com

SOUTH WEST LONDON

Contact Tony Eades on 0208487 9807 or tonyeades@hotmail.com

SOUTHEND ON SEA

New Society forming. Contact John Hodgkins on 01702 334916

SOUTHAMPTON AREA

For details of venues and all meetings, contact Eliot Horn at eliot.horn@btinternet.com

SOUTH TYNESIDE

12 September.7.15. Chichester Arms 10 October Phil Brown on 'When the Astronomer Royal used Westoe Pit to weigh the world in 1854'. Contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk

STOCKPORT AREA

New Society forming. Please contact Mike Roddy at roddy175@btinternet.com

SUFFOLK

Details from John Cook – ipswichlabour@gmail.com, www.twitter.cdom/suffolklabians

SURREY

Regular meetings. Details from Warren Weertman at secretary@surreyfabians.org

THANET

New Society with regular meetings. Contact Karen Constantine karen@karenconstantine.co.uk Website for details www.thanetfabians.org.uk

TONBRIDGE and TUNBRIDGE WELLS

Contact John Champneys on 01892 523429 or email Lorna.Blackmore@btinternet.com

TOWER HAMLETS

Regular meetings. Contact: Chris Weavers – 07958 314846 E-mail – towerhamletsfabiansociety@googlegmail.com

TYNEMOUTH

Monthly supper meetings, details from Brian Flood on 0191 258 3949

WIMBLEDON

Please contact Andy Ray on 07944 545161or andyray@blueyonder.co.uk

YORK

Regular meetings on 3rd or 4th Fridays at 7.45 at Jacob's Well, Off Micklelegate, York. Details from Steve Burton on steve.burton688@mod.uk

FABIAN QUIZ



THE EURO: AND IT'S THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

Joseph Stiglitz

Designed to bring the European Union closer together, the euro has actually done the opposite: after nearly

a decade without growth, unity has been replaced with dissent and enlargements with prospective exits. Joseph Stiglitz argues that Europe's stagnation and bleak outlook are a direct result of the fundamental flaws inherent in the euro project – economic integration outpacing political integration with a structure that promotes divergence rather than convergence. Money relentlessly leaves the weaker

member states and goes to the strong, with debt accumulating in a few ill-favoured countries. The question then is: Can the euro be saved?

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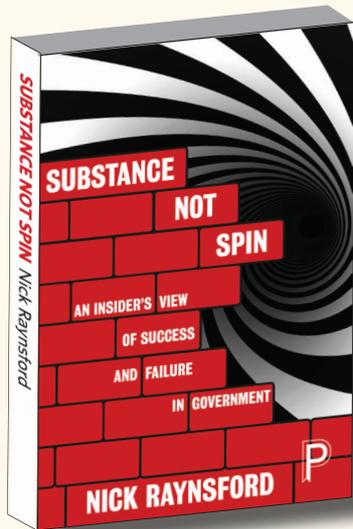
Please email your answer and your address to review@fabian-society.org.uk

Or send a postcard to: Fabian Society, Fabian Quiz, 61 Petty France, London, SW1H 9EU.



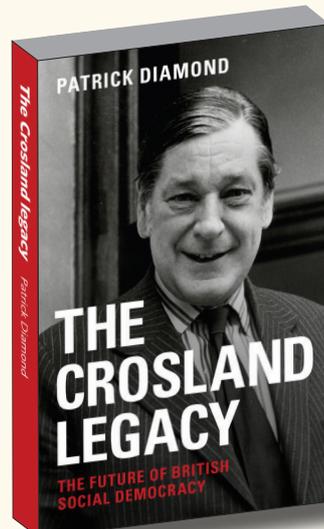
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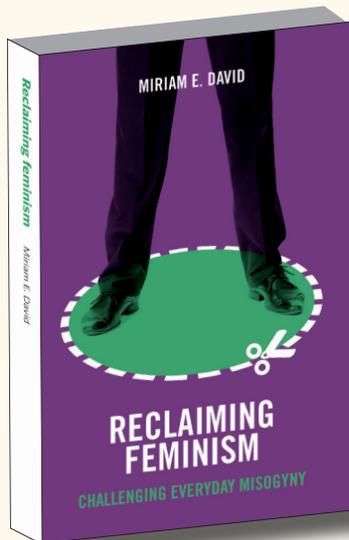
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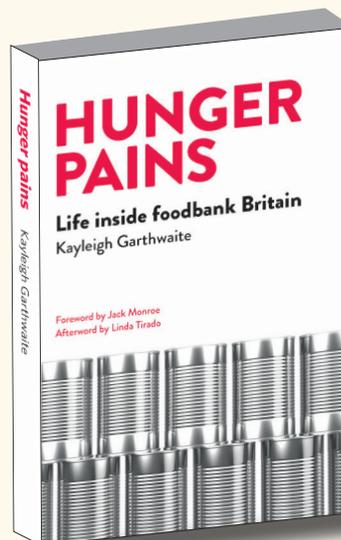
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