

FABIAN REVIEW

The quarterly magazine of the Fabian Society

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A PUBLIC OFFER

Ruth Patrick, Heather Wakefield and Jane Mansour on winning ideas for social security, public services and workers p10 / Allen Simpson makes the link between populism and the myth of the golem p26 / Mark Perryman hails the Corbyn effect p30

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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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info@fabians.org.uk

FABIAN SOCIETY

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

General secretary,
Andrew Harrop

Events and Partnerships
Director of partnerships
and events, Alex Sanderson
Events and communications
officer, Robin Harvey

Editorial

Editorial director, Kate Murray
Head of media and
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Research

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Centre and senior research
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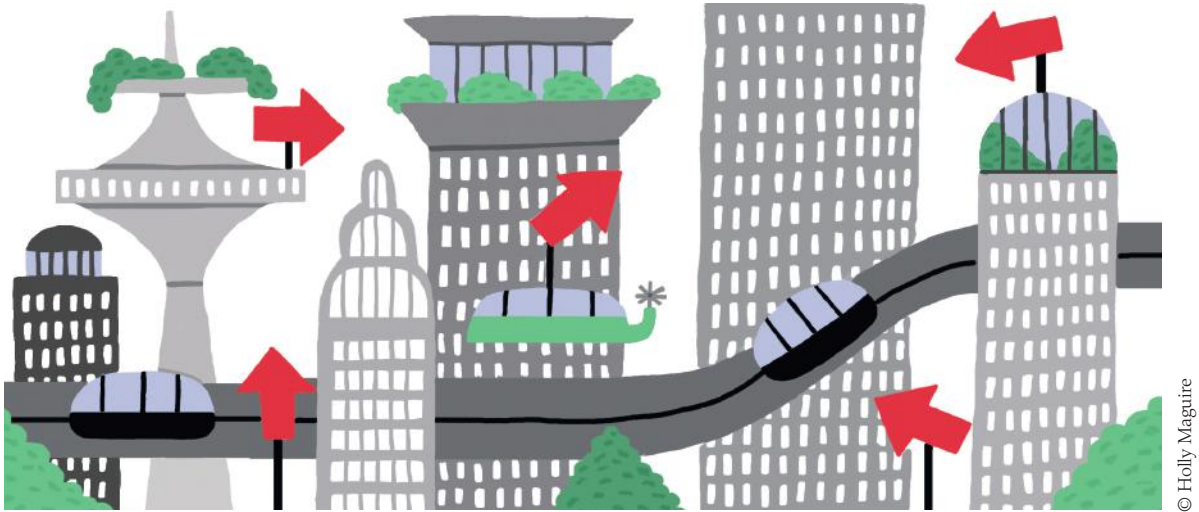
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Shaping the futurescape

Labour must prepare for the challenges of government in the 2020s, writes *Andrew Harrop*

ONLY TIME WILL tell what form Brexit takes and how it will impact on our lives. The omens for the future are not good. But for now, the worst effect of Brexit is on our politics.

It has sucked the oxygen from every other public debate and hidden the most pressing issues from the political gaze. With rising poverty and consumer debt, failing public services and a crisis in business investment and productivity, Brexit is a distraction we can ill afford.

So, for the parliament ahead, the left's task must be to broaden the national conversation to the things that matter even more than our relationship with Europe. But in doing this, Labour must not just criticise and oppose. With a government that is so rudderless, reactive and distracted, the party cannot take its cues from what ministers do and say.

Instead Labour's central mission must be to prepare for the challenges of government in the 2020s. It needs to think deeply about how our world is changing and use that starting point to develop an agenda for a more optimistic and secure Britain a decade from now.

First, the left needs to understand the extraordinary changes that will come from digital innovation. Ever greater data storage and computational power is delivering constant communication; extreme personalisation and personal visibility; and business models based on automation, networks and relationships not traditional products and transactions.

We know that these developments can commoditise labour and create new concentrations of economic power so traditional social democratic economics will remain essential. The UK still needs to increase investment, technical training, housebuilding, worker power and business long-termism and to deliver fair taxation.

But to be ready to govern, the left also needs a pro-innovation economic agenda for converting technological progress into higher business productivity and good jobs for the many. This will only be possible with active public leadership and support, as the Fabian commission on the future of retail found earlier this year.

The left also needs to tune in to how British culture and values are changing – and, it seems, polarising. With more liberal-minded graduates, more recent immigrants and more older social conservatives, the UK could descend into social division and culture wars. We must not get trapped on one side of these conflicts but construct a politics that embraces Britain's attitudinal and social diversity. Labour can bring the Britain of the 2020s together: perhaps it is the only national institution that can.

It must also help people understand and prepare for the huge societal changes that will be brought by very long lifespans. The party of labour needs to lead the country in reconceptualising and redesigning 50-year working lives, as patchwork quilts of learning, work, care and leisure.

And it needs to prepare families and public services for the reality that people will be disabled far longer before they die. The NHS and allied public services still have not grasped that their modern mission is not about episodic intervention but about helping people with health problems to lead good lives.

Across all these issues, success will come with a fresh reimagining of the role of the state. The left must stop trying to recreate the public sector of an imagined past; and start asking how government can offer security, community, fairness and opportunity a decade from now.

It is a mission on the scale of 1945 but with no plan yet written. So Brexit must not be allowed to distract: the left must start to write the next chapter. **F**

Shortcuts



CAREFUL CHOICES

A change to Britain's woeful social care settlement will not come cheap. To do it could take a landslide —*Emma Bean*

June's election result cheered all of us who want to see a Labour government sooner rather than later. But the backlash to May's dementia tax proposal should cause us all concern since it was primarily a response to cost.

May's plan was of course half-baked, and wasn't promoted with even a vague degree of confidence. But it was actually not a million miles away from Andy Burnham's proposal, dubbed by critics as the death tax, in the latter days of the last Labour government.

Burnham proposed an additional 10 per cent estate levy, effectively a boosted inheritance tax. May's proposal was to guarantee an inheritance of an unclear amount, whilst the rest could be spent on whatever care a person might need. Her plan only seemed to impact those who would need it, hence the dementia tax label, whereas Burnham's proposed levy would have been universal.

Burnham's original tax idea, along with May's more recent attempt seem to be off the table now – but the need for more money won't go away so easily. To transform the care system, even with its low wages and abuses of staff, to one that can cope with the present demographic demands on it cannot be done without a surge in budgets, and thus a potential media and public backlash. Given that our population is ageing, and the pressures on care will only increase, the need to change things before the system completely collapses is acute. Now of course, upping funding for care doesn't need to come from inheritance taxes, and this is perhaps the key lesson to be learnt from past failures.

Britons seem to have an odd fetishisation of inheritance as well as property ownership

and the fact that both May's and Burnham's pilloried policies both involved care requirements being paid for through property-based taxation, and around the same time as when the care is required, might help explain why they were badly received. Attaching a definable cost to anything makes it easier to attack – another reason for arguing that social care would be best funded from general taxation.

Burnham has spoken about moving towards a NHS-style system for care, where it is integrated into the health service. And this is something he will have the opportunity to trial in his tenure as Greater Manchester metro mayor. If it proves successful, it could become the template for the rest of the country – and show how Labour values can be transformed into successful policy.

Integrating social care with the NHS is a financially sensible measure, as well as being more just. The disconnect in planning between two fundamentally interconnected services leaves us with absurdities for patients and unnecessary costs. Take, for example, the patient 'bed-blocking' in hospital because there are insufficient nursing care spaces, or the older person who opts out of low-level care because they haven't been assessed for enough help and in any case would have to pay for it themselves, leaving them more likely to fall. In both cases, the lack of social care means additional NHS costs and extended hospital stays for people who don't need them. Were our health service to charge for GP visits, for instance, you would get far more people putting off going to the doctor for routine illnesses. An infection could get worse, to the point of needing antibiotics intravenously and with a hospital stay. Yet this is precisely the short-sighted situation we have with social care. The system might have been fit for purpose several decades ago, but it isn't now – and it isn't going to get any better.

While this integration will make some savings for the NHS, it is likely to be expensive. So we need to recognise that we cannot have well-funded public services without higher taxation. We shouldn't shy away from this but we need to take the public with us.

Labour has altered the public's perceptions of what the norms of state provision should look like – and the taxation burdens involved – before. We did so most notably immediately after the second world war

when we created the NHS. Its existence, and the fact we all pay for it, have become so accepted despite how radical they appeared at the time. We don't need another global catastrophe to bring a similar shift in public opinion on paying for social care, but it might be hard to do without the wriggle room that a parliamentary landslide provides. We've got work to do to get to that position: recent polls are consistently showing us only a shade ahead of the shambolic Tories. But a consistent and honest offer to tackle the social care crisis might just be the vote-winner the welfare state and the NHS were. **F**

Emma Bean is staff writer at LabourList



THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE

Too many people cannot get justice when they need it. Only radical reform will change that —*Willy Bach*

Being able to get justice when we need it is one of the cornerstones of a civilised society. Access to a legal system we can rely on fosters trust in our institutions and the rule of law. Without it, that trust can all too easily crumble.

Yet over the last few years, our legal system has shut out many of those who need it most. Legal aid provision has been cut, advice centres and law centres have closed, fees have been introduced and the safety net the exceptional case funding scheme was supposed to provide has failed to protect the most vulnerable. People pursuing justice in critical areas like housing, welfare, immigration and family law cases have been particularly hard hit since such cases were removed from the scope of legal aid altogether in 2012. Meanwhile, levels of public legal capability – our ability to understand the law and know where to turn for help – are dangerously low.

Only a fundamental overhaul of our legal system can address this crisis. That is why the Bach Commission, which I chair and which publishes its final report this month, is calling for new legislation to enshrine the right to justice. Under our proposals, individuals would have the right to reasonable legal assistance without facing unaffordable costs. This new right would be enforced through the courts and overseen by a new independent justice commission, which should also issue statutory guidance to aid interpretation of the act. The Right to Justice Act would also provide for public legal education to help ensure that people know their rights, and would encourage the provision of universally accessible advice rooted in communities across our country.

This legislation would transform access to justice in this country, and help take our justice system beyond the political fray. But urgent action is also needed to address the most serious failings. Our report sets out an action plan with key measures that would help, including reforming financial eligibility rules for legal aid, with more generous assessment schemes and automatic qualification for all those on benefits. The latter could be incorporated within the roll-out of universal credit. For those who can afford to pay something towards their costs, the contributions system should be simplified. The government should also extend the scope of civil legal aid, which has been drastically scaled back by the reforms of 2012. In particular, all matters concerning children should be brought back within the scope of legal aid and early legal help should be restored, particularly for those pursuing family, employment, welfare benefits and housing cases.

We would also like to see an urgent review of the exceptional case funding scheme which has proved to be unfit for purpose and the replacement of the Legal Aid Agency with an independent body at arm's length from government. And the government should commit to ensuring the continued viability of the legal aid profession, looking especially at the decision to cut the bursary scheme for aspiring legal aid lawyers.

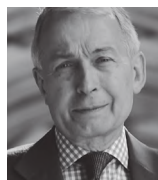
Beyond these reforms to the system, we need to make sure people understand their rights and the help to which they are entitled. We want the government to ensure better legal education in schools, with a new responsibility on Ofsted to ensure teachers are preparing children well for the responsibilities and challenges they may face in their future. A new online portal providing help and advice would also help

more people understand their rights and how to protect them.

We believe our package of reforms could rebuild the consensus around the value of a legal system which is affordable, understandable and accessible to all, a consensus which has sadly been eroded in recent years. A fair and open legal system is key to building a fairer society and a better future.

Just as we rightly expect a right to free health care and education, so too should we expect that all of our citizens can get the justice they deserve whatever their circumstances and whatever their income. ■

Lord Bach is a Labour peer and chair of the Bach Commission. The commission's report is published this month. The Fabian Society acted as secretariat to the commission



STARTER FOR SIX

It is time for the centre-left to come up with new ideas for the next manifesto

—Frank Field

There is a spectre haunting the centre-left in Britain. It comes from commentators who are trying to establish a consensus that we have no new ideas. May I begin the counter offensive with a starter for six?

Hardly a day passes without voters seeing the giants of industry making more money by risking our futures. The latest example comes from the insurance companies flogging our pensions to one another. When I took out a policy with the Pru, I expected the company to deliver on that policy. I bought the Pru guarantee. I didn't expect the company to bargain me away in an effort to boost short-term profits.

And we've also seen how Thames Water has shovelled money into the bank account of investors at the expense of consumers, by setting up a separate company to carry out Thames Water's responsibilities to renew its capital base, but in a way that allows huge dividends to be made rather than investing those payments.

Starter for one, therefore, is to establish a public interest body that will intervene in the market and prevent companies from exploiting consumers in this fashion. It will have its work cut out, so it should be given powers that exceed those held by the Competition and Markets Authority and the Serious Fraud Office. Getting tough to protect the consumer against industrial giants is a number one priority.

Similar sweeping action needs to be taken to protect the most weak and vulnerable sections of Britain's labour market.

The Taylor Review gives us the beginnings of a layer of protection to be thrown around the most vulnerable workers. A starting point for legislation must be the implementation of the national minimum wage for all workers, defined on an hourly basis of employment duties carried out, rather than a gross weekly sum which too many companies in the gig economy use to steal from their workforce. The new director of labour market enforcement, Sir David Metcalf, should have the Gangmasters Licensing Authority, the Slavery Commissioner's unit, and staff from HMRC placed under his direction, to swoop on exploitative companies.

Brexit could take up a whole shelf load of articles. It is crucial to show, however, that each of the big themes are linked to each other.

We should forget about timetables and deadlines and instead find ourselves a safe harbour from which to negotiate. We then need to build up effective border controls. Behind those border controls we need to ask employers to tell us which skills they currently fill by using EU nationals. This data then must become the basis for an effective skills policy, starting with offering boutique apprenticeships for 10 to 12 weeks which then earn graduates £150 a day or more in their second year. There is already a £2.6bn fund being built up by the apprenticeship levy to pay for this.

Also linked to effective border controls must be a serious welfare reform programme which would have been a nonsense with open borders. As borders are controlled and as skills policy slowly builds up, so welfare claimants must be encouraged to take the opportunities which require them to learn new skills and to work in many cases full time.

A fourth pillar in a transformative centre-left programme is to close the gap in the levels of skills and development among children before they start school. On current trends it will take 40 years to do so. This class-based inequality, which grows during



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school years, must be closed by an effective foundation years strategy. Sure Start failed the very poorest parents who were dismissed as being 'hard to reach'. Money must be spent on more health visitors to engage such vulnerable parents regularly on a one-to-one basis. The research presented in my report, *The Foundation years: preventing poor children becoming poor adults*, shows that class and income can be trumped by improving the mental health of vulnerable mothers, establishing rich bonding between parents and their children, and helping those families have fun at home which increases the children's whole skills base.

Next for the centre-left is to take back control of our utilities. We should do this by imposing a levy on the mega-profits of the utility companies. The monies raised by that levy should be given over to a series of national mutuals. Those that are running the industry will continue to do so, but the public interest will be guarded by the mutuals and a share of profits increasingly being brought back into investment and innovation.

In a similar vein, we should move to phase out pension tax relief, especially from the very, very wealthy, by establishing and paying this money into a national sovereign wealth fund. Our petroleum tax was lost into current revenue. We urgently need to build up a capital base of investments worldwide so we begin to re-establish a growing stream of unearned income coming back to this country, for much-needed

investment in our own infrastructure and higher living standards.

That is my starter for six: there will be a queue of MPs and others who can provide further ideas for a programme for government.

Well done to the Fabian Society for opening up this debate. We now need a Labour party that not only listens, but shows it is listening, by incorporating the best ideas into a manifesto for the next election. **F**

Frank Field is Labour MP for Birkenhead



IN CONTROL

Disabled people must be able to shape policies that transform their lives

—*Marsha de Cordova*

When the Labour party was founded in 1900, its explicit aim was to increase labour representation in parliament. It was about empowering working class people to take

positions of power, formulate their own policies and fight for their own interests. More than a century later, our *Manifesto With and For Disabled People* was a proud testament to similar values of empowerment, as was our commitment to do 'nothing about you, without you'. Labour will only be able to truly transform the lives of disabled people, ensuring that we have the same opportunities in life as everyone else, if disabled people lead the process of change.

Labour's offer on disabilities needs to start with disabled people in the lead. That's why our acceptance of the social model of disabilities is so fundamental. Once you recognise that people are disabled by the way that society is organised, rather than by their particular impairments, then you can see how much a Labour government could do to empower those with disabilities. Unfortunately, over the last seven years, disabled people have been ignored, excluded and made to bear the brunt of a vicious Tory austerity programme.

In 2016, a UN inquiry reported that Conservative government policies had led to "grave, systematic violations of the rights of persons with disabilities". There are more than 4 million disabled people living in poverty in the UK and, according to Scope, the 2012 Welfare Reform Act has resulted in cuts of nearly £28bn in social security support for disabled people. Meanwhile changes to the work capability assessment and the assessments for personal independence payment have created a cruel and chaotic system which continues to deprive people of the support they both need and are entitled to. The government's own estimates show that by 2018, 600,000 fewer people will be helped.

Labour's approach needs to build a social security model which provides real support and dignified treatment for disabled people. But I want to draw attention to another fundamental area: employment. Only 46.5 per cent of working age disabled people are in work, compared to 84 per cent of the non-disabled population. Of those who are out of work, the majority are talented and motivated people who are able to and available for work despite their disabilities.

The biggest barrier here is often the attitude of employers. According to a survey by Action for Hearing Loss, nearly a third of business leaders do not feel confident about employing a person with hearing loss. For other forms of disability this figure will be much higher. Part of the problem is that employers are not aware of the support that already exists. For example, nearly two-thirds of business leaders have never

heard of the access to work scheme, which provides practical and financial support for disabled people in work. However, raising awareness of this scheme will only go so far. We need a much more proactive approach if we are serious about shrinking the disability employment gap.

The current Tory government has focused much of its energy on the 'Disability Confident' accreditation scheme. However, there are three serious problems with it. First, it is far too easy to get accredited. Indeed, companies accredited on the previous 'Two Tick' scheme (which had to be closed because of how many companies had become accredited without taking any serious action to improve disabled employment) were automatically transferred to the new system. That is hardly likely to inspire confidence among disabled people. Second, accreditation is offered by several different competing organisations – a classic neoliberal move – and standards do not appear to be consistent across accreditors. Third, because the scheme only relates to companies' relations with disabled employees, not disabled customers, we have ended up in the laughable situation where the DWP itself is accredited.

There are three key areas in which Labour could start to remove the social barriers that hold back those with disabilities.

The first is the manifesto pledge to ensure that companies employing more than 250 people would have to publish statistics on how many disabled people they employ. This would very quickly help to raise awareness of the issue within companies and in the wider public realm.

Second, public sector contracts offer a powerful tool for government to shape business attitudes towards disabled employment. Employers in receipt of public sector contracts should be required to demonstrate inclusive recruitment and retention policies. Government departments and agencies should also be encouraged to become exemplars of good practice in the area.

Finally, as well as helping disabled people get jobs, we also need to make sure they can retain those jobs. This will require a new legal framework which prioritises employment retention and supports a right to return to work within a year of acquiring a major disability or long-term health condition.

Everyone knows – or should know – that there is a serious issue here. And everyone agrees – or should – that tackling the disability employment gap needs to be a government priority. But we need to start listening to what disabled people themselves have been saying for years: if you remove

the social and institutional barriers which hold us back, we will flourish. ■

Marsha de Cordova is Labour MP for Battersea



A FRONTLINE VIEW

If we want a world-class health service, we need to pay for it. Labour must make that case
—*Stephen Bradley*

The plight of the NHS consistently ranks high on the list of voters' concerns – and in media column inches. But from inside the health service, both the media's interpretations of the problems the health service faces and the remedies offered by politicians often seem ill-conceived.

The word 'crisis' has become a cliché, but, in the NHS, it is in no way an overstatement. While the government can claim, in crude terms, that NHS spending has increased, when this funding is set against an ageing population, increased attendances overall and inflationary technological costs, we have seen an unprecedented squeeze on resources since 2010. The results of this are clear to anyone involved in healthcare. As of March this year, four-hour accident and emergency targets had been unmet for 17 months and 'winter' pressures now extend deep into the summer. A&E waits matter, not only because of the misery and indignity they cause to patients, but because disrupted flow through the hospital at the 'front door', is a barometer for the functioning of the wider system. Devastating cuts to social care mean a bottleneck at the 'back door' with vulnerable and frail patients facing long waits for suitable placements. The extraordinarily high levels of bed occupancy leave doctors and bed managers juggling risk, often discharging patients they would not have dared to a few years ago. For intensive care beds and some specialties the situation is particularly precarious; we regularly have periods with no available psychiatry beds in England.

This squeeze has taken place following a prodigiously wasteful and fragmentary reorganisation, which has set in motion a

rapid portioning off of services to private providers who resort to litigation if they are not awarded contracts.

Meanwhile, the harrowing working conditions for clinical staff are probably unmatched in any other industry. This should be of great concern, not just for the wellbeing of staff, but because of the outrageous waste of scarce clinical staff leaving the profession.

One overarching narrative is that the NHS is a wasteful behemoth, in urgent need of 'reform'. The assumption driving the break-up of the NHS seems to be that it is inherently antiquated, resistant to change and lumbered with unimaginative public sector staff. The NHS, we are frequently told, is 'unsustainable'.

Yet the truth is that the NHS is remarkably efficient and that a centralised tax-payer funded health system is the most affordable way to deliver healthcare. Although we dedicate a small proportion of GDP per capita to health by international standards, we achieve outcomes that are impressive and remarkably cost-effective. The dogged culture of constant learning and improvement is one of the most inspiring aspects of working for the NHS. A commitment to the ideals of the health service inspires NHS staff to donate vast quantities of unpaid overtime, without which the system wouldn't function. It is heartbreaking to see this idealism being sacrificed to a faith-based ideology that idolises 'competition' and 'choice'.

Undeterred by colossal deficits caused by underfunding, health secretaries have promised expensive impossibilities such as seven-day routine appointments. It is possible that some innovative 'new models of care' will deliver marginal cost savings. The sustainability and transformation plans might deliver modest efficiencies, although almost all plans are heavy on aspiration and light on detail. Worthy, if not entirely evidence-based plans, such as integrating health and social care, may well improve quality, but are unlikely to save money. The brutal, if obvious, truth is that if we want to continue delivering comprehensive health care, we will have to pay for it.

Although most NHS staff are loath to endure further reorganisation, the survival of the NHS probably requires renationalisation and repeal of the 2010 Health and Social Care Act. Public opinion, which has remained stubbornly opposed to privatisation, would likely support a purposeful resuscitation undertaken alongside leaders within healthcare.

Following the trauma imposed by Lansley and Hunt, we need to think seriously about

how to protect the NHS from the whimsy of ministers. We need expert-led governance that can facilitate long-term planning. Health is of course necessarily political, but the highly partial policy interventions in recent years have been corrosive to morale, contrary to evidence and have meant unethical allocation of scarce resources. An electoral cycle which lasts a fraction of the time required for public health measures to pay off mean that egregious false economies are now widespread.

Institutions such as NICE, which evaluates drugs, have proved remarkably successful in making contentious decisions less arbitrary and suggest that improving the evidence base for, and the quality of, health policy are achievable.

Labour should lead the way by making a frank case for investment. While Labour benefited from public concerns around the health service in the election campaign, the uncomfortable truth is that its funding plans would still leave a significant deficit. We need to abandon the fantasy that a few service refinements can be a substitute for adequate funding. While our opponents insinuate that publicly funded and delivered healthcare is unaffordable, we should be clear that any other system will be costlier, less effective and more inequitable. **F**

Stephen Bradley is a GP and clinical research fellow in Leeds



SLOW PROGRESS

Local government is still not working well enough for women

—*Sam Smethers*

Media coverage after the general election celebrated the fact, that for the first time, more than 200 women were elected as MPs. It was a milestone, although given that it only represented a slight increase on the 2015 parliament and saw us 40th in the international rankings for women in parliament, you will forgive me if I'm not popping the bubbly just yet.

Yet while parliament has progressed in recent years – with the proportion of women MPs up from 18 per cent in 1997 to 32 per cent today – at local level little has changed over the same period. The proportion of councillors who are women has only increased from 27 per cent to 33 per cent in 20 years.

Getting more women into local government matters because 78 per cent of councils' workforce are women. Local authorities have a huge impact on women's lives – from early years' provision to social care and from housing to domestic violence services. With devolution we have created new tiers of regional government with spending power and decision-making for example on skills, childcare, social care or transport, but just 12 per cent of combined authority representatives and none of the six elected metro mayors are women.

Within this stalled picture, Labour has made more progress than the other parties. At this year's elections 45 per cent of Labour MPs and 44 per cent of Labour councillors elected were women. All-women shortlists are largely driving this improvement. But on councils, it is clear that not all local parties adhere to Labour party rules which are designed to achieve equality – the 'one in three' rule, plus all-women shortlists in selected safe seats. And the uncomfortable truth for Labour (and for all of us) is that while all-women shortlists deliver the numbers, they don't necessarily change the culture. In fact, a visibly outdated culture in some parts of local government is holding it back.

Councils like Manchester, North Tyneside, and Rossendale have achieved equal representation. But there are a host of councils in Labour control, like Hastings, Ipswich and Derby, which do not even have a third women on their Labour groups. The electorate's choices may ruin well-laid plans – but Labour's regional directors need to be asking serious questions when the gap is this wide.

And the overall picture of better women's representation amongst councillors does not translate into more women at the top of Labour local politics – fewer than one in five Labour council leaders are women. Our local government commission, co-chaired by Dame Margaret Hodge MP, has spent the last year conducting an intensive research programme, and consulting with more than 700 women across local government.

We found that outdated stereotypes on council cabinets might be to blame for the lack of women leaders. 38 per cent of cabinet

members on Labour councils are women – still some way off equality. But we also found a drastic split between 'boy jobs' and 'girl jobs' on council cabinets, with women outnumbered six to one in roles like finance and economic regeneration – precisely the posts which, past research has shown, are most often the routes to the top. Labour nationally must introduce a clear 50:50 rule for council cabinets immediately, and Labour councils must think carefully about which jobs they give women.

To get women to the top, the way that councils do business needs to change. We found that just 4 per cent of councils have a maternity policy for councillors. Both childcare support and support for carers are incredibly patchy, and this is a barrier for a third and half of Labour women respectively.

And sadly it appears that town hall sexism is alive and well: 44 per cent of Labour women councillors said that they had experienced sexist comments from others within the party, and 41 per cent from other councillors. For one in ten Labour women, this had escalated to sexual harassment. There is no excuse for this behaviour – but at present there is no real remedy available to those women. Councils need to act now to include a ban on sexist language and bullying, and to ensure there are formal standards committees in place to investigate breaches. Government needs to give these committees the ability to suspend or deselect councillors who behave like we are still living in the 1970s.

Disabled Labour women councillors told us that the way councillor performance is judged, often on the basis of hours on the doorstep, disadvantages them. BAME women councillors are hugely underrepresented and face racism as well as sexism – this needs positive action to achieve change. Muslim Labour women told us about the pressure they often face from within their communities not to participate in politics, and local government leaders must be bold in standing with these women to challenge sexism.

Government needs to change the structures of local government so that we can get more women from all parties in, and support them to progress. Labour needs to rule in favour of at least 50 per cent women on cabinets, and enforce the existing quota system on councils. Can we make local government work for women? Given that women overwhelmingly rely on and deliver the services councils provide, it is about time that we did. **F**

Sam Smethers is chief executive of the Fawcett Society

Restitching the safety net

Labour has the opportunity to carve out a fresh approach on social security, based on the principles of fairness, dignity and respect, writes *Ruth Patrick*



Ruth Patrick is a postdoctoral researcher in the School of Law and Social Justice at the University of Liverpool. She is the author of For whose benefit: the everyday realities of welfare reform (Policy Press), and worked for the Fabian Society between 2002 and 2004

FOR LOTS OF reasons, the 2017 general election felt very different from recent battles to secure the nation's vote. Brexit dominated the campaign trail, and crowded out the space for discussion of other policy areas. Column after column was devoted to whether Theresa May could deliver on her 'strong and stable' pledge, while the performance of Jeremy Corbyn was forensically monitored by friends and foes alike.

As a researcher interested in poverty, social security and welfare reform, what stood out for me about the election was the comparative lack of discussion of welfare. Recent elections have seen 'welfare' endlessly mobilised (particularly by the Conservatives) as a key campaigning issue, with rhetoric and pledges focused around efforts to clamp down on a supposed culture of welfare dependency. In 2010, for example, electoral billboards showed David Cameron finger pointing and smiling as he told an assembled audience: 'Let's cut benefits for those who refuse work'.

Labour has often seemed pushed onto the defensive here, attempting to persuade the public that it too will address the 'problem' of welfare. Under Ed Miliband, Labour sought to shed as the image of being soft on 'welfare' for fear that this was losing the party votes. This was most evident during the 2015 election campaign, when then shadow secretary for the department for work and pensions, Rachael Reeves, told a *Guardian* interviewer: "We are not the party of people on benefits. We don't want to be seen, and we're not, the party to represent those who are out of work."

While welfare, better described as social security, may have been sidelined from this year's campaign, it is of course a policy area that has massive consequences for us all. Over the past 35 years, successive changes to the social security system have greatly altered the nature of Britain's safety net, undermining the security that it offers and increasing

the conditions attached to out-of-work (and most recently, some forms of in-work) social security receipt.

Between 2011 and 2016, I followed a small group of out-of-work benefit claimants as they lived with and experienced welfare reform under first the coalition and then the majority Conservative government. Through repeat interviews, I was able to track individual journeys over time and explore how benefit changes were anticipated, experienced and reflected upon. What this research showed was the stark mismatch between the policy presentation, prescription and promise on welfare reform and individual lived experiences. Talking to people directly affected by benefit changes illustrated the flimsiness of the 'benefits as a lifestyle choice' rhetoric, as well as the ways in which welfare reform can push people further away from rather than closer to paid employment. It also demonstrated the extent to which an endless demonisation of benefit claimants is entrenching and deepening the stigma of benefits receipt, and creating deep (if artificial) divisions between groups within our society (most notably between those in and out of paid employment).

What this research also demonstrated – as does so much of the research in this policy domain such as Kayleigh Garthwaite's excellent work on food banks – is the inherent value in foregrounding individuals' experiences of our social security system. Doing so is the only way we can effectively understand the impact of policy changes, and enables a much richer appreciation of what living on welfare actually means in today's Britain. Those with direct experiences of poverty, welfare reform and social security receipt are best seen as experts by experience, and we all have a responsibility to do much more to mobilise this expertise in policy discussion and development.

After an unexpected general election result, and set against a post-Grenfell context in which we have tragically seen what can happen when the voices of Britain's poorest

There is a pressing need to reframe the way politicians, the media and policymakers talk about welfare dependency



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are completely ignored, there are perhaps the beginnings of an opportunity to build momentum for a different approach on social security. The Labour party still needs to do much more here, with Jeremy Corbyn's limited statements on social security to date showing a lack of grasp of the policy detail, most notably in his election wavering on whether or not a future Labour government would uprate benefits.

But if Labour were to take on the challenge of offering genuine 'welfare reform', there are several key areas in which change is urgently needed. Some of the change would involve ambitious (and costly) reforms, but there is also a need for a shift in the policy narrative and presentation, which could be cost-neutral but – over time – might significantly alter the way our social security system is seen and works.

First, and perhaps most fundamentally, there is a pressing need to reframe the way politicians, the media and policymakers talk about so-called welfare dependency. Tired and repeated dichotomies between 'welfare dependants' and 'hard-working families' do effective rhetorical work in creating dividing lines between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' populations, and suggesting that 'welfare' is a residualised form of state support for a marginalised – and often undeserving – population. In fact, of course, as the founder of social policy, Richard Titmuss, reminds us, we are all welfare dependants, especially if we think of welfare as including not just social welfare, but forms of occupational and fiscal support such as tax relief and pensions. Further, as John Hills' recent research has shown, most of us will draw upon social security support at some point in our lifetimes, and so welfare is something that matters to us all. It would be genuinely radical and exciting if political leaders could give up on their stigmatising welfare claimants and endless valorising of 'hard-working families'. Instead, they could pledge to create a society that seeks to include and make life better for us all. Does that really have to sound so utopian?

Second, it is now time to seriously rethink the place of welfare conditionality within our social security system. The emerging body of research from the large-scale

welfare conditionality project which involved six universities and was led by Professor Peter Dwyer has shown that sanctions almost never assist moves from 'welfare' into 'work', something reinforced by the findings from my own study. Instead, sanctions often cause extreme hardship, even destitution, and can lead to individuals feeling compelled to take part in what has become known as 'survival crime' (for example, stealing food and clothes to get by). There has always been and always will be some conditionality within Britain's social security system but there is an urgent need to review what – if any – purpose the recent intensification and extension of welfare conditionality has served.

Third, a more egalitarian and progressive social security system would recognise and reward contributions, perhaps through a revitalised social insurance scheme as has previously been suggested by the Fabian Society in its report *For Us All*. However, it is critical that any emphasis on contribution does more to recognise diverse forms of contribution and does not privilege paid work. Parenting, care work and volunteering also need to be valued, and should be included within any reformed system of social insurance.

Fourth, it is vital that the social security system is underpinned by principles of dignity and respect, and does much more to make sure that individual claimants are treated as citizens who are entitled to state support. In my research, it was common to hear individuals talk about feeling stigmatised in their encounters with Job Centre Plus, while the process of applying for state benefits was often experienced as needlessly bureaucratic and time consuming. Individuals described their patronising encounters with advisers, laced with the threat of compulsion and punishment, and this often undermined the possibility of the provision of effective back-to-work support. When I asked the individuals I spoke to what they would like from their Job Centre advisers, they made modest requests that hinted at the shortcomings with the current system. For example, one asked that advisers 'be polite', and make appointments 'with' rather than 'for' them. Reform in this domain requires cultural changes and could be done without significant costs being incurred. But these changes that start from a recognition of the right of all citizens to fair, respectful treatment could make a big difference.

More costly, but also much needed, is reconsidering what a rich country like Britain should be offering in social security support to individuals in times of need. For example, the recent decisions to freeze benefit levels will contribute to increases in child poverty, increases that Britain should not be willing to accept. Recent research from the Institute for Fiscal Studies estimates that relative child poverty will rise to 25.7 per cent in 2020–21, a 50 per cent increase from 2015, and one that will undo most of the reduction in child poverty achieved since 1997.

What underpins all these proposed changes is the belief that social security matters to us all. We are all likely to rely upon it – in some form – at some point in our lives, and there is a large body of evidence that shows why reducing inequality and poverty is good for society as a whole. Taken together, these changes would start the process of building a progressive social security system. Surely, that is a future that we should all be keen to work towards. ■

For richer lives

The pledge to invest more in our public services has resonated with the public but we now need to go even further, writes *Heather Wakefield*



Heather Wakefield is head of local government, police and justice at Unison. She writes here in a personal capacity

BLISS IT WAS indeed to wake to Labour's 2017 manifesto – and more blissful yet to see the positive public reaction to it reflected in the election result. Seven years of coalition and Conservative cuts, privatisation and fragmentation have wreaked havoc on our public services and the manifesto represented – at long last – a real Labour “plan to change all this”.

Fundamental to that plan is the vision of “a country where we invest our wealth to give everybody equal life chances and ‘richer lives’, as well as the critical recognition that “a successful economy depends on the services that support us all”. Investment in public services is a theme running through the manifesto and business must rightly pay their fair share to ensure proper funding and decent employment for public service workers.

Putting public services at the heart of a successful economy and richer lives is hugely welcome, as is the long overdue recognition of the devastating impact of cuts and privatisation on public service jobs, training, pay and conditions and the professional autonomy of public service workers. But in order to create the opportunities for those richer lives the party talks about, more thinking is needed about the public services we have now and what we want for the future.

Are our services fit for purpose? Are needs perceived, rather than real? How can we tackle the diverse issues facing diverse communities? To whom are public services accountable? How do they fit together? And are they designed to solve problems, rather than prevent them? Who delivers them – and what do they need to do the best possible job? How do we best invest in our social infrastructure – as well as industry, transport and communications – to benefit the wider economy and public services?

The answers to these questions are inter-related of course. But let's start with public service workers. Two-thirds of public servants are women – and they make up three-quarters of the workforce in local government, education and the NHS. Women predominate in many outsourced services too – especially social care, catering

and cleaning, where BAME women are most likely to be found. Many work part-time. Zero-hours contracts and breaches of the national living wage are rife in social care.

As well as 20 per cent pay cuts arising from the coalition and Conservative governments' pay cap, those in the public sector have suffered widespread cuts to conditions – especially in local government – and may have little access to training and career progression. The gender pay gap is widening as cuts mean that equal pay is overlooked, while carers' leave, childcare provision and real rights for part-time workers are a rarity. Here was a place where the manifesto fell down in failing to recognise the fundamental importance of our public services for women's employment and the action needed to meet the needs of a female workforce and for them to do the best by their service users.

The National Investment Bank and Transformation Fund could – and should – be used to invest in and transform the public services women work in and use.

The Women's Budget Group has shown that investment of 2 per cent of GDP in high quality social care would create twice as many jobs overall as the same investment in construction, while still generating extra jobs building new care facilities and having a more beneficial multiplier effect across the economy. More women could enter the labour market and elderly and vulnerable people would have a better service.

Next, to the 'prevention or cure' part of Labour's offer. Our public services have been underfunded and under siege for so long that meeting critical need and dealing with the damage wreaked by austerity have become the only game in town. We in the Labour party need to rise to the challenge: How can we reframe and invest in our public services to *prevent* illness, discrimination, poverty, violence and crime, rather than deal with the – often terrible – aftermath?

Fragmentation of services is a long-recognised but still real problem. Current public service 'silos' are real and unhelpful. Departmentalism within national governments

How can we invest in our public services to prevent illness, discrimination, poverty, violence and crime?



and policy-making, along with rigid, compartmentalised delivery bodies – national and local – and the fragmentation caused by outsourcing, mean that the complex, inter-related needs are often not addressed. This prevents the best possible outcomes and means regular frustration and dissatisfaction for users.

‘Total Place’, sustainable transformation partnerships and a myriad of other bolt-on initiatives have attempted to deal with this problem, largely without success. Labour must take a more radical approach and ask how more seamless, user-focused services can best be delivered. Taking local government areas and exploring local delivery within national standards within them might be an option. There will be others.

Labour’s proposals for national care and education services are welcome if they represent the establishment of universal access to services, national standards of service delivery and employment and appropriate regulation and governance, but not if they create further, distant and unaccountable silos. Conservative notions of under-funded ‘devolution’ are certainly not the answer, but neither is further centralisation without effective local means of delivery.

Unequal treatment of different parts of the public sector must be tackled too if services are to be run smoothly and seamlessly. The 40 per cent average cut to council budgets, the loss of 760,000 council jobs and the attacks on the pay and conditions of local government workers, already the poorest in the public sector, sit uneasily alongside the more favourable (albeit inexcusably damaging) treatment of other parts of the public sector. According to ONS, the workforce in the NHS and central government have grown since 2010 – albeit slightly – while councils struggle to deliver vital local services with decimated workforces.

No-one working in our public services is overpaid and there is no argument whatsoever for reducing anyone’s pay and conditions, but a council cleaner or catering worker earns almost £1,000 a year less than her NHS counterpart, an NHS nursery nurse almost £2,500 more than her council equivalent. The bottom rate of pay for councils and school

workers is £7.78 – almost £1 an hour less than equivalent rates in central government departments. Such inequality is inherently unjust, ignores the critical nature of interdependent local services and prevents more effective service delivery. Labour must look at means of pay determination and funding which would provide for pay parity for the same or similar work across public services, including outsourced jobs and maintain equal pay for work of equal value to eliminate the gender pay gap.

Then there is the important issue of democracy and governance. Service users and residents currently have very little opportunity to exert any influence at all over the what, when, how and why of public service delivery. Within public bodies, there is little genuine involvement of the workforce and trade unions when decisions are made on how services can best be delivered either. So the voices of those who generally know best – users and workers – go unheard. This is an issue which Labour must tackle.

Local government is hardly a beacon of democracy either. The recent findings of the Fawcett/LGIU Local Government Commission highlight the shocking fact that two thirds of councillors are men – generally white and over 60. Fewer than 20 per cent of council leaders and just 33 per cent of chief executives are women and BAME and disabled people are, shockingly, even more under-represented. Similar patterns and the absence of any real democracy in other parts of the public sector, should provoke real thought about how we can best deliver Labour’s public service vision through a transformed democracy.

The manifesto provided an exciting and rich foundation for what should now be a widespread discussion about how we make Labour’s promises mean something new for our public services. Let’s have discussions within constituency Labour parties, with local communities and business. Let’s also ensure that the views of equality organisations, black and ethnic minority communities, women, LGBT people and those with disabilities are central to that discussion. Homeless people and those who are unemployed or on benefits must also have their say. Together let’s transform our public realm once and for all – for the many, not the few. **F**

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Working options

In an age where work is less secure and the safety net shrinking, we need a new approach to the world of work, particularly for women, writes *Jane Mansour*



Jane Mansour is an independent policy consultant with expertise in work, anti-poverty strategies and adult skills. She was also a participant in the Fabian Women's Network mentoring scheme

ONE OF THE defining moments of the 2017 general election campaign came with the prime minister's evasive response to a question on nurses having to use food banks. The assertion that there are people who work and are paid wages, and people who are unemployed and claim benefits, and that they are both different and separate, has become enshrined in the rhetoric of strivers and shirkers. But the rise in people in work accessing food banks highlights the danger of basing policy on a false distinction.

For many, work and social safety nets, of all sorts, are interdependent. Part-time work, low hourly pay, temporary or precarious employment, are simply not enough to provide financial stability and independence for an individual or a family. Women are at disproportionate risk of being in casualised, poorly-paid, insecure work. They are three times more likely to be working part-time than men, and, according to the Young Women's Trust, almost four in five of those who have held only minimum wage jobs in the last ten years are women. They are also more likely than men to be on zero-hour or temporary contracts.

The rise of part-time self-employment is being driven by increasing numbers of low-earning women. Some are working alone to find the control and flexibility unavailable elsewhere, others are contractors, employed in all but name, rights and protections. Employers defend on-demand working models as providing flexibility. However, the imbalance in the share of (financial) risk means this claim is often a cover for insecurity, exacerbating the disadvantage that women continue to experience at all levels of employment.

Low-paid sectors that women are concentrated in – cleaning, care, catering – do not have clear progression routes. Joseph Rowntree Foundation research shows that four out of five workers on low pay are likely still to be in low pay 10 years later. In care, the quality of employment

is eroded as funding drives providers to be price competitive. Earnings are further depressed when carers are only paid for contact hours. This is a direct consequence of commissioning practice: we see it in childcare with the price the government has committed for the 30 free hours, and in social care with the contracts that are awarded by local authorities.

The inequality of opportunity and reward between men and women is evident at all levels. Even within well-paid jobs there is a clear gender pay gap (exacerbated by motherhood), as the release of BBC pay data showed. In comparison with other OECD countries the UK underperforms on gender pay parity. From April next year, companies across the UK employing more than 250 people will have to publish their gender pay gap figures on their websites. However, many of the lowest paid in big organisations – cleaners, receptionists, security – will work for contractors, which may skew the data.

Even before women start working, they are being set up to achieve less. Female graduates' expectations of earnings are lower than that of their male counterparts. They are more likely to take low-paying jobs and the pay gap follows them throughout their careers. Girls and boys experience very different conversations about work, its value and the importance of earning power. Recent research from the Learning and Work Institute has shown that women are far more likely to be apprentices in low paying sectors than men.

The gender pay gap is compounded over a working lifetime. It is entrenched by household divisions of labour (women are more likely to take time off after having children, and return to part-time work which is often lower paid). Indeed, while the unemployment rate for men and women is similar, there is a gap of ten percentage points in levels of economic inactivity. This is driven by higher numbers of women "looking after family or home".

Brexit looks set to make women increasingly vulnerable to poverty in a number of ways, including the potential loss or alteration of work protections. Depressingly, although perhaps unsurprisingly, women are not mentioned specifically in the Brexit white paper. The government has said it will replace the European Social Fund. However, it is not clear that the objectives of the fund, which include supporting “vulnerable and disadvantaged women into work”, will be retained.

It is time for a better offer for workers, particularly women. This offer needs to be underpinned by rights in the workplace, a stronger voice for workers and sufficient resources to enable enforcement.

The evidence shows that one of the most effective ways to increase earnings is to move jobs and this requires confidence in the social security safety net. For all the reasons outlined above, this is particularly important for women: not only are they more likely to be in precarious, low-paid employment, they are also more likely to have caring responsibilities.

Yet, as work has become less predictable, the safety net has been weakened. Programmes that support people into work were given relatively short shrift in manifestos, and funding (including adult skills) has been cut. This includes programmes for single parents, who are predominantly women. The weakening safety net can also be seen in cuts to social security, in the changes and increasing conditionality that universal credit brings, and in the way jobs are measured but the quality of those jobs and their impact on poverty is not. It is seen in the cuts to adult learning and the introduction of adult learner loans. It is also seen in a childcare sector that does not have the capacity to offer affordable and quality care to those with unpredictable or non-standard hours, even though those are the jobs increasingly likely to be available for those on low pay.

These areas are not just ‘nice to haves’. Improving the experience of work for people requires tackling a number of issues that make work difficult to find or keep. For many people in low-paid work, changes to social security have more impact on income than changes to wages. Moving for work is made more difficult by school admission processes. Access to skills is often dictated by entry criteria including age, geography or previous qualifications rather than potential to boost earnings. Disabled women not only earn less than non-disabled counterparts, but women’s living standards are also more likely to be affected by disability as they disproportionately take on the role of carer.

There is also the issue of people’s control over the work they do and its place in their lives. This is an ideal time for more radical thinking about job design. Organisations such as Diverse City which use task-based contracting to free people from office and time restrictions, are showing that giving staff control over how and when they work makes jobs in the arts accessible to people with disabilities, fluctuating health conditions and/or caring responsibilities.

We should seize the opportunity to develop a new kind of holistic, work-focused support that uses networks and

returns power and control to the individual and community. Sadly, conversations about changes to working structures are too often shut down by those with power on the basis they cannot imagine how an alternative could work. They do not need to imagine – they need to be open to allowing others space to demonstrate how they work best.

Much employment support tends to focus on ‘now’ jobs, so few workers benefit from advice or calculations that look at the potential future financial benefits of the next job they might take. The pressure on the individual, and on any services directed at them, is on a quick fix, a job entry in the shortest possible time. The ‘now’ job that is achieved regardless of context is very likely to be precarious, insecure and with low prospects, particularly for women. A new kind of support that recognises the future return for individual and society of stable, progressing employment will look very different. It will talk about career (and life) paths. It will integrate skills and employment. It will measure and report on (and possibly pay service providers for) impacts, such as long-term independent livelihoods.

Interventions currently see beneficiaries as individuals, but networks are central to sustainable success, and job mobility. The Fabian Women’s Network mentoring scheme is an excellent example of a programme set up to support women, at every age and career stage, in this case to progress in politics or public life. We should consider how a similar approach could be used in sectors in which low pay is endemic, or indeed look at a broader redesign of employment-related support services.

Effective partnerships are key to sustainable outcomes and their absence places a huge constraint on public services. In practice this means improving integration between health services, employment services and labour markets at a local level. We should be thinking about, and redesigning, services from a user perspective, and ensuring that expertise is available to navigate often complex delivery structures.

Historically, trade unions have been the main mechanism driving worker/employer engagement, and there are, of course, examples of where this still happens effectively. However, membership of unions is disproportionately among public sector, older, and middle to high earners. Some unions are working to grow their membership among vulnerable workers, but there is a clear need for different approaches to frontline worker support, and shared spaces, with a particular focus on women. Here the creation of unions such as IWGB or partnerships such as IndyCube Community is instructive.

If we are to realise the political rhetoric that work is the best route out of poverty, we need a new approach. One underpinned by a safety net that enables people to take on the risks of work, learning, caring and parenthood. We need, too, a radical change to the way we assess the effectiveness of interventions, prioritising sustainable economic outcomes over short-term job outcomes and a place at the (policy and delivery) tables for those whose lives are impacted by such interventions. We have to challenge the structure of work, as well as the support services available and the way we evaluate them. ■

For many people in low-paid work, changes to social security have more impact on income than changes to wages

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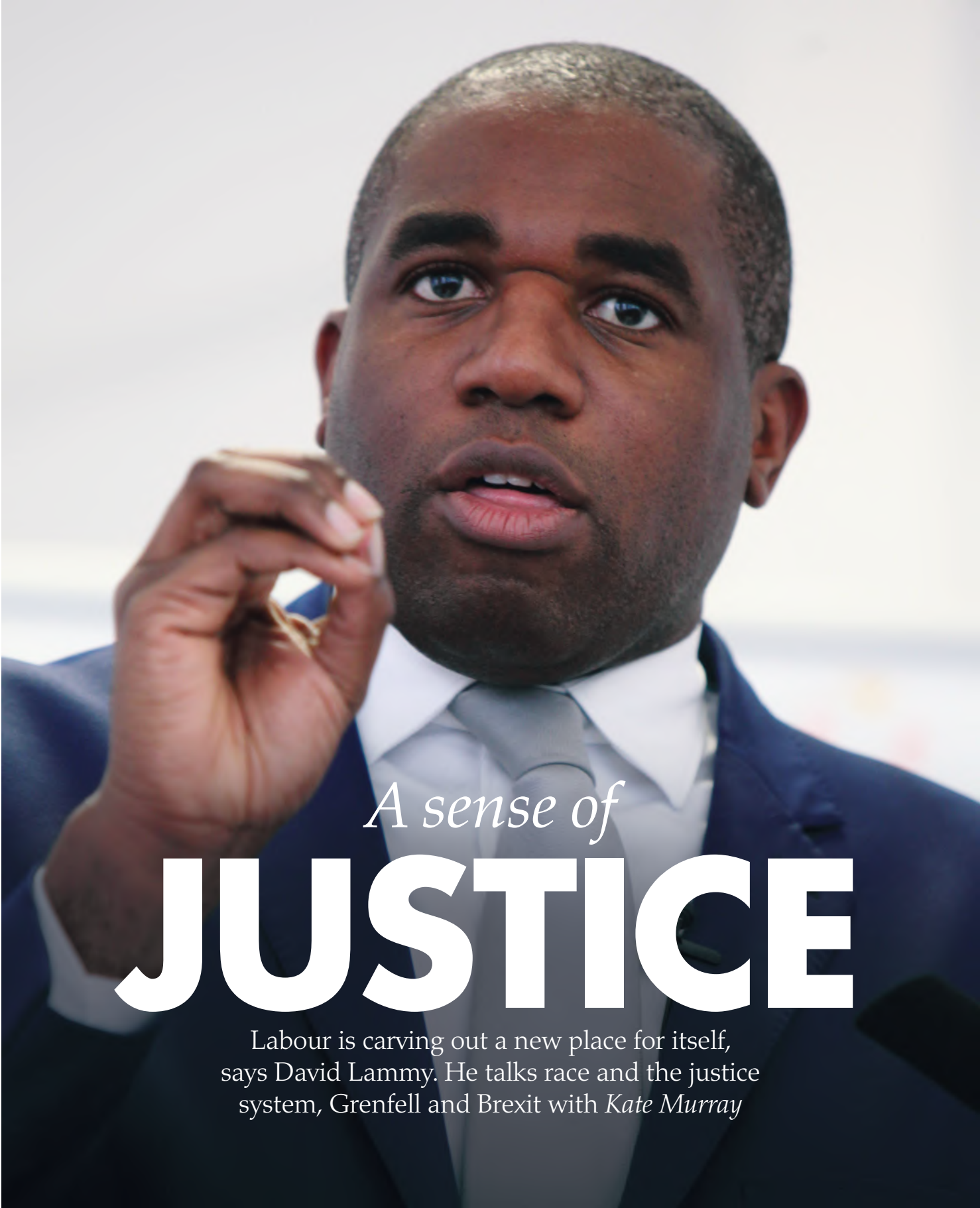


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A sense of
JUSTICE

Labour is carving out a new place for itself, says David Lammy. He talks race and the justice system, Grenfell and Brexit with *Kate Murray*

THERE ARE NOT many Labour backbenchers who have to break off mid-interview to take a call from 10 Downing Street. But when we meet, David Lammy is just days away from the launch of a major review commissioned by the government into race and the criminal justice system, so there's clearly plenty to discuss with Number 10.

Lammy admits he hesitated when former prime minister David Cameron asked him to lead the review back in January 2016. But, he says, it is the sort of issue where party differences ought to be put to one side given the scale of the problem. More than 40 per cent of prisoners in the youth justice system are from black and minority ethnic backgrounds and a young black man is nine times more likely to be in custody than his white counterpart.

"The figures are very worrying," Lammy says. "I am really concerned about the youth justice system. The modern youth justice system was largely set up in 1998 by us in power and designed to reduce the number of young people going to prison. We succeeded in doing that – but the number of black young people in prison has been going in the other direction."

Lammy stops short of condemning the entire system. "I don't think it's fair to describe the whole system as institutionally racist but it is also the case that, let's take our prisons for example, there are prisons where there is overt prejudice going on," he says. "Overt discrimination is there and there are definitely perceptions of that in the community that lead to low trust levels."

Among the recommendations from the review are a much bigger role for parents and community representatives in the system; deferred prosecutions for some first and second-time offenders and a loosening of the rules on declaring past criminal convictions. "If you shoplift at 19 and you are applying to be a football steward or a traffic warden at 29 you've still got a record showing up. You ought to be able to go in front of the parole board or a judge and have that record sealed, save for the most serious offences. Not sealed from criminal justice system and the police but from potential employers," he says. "Black men have the highest reoffending rates in our prison system and a lot of it is to do with an inability to get a job."

He would also like to see more diversity in prison senior leadership teams and in the judiciary.

"We've got big cities in Britain with large ethnic minority populations and there's no-one in their crown courts reflecting the community," he says. "Our justice system is respected across the world but to function properly it has to have legitimacy and I think when you look at the

trust levels in black and minority ethnic communities born in this country they are low, much lower than in white communities."

Lammy's review, highlighting as it does a very real race issue in our criminal justice system, has been big news. But it's for campaigning on another issue – housing – that the Tottenham MP has perhaps most been in the public eye this year. The fire at Grenfell tower took the life of a young artist Khadija Saye, who was mentored by Lammy's artist wife and had become part of his 'wider family'. So for him the tragedy has a personal dimension but it was also an event, he believes, that underlined just how serious Britain's housing crisis has become.

"We have come so far from a period in the 1950s and 60s where we had decent housing where you could raise your family," he says. "Now our estates are terribly run down, we've got families living on the 22nd floor and a lot of the public are very immune to what the reality of social housing has come to – the reality that there isn't much of it but where there is, it's often not of great quality. Grenfell brought that home in real time."

"A lot of people think of public services as bin collections, providing a leisure centre or key bits of the public sector such as education and health. They forget that actually the most basic human need is a roof over your head. If you are on the 22nd floor of Grenfell, you are entirely reliant on the state not just for your housing but for your safety."

He believes that housing is an area where the state has to intervene or more and more people will end up living in 'slum communities' in the private rented sector.

"The fact that we are spending £10bn a year on housing benefit to private landlords and not on social housing is a scandal," he says. "I believe the state has got to be building again and I believe we have got to stop the right to buy."

Lammy's stance on housing puts him at odds with some Labour councils keen to regenerate their communities, which in practice, he fears, means "really serious gentrification schemes and Labour abandoning the poorest in its communities".

"There are differences of opinion in the Labour family about housing," he says. "There is little direct subsidy from government for housing and there are Labour local authorities doing deals with property developers. I don't blame the developers – they are in it for the profit – but with the state no longer building and with no direct subsidy, it's clear that in some of the deals local authorities are doing, the local authorities are being turned over. It's not clear

Overt discrimination is there and there are definitely perceptions of that in the community that lead to low trust levels

that they have officers who have the capacity to understand in detail the profit margins of companies they are going into bed with. Estate renewal often really means decanting poorer people from areas becoming gentrified into other areas."

If that sounds radical stuff, Lammy is unapologetic. He believes housing is now an 'animating issue' for the left as education once was, given the dire state of housing options for the under-40s in particular. But is he now more radical than he used to be? He doesn't see it like that. He says he was proud to have served as a minister under Gordon Brown and Tony Blair – just as he would be to serve under Jeremy Corbyn.

"I'm a Labour loyalist," he asserts. "I tend not to get caught up in the personality politics. My constituents' interests are served by a Labour government whatever its complexion."

And while he says his vote in the party's last leadership election is 'between him and the ballot box', he believes Jeremy Corbyn's Labour is right to prompt the public and politicians alike to confront where they stand on the big social issues.

"If you go back to 1994 or 1995, the strategy at that point after successive election defeats was to broaden the party's appeal and seek the middle ground. Today we've got to ask ourselves, and what Jeremy is forcing us to do, is to ask: 'What is the middle ground?' My mother used to say you can't build a bridge from the centre," he says. "That has caught some colleagues by surprise. Yes, we are creating a broad church but you've got to know where you stand. Because from where I'm looking we've had a middle ground that seems to exclude the folk in Grenfell and if that's the middle ground then I'm not interested."

Corbyn, he adds, 'called austerity right'. "He felt the British public were sick to the back teeth with it; he understood the fact that we need redistribution. That's what the manifesto was about and that's what chimed," he says. "There's more to do but nevertheless we have got to be in the business of redistribution and fighting inequality. These are the redistributive politics that make me proud to be a Labour member, a Fabian and a socialist."

But isn't it difficult for such an ardent remainder as Lammy to stay loyal given Labour's tricky balancing act on Brexit? He is dismissive of talk of a new centre party – although he is amused that, in a situation he could never have imagined when he entered parliament 17 years ago, he can now sit in the tea room next to Conservative MPs Anna Soubry and Ken Clarke and find there is a great deal they all agree on. But he believes Labour is now shifting ground and that there is all still to play for. "I'm proud of being the first Labour MP to say that exiting the EU is madness and to say that I'm going to fight it all the way. I'm not budging from that position," he says. "What is happening in the Labour party as the dust has settled is that the mood of the country is changing. Labour – and [shadow Brexit secretary] Keir Starmer to give him credit – are adjusting to that mood."

The Conservatives, on the other hand, are likely to implode given the impossibility of landing a deal that

will satisfy everyone, he says. "I think we are going to get a very bad deal. If we had the calibre of a Bill Clinton, of a Barack Obama or – and some of the shine has come off him – a Tony Blair with his sort of negotiating skills I would have faith in that. I might even go as far as saying if our leaders had the power of a Margaret Thatcher you might think they would pull it off. But this lot? No chance."

"We are going to exit with a phenomenally bad deal or no deal, the economy will take a real hit and we are going into a deeply isolationist period at a time when we are needed on the world stage," he adds.

"The navel-gazing going on means we have to have a second referendum on this, we will have to go back to the British people with a deal because if we don't I suspect the current government risks oblivion."

But, given the deep splits across the country exposed by Brexit, Lammy believes Labour has more work to do to reach out to those people who have been left behind. And here one of his other policy passions – investing in skills training both for young people and for those stuck in low-paid, low-skill jobs – could play a part. As former skills minister, he believes that a new generation of night schools, alongside a strong industrial strategy and a good offer on housing, could reconnect with ex-Labour voters.

"I can't think of an issue that's more 'now' than this in the post-Brexit economy – how we reach some parts of the country that have turned away from Labour: natural Labour heartlands that have been seduced by Ukip and extreme right-wing notions where you blame others rather than equipping yourselves," he says. "This is fertile territory for Labour."

For himself, Lammy is enjoying his politics more than he has ever been. Although he says he would love to sit on the frontbench in a future Labour government, he is, for the time being, relishing speaking out on the issues he cares deeply about.

"I have no doubt Britain is more fractured today than at any time in my lifetime," he says. "That's quite a bold statement because I lived through the riots in the early 80s but I think Britain feels more fractured than then. The next government will be one that really offers the country a powerful vision of healing some of those divides and some hope. The next election is going to be a hope election."

And that, he believes, will usher in a Labour government which has placed itself on that new middle ground to appeal to today's voters.

"I believe that Jeremy Corbyn will become prime minister. A lot of mud was thrown at him in the last election and it didn't stick with the British public. He has his mojo about him and we seem to have party discipline back."

"Whilst people can have views on the 70s and socialism I think people have to come to terms with where the centre ground now is and with the fact that there are people under 40 who have not experienced socialism – so they are up for it." **F**

Kate Murray is the editor of the Fabian Review

We've had a middle ground that seems to exclude the folk in Grenfell and if that's the middle ground, I'm not interested



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Fabian Fringe at Labour party conference 2017

FABIAN
SOCIETY

	Event	Speakers	Time/Venue	Partner
SUNDAY 24 SEPTEMBER	Ending Gender Based Violence Strengthening public systems to prevent and respond	Nimco Ali (Women's Equality Party)	12.30–14.00 Lancing 1	
	Innovate or Die The future of private sector trade unions	Stella Creasy MP, Chuka Umunna MP	13.00–14.30 Glyndebourne 1	
	Year in Review Twelve months in British politics	Shami Chakrabarti (shadow attorney general), Sarah Jones MP	17.00–18.30 Glyndebourne 1	
	Delivering Social Justice The importance of education outside the classroom	Dan Jarvis MP, Jermain Jackman (entertainer & NCS ambassador)	17.30–19.00 Lancing 1	
	Powerful People Powerful Places Engaging communities in environmental action	Sue Hayman MP (shadow secretary of state for environment, food & rural affairs) Lord Kennedy (shadow DCLG minister)	19.00–20.30 Glyndebourne 1	
MONDAY 25	The Future of Work for Women	Laura Pidcock MP	08.30–10.00 Lancing 1	
	What is the Future for Brexit Britain? Pamphlet launch	Georgina Wright (Chatham House)	08.30–10.00 Glyndebourne 1	
	The Right to Justice The launch of the Bach Commission report	Lord Bach (Bach Commission chair & PCC, Leicester)	12.30–14.00 Glyndebourne 1	
	Is Artificial Intelligence Sexist?	Chi Onwurah MP	13.00–14.30 Lancing 1	
	Our Vision for the Industry's Future What next for financial and related professional services?	Jonathan Reynolds MP (shadow economic secretary to the Treasury), Alison McGovern MP	17.00–18.30 Lancing 1	
	Changing Hands Is community ownership of assets the way forward for local government?	Jim McMahan MP (shadow minister for local government devolution & finance)	17.30–19.00 Glyndebourne 1	

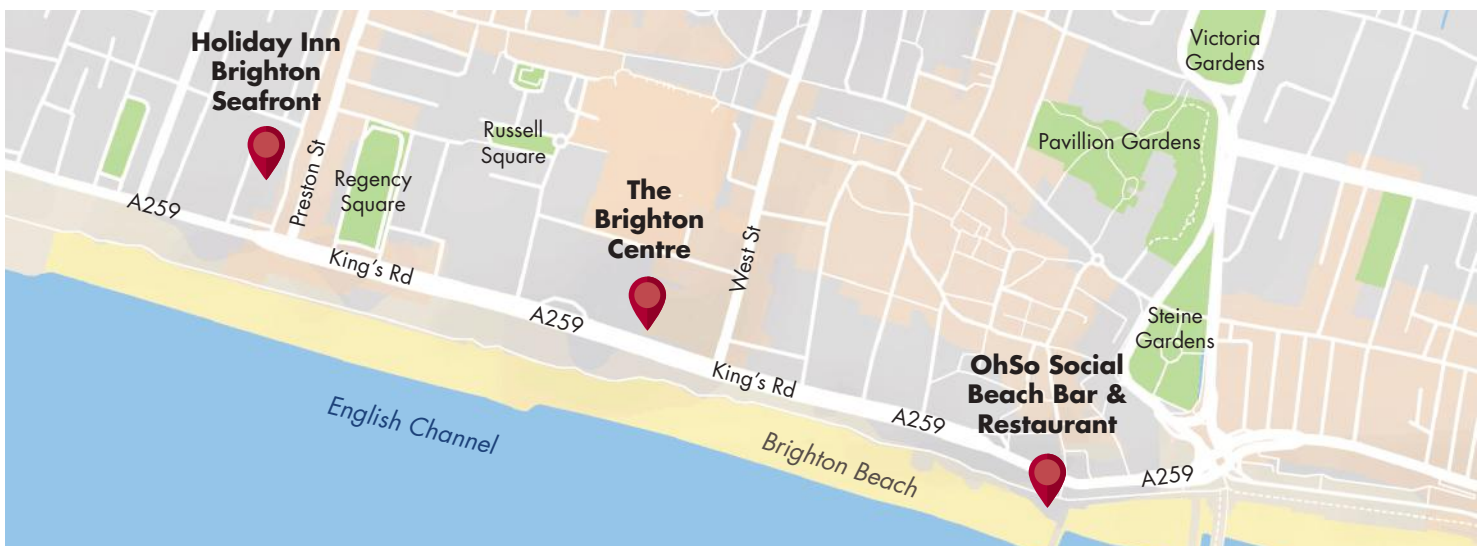
	Event	Speakers	Time/Venue	Partner
TUESDAY 26	A Fairer Society for All Achieving everyday equality for disabled people	Debbie Abrahams MP (shadow secretary of state for work and pensions), Kate Green MP	13.00–14.30 Lancing 1	
	Britain, Europe and the World Co-operating on global challenges	Emily Thornberry MP (shadow foreign secretary), Brendan Howlin (leader, Irish Labour party)	13.30–15.00 Glyndebourne 1	
	Fabian Question Time	David Lammy MP, Seema Malhotra MP, Owen Jones	17.00–18.30 Lancing 1	
	The Fabian Party Members and invitation only. RSVP to events@fabians.org.uk	Hosted by Kate Green MP. DJ set by Alison McGovern MP & Stella Creasy MP, plus special guests	20.00–late OhSo Social, BN1 1NB	

ROUNDTABLE EVENTS

By invitation only (events@fabians.org.uk)

<p>Advanced Manufacturing and Industrial Strategy Labour's agenda for innovation and growth Chi Onwurah MP (shadow minister for industrial strategy, science and innovation)</p> 	<p>Brexit Britain Challenges and opportunities for the City Keir Starmer MP (shadow secretary of state for exiting the EU)</p> 	<p>Doing Care Differently Labour's agenda for independence and wellbeing in older age Barbara Keeley MP (shadow mental health and social care minister)</p> 
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LOCATION All events will be held at the Holiday Inn – Brighton Seafront, 137 Kings Rd, BN1 2JF unless stated otherwise.



For more details about our fringe events visit fabians.org.uk/events

A continuing crisis

While thousands of refugees languish in camps across Europe, the UK government has rowed back on its commitments. *Alf Dubs*, who spearheaded moves to help child refugees, sets out what needs to be done now



Lord Dubs is a Labour peer and member of the Lords' EU external affairs sub-committee. He is a former MP, former chief executive of the Refugee Council and a vice-president of the Fabian Society

I VISITED THE 'JUNGLE' refugee and migrant camp in Calais twice before it was demolished. I paid my third visit to Calais last month but this time the Jungle had gone. Last year the French authorities decided to get rid of the camp and dispersed the refugees all over France. But without hope of a future, several hundred have returned to northern France and are enduring a miserable existence sleeping in the woods. There are virtually no facilities and the refugees complain of police hostility.

It's a depressing picture but, away from Calais, the situation is just as bad. There are thousands of refugees and migrants in the camps in Greece and in Italy; many are arriving daily across the Mediterranean. All over Europe the fences and barbed wire are going up to keep people out. The plea that all European countries should share the responsibility to help is falling on deaf ears. The Germans and Swedes have played their part – but even they are now having second thoughts.

The scale of the refugee crisis worldwide is huge. We have to remember that countries in the Middle East are looking after the bulk of Syrian refugees. The UN's refugee agency, UNHCR, estimates there are 3 million in Turkey, 1 million in Lebanon and 0.7 million in Jordan. At the end of 2016, UNHCR estimated that 66 million people in the world had been uprooted by conflict and persecution.

How have we got to this situation? And how is it that children, the most at risk in this crisis, are still not being helped in sufficient numbers?

When the government finally accepted my amendment on child refugees back in 2016 I was quite hopeful that progress would be made, especially as ministers said they proposed to accept the letter and spirit of the amendment.

Even before my amendment was passed, introducing section 67 to the Immigration Act requiring the government to take in unaccompanied refugee children, there was provision for children to come to the UK under Dublin III. This is part of a European Union agreement which says

that children in any EU country have the right to join family members in another EU country.

But until the amendment was passed, very few Dublin III children had come to Britain. However as the same NGOs were working in Calais and in Greece with both Dublin III and section 67 children, the pressure on the government was increased.

There are some excellent NGOs working with child refugees, especially Safe Passage and Help Refugees. They have outstanding staff and volunteers who have given a great deal of their time to assist and support vulnerable child refugees. It has been a privilege working with them.

The original amendment to the immigration bill included a figure of 3,000 unaccompanied child refugees from Europe which the UK would have been required to take in. This was based on our share of the estimated 25,000 unaccompanied child refugees in Europe. As the debate progressed, Save the Children's original estimate was revised upwards to 95,000 children. This meant that the original figure in the amendment was far too low, ironic in the light of subsequent developments.

Theresa May, then Home Secretary, asked me to see her and tried to persuade me to withdraw the amendment. Her argument was the 'pull factor' – she claimed the proposed legislation would encourage more child refugees to come to Europe. I politely refused her request, saying that we could not turn our backs on the thousands of unaccompanied child refugees in Europe. We knew that many were in a vulnerable state, liable to be victims of traffickers, forced into criminality and facing daily danger.

After the Lords passed the amendment it reached the Commons, where we hoped a number of Conservative MPs would come out in support. A few did, but the government just scraped through, using the argument of 'financial privilege' in that the amendment would have required extra spending based on the 3,000 figure it proposed to help. Most

The British people are essentially humanitarian in their instincts. There was a deep sense of helplessness at the terrible pictures coming from the Mediterranean

Lords' amendments are liable to involve expenditure and normally the government waives this objection. It did not do so in this case. Accordingly we had to reword the amendment to take out the figure of 3,000.

The revised amendment passed the Lords with a slightly bigger majority and Theresa May then told me in a second meeting that the government proposed to accept the amendment.

At that point it was fairly likely that this time the amendment would pass as enough Tory MPs were unwilling to support the government. And by now there was mounting evidence of public opinion coming out in support of the amendment. All over the country 'Refugee Welcome' groups were being established. The majority of the messages I received by email and letter were supportive and, surprisingly, a number of government ministers stopped me in the corridors to wish me luck.

My feeling is that British people are essentially humanitarian in their instincts. There was a deep sense of helplessness at the terrible pictures coming from the Mediterranean of boats of refugees sinking, culminating in the shock of a dead little boy lying drowned on a beach.

So when there was a clear campaign to help child refugees many people wanted give it their support. Offers of help came in: people were to become foster parents and to assist in campaigning. Yet it was not always straightforward: One problem was that local authorities are obliged to vet people who want to foster and this can take up to six months. And we also have to be aware that many of these children will have been shocked and traumatised by their experiences. One Syrian boy told me he had seen a bomb kill his father just in front of him. An Afghan boy described his fear of the Taliban and the dangers to his whole family. Additionally many of the children had been through long, difficult and dangerous journeys to get to Europe.

This means that the children arriving here need very sensitive help and support to enable them to adjust to life in the UK. This help needs to be at both a professional level but also in terms of friendship, English language, involvement in sport and other social activities.

So what progress has been made? So far, 1,050 Dublin III children have arrived in the UK, mainly from France. As regards section 67, the latest figure appears to be 200, all from France, and there have been no new acceptances for months. Before the general election the government said it would bring the scheme to a halt when 350 children had been helped. Then, just before parliament was dissolved for the election, the government said it would take a further 130 to reach a total of 480.

The government gave one main reason for stopping the scheme. The arrangement was that local authorities should provide suitable foster parents, although for the older ones some independent living accommodation with good support would be made available.

The government maintained that local authorities were not able to come up with sufficient places. It did not take long for us to discover that this was not the case and that local authorities were willing and able to take more children. Hammersmith and Fulham council was particularly prominent among the councils offering places and in London they were joined by Ealing, Lambeth, Camden and Lewisham, among others. In

Scotland too there was a willingness to offer more places to child refugees.

These issues are the subject of a judicial review in the High Court and as I write this we are awaiting the decision. But whether the review is successful or not, political pressure on the government to do more will continue to mount. So where do we go from here?

- The refugee crisis is probably the biggest challenge facing Europe and it is essential that all countries share in the responsibility to deal with it. The UK is taking 20,000 people who have fled Syria under the vulnerable persons scheme plus an additional 3,000, which will include children, all over a five-year period. But there are many more who do not fall under the scheme or have no other legal route to safety. That is why so many, including children, cross the Mediterranean in unsafe boats or try and get to Dover on the back of trucks. As we are all too aware, some have died in the attempt. We must surely do more to address this daily tragedy.
- We must press the government to take more children under section 67 of the Immigration act. Local authorities should be approached again. The scheme should be kept open and children brought to the UK in line with local authorities coming up with foster places.
- The government has said that the scheme should apply to any children who reached Europe before 20 March 2016. This date should be relaxed as quite a number of the children arrived in Europe after that date.
- As regards Dublin III children, the government should stop dragging its heels. I have a suspicion that the government wants to bring the scheme to a close as part of Brexit.
- We need to do all we can to help established a stable administration in Libya so that there can be better co-operation to catch people traffickers. It's a vile trade and too often results in deaths by drowning in the Mediterranean. NGOs have said that many of the migrants who make the journey across the Sahara are raped on the way to Libya.
- We need to tackle problems in source countries both with economic aid and ensuring that people are better informed about the risks of the journey, the exploitation by traffickers, and the fact that if they cannot justify refugee status they may not be allowed to stay in Europe.
- We should stress that in terms of human rights, refugees – those with a well-founded fear of persecution or escaping war – must have the highest priority. It may simply not be possible for Europe to take in those who do not achieve refugee status.

Finally a request to all Fabians: approach your MPs and ask them to press the government both to keep section 67 going and to bring in more Dublin III children. Approach your local authorities and ask them what they are doing to take in refugees, adults and children. Finally join a local refugee welcome group and support their activities.

This country has proud record on welcoming refugees, which I can confirm from personal experience as I arrived here in 1939 on a Kindertransport from Prague. This country gave me fantastic opportunities and I would like to think unaccompanied child refugees arriving today will be given a similar welcome. ■

The rise of the golems

Anti-establishment politics will always end in tears for mainstream parties, argues *Allen Simpson*



Allen Simpson works for a major bank. He was Labour's candidate in Maidstone and the Weald in 2015 and 2017, and is a strategy board member of Progress. He is part of the leadership team at Labour in the City

MODERN POLITICIANS SEEM to be in perpetual competition to be the most anti-establishment. This is not just a recent phenomenon. Tony Blair's glottal stop, Bill Clinton's saxophone and Ronald Reagan's cowboy hat predate Corbyn's bicycle clips by decades, but they are part of the same fetishisation of authenticity and outsider status.

But stirring anti-establishment sentiment can come at an expensive price. Across the West, populist movements have overrun many establishment parties, either creating new electoral blocs or fundamentally changing the policy platform of their hosts from within.

This hasn't happened by chance, and should not be ascribed just to post-crisis anger. Rather there is a strong sense that it is, at least in part, a self-inflicted wound by political elites themselves – the result of both strategic and tactical decisions taken by parties trying to encourage, harness, and weaponise political anger.

In Jewish mythology there is a story of a creature called a golem. Most versions of the story describe a monster made out of clay by a rabbi to defend his community from attack or to defeat an enemy. The rabbi brings the monster to life by writing the word 'emet' meaning 'truth' on its forehead. Inevitably the rabbi loses control of the golem, bringing disaster on himself or his flock. It is a story of hubris.

Rather than thinking of organisations like the US Tea Party or Ukip here in the UK as entrysts, it is more truthful to recognise that they are to a large extent home-grown phenomena. They are golems, created by political leaders seeking to use popular anger as a political strategy, which ultimately, as the rabbi in the story discovered, prove impossible to control.

One lesson of modern politics is that when establishment parties try to cloak themselves in counter-establishment rhetoric, they will find to their cost that they are at as much risk as their opponents.

After all, the logic of these populist movements is obvious. "Yes, we entirely agree with you that the world is controlled by a sclerotic or corrupt establishment of whom we are not part. But we think you, our leaders, are part of that establishment too. So we won't just overthrow our rival parties, we are coming after you as well".

The rise of the Tea Party

It must be a strange thing to be a member of the modern US Republican party establishment. Objectively, this is a time of dominance. They hold the White House and both Houses of Congress. Their hegemony stretches deep into elected office at state and local level and into the civil service.

Yet it certainly doesn't feel that way for many moderates within the party. After a decade of being routed by Tea Party candidates in Republican primaries and feeling forced towards a hard set of socially conservative policies, they have seen Trump push moderacy and the old ruling group even further from the levers of power.

But this is a self-inflicted wound, with its roots in clear intellectual and strategic decisions taken over 40 years to recast American conservatism as a revolutionary force. In his book *Rise of the Counter Establishment* Sidney Blumenthal charts a history back to networks that a young Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld founded with radical neo-conservative intellectuals while working for President Nixon in the 1970s.

As Blumenthal puts it, they became the rebellious insurgents. "Wherever the liberals stigmatised them as deviants they felt vindicated". Their outsider status confirmed in their minds the idea that there was in fact an establishment and that the establishment was liberal.

Nixon himself saw the young advisors as difficult. Tapes from the Oval Office record him referring to the "Rumsfeld Problem" and suggesting the administration should "dump him". Instead, both Rumsfeld and Cheney outlasted Nixon. Both men would serve as Gerald Ford's chief of staff, acting largely to frustrate the President's moderate agenda.

They opposed Ford's choice of moderate New Yorker Nelson Rockefeller as vice-president over either GHW Bush or their preferred candidate Ronald Reagan. Although they lost that battle in the short term, they systematically undermined Rockefeller's role in the administration before convincing Ford to dump him from the ticket for the 1977 election. Without the north-eastern votes Rockefeller would have brought, Ford lost the election to Jimmy Carter's Democrats.

Cheney led planning for the Ford campaign in '77 and was responsible for an instructive section of Ford's stump speech which, in its appeal to social order and to faith,



The golem in the 1920 expressionist film classic

could easily have served as a manifesto for the Tea Party 30 years later: “We shall go forward as a united people to forge a lasting peace in the world based upon our deep belief in the rights of man, the rule of law, and guidance by the hand of God”.

Moderates at the time were unnerved by this close coupling of civics and faith. Contrast it for example with Rockefeller’s comments five years earlier when, as governor of New York, he vetoed an appeal to the *Roe v Wade* abortion law: “I do not believe it right for one group to impose its vision of morality on an entire society”.

Ford himself described dumping Rockefeller as “the most cowardly thing I’ve ever done...[for] not saying to the ultra-conservatives “it’s going to be Ford and Rockefeller, whatever the consequences”.

The other tenet of this emerging anti-establishment Republicanism was mistrust of the public sphere.

When Ronald Reagan said that the nine most terrifying words in the English language were “I’m from the government and I’m here to help”, he was setting out more than simply an agenda for small-state government. He was also firing a first shot in a battle against the idea of public elites.

In the decades that followed, these tropes evolved into an explicit electoral strategy. Reaganism versus a sneering anti-American metropolitan elite. The GW Bush victories which cast first Gore then Kerry in the latter role are direct reflections of the intellectual and political decision to reformulate Republicanism as a counter-establishment force.

As one writer on the rise of this new conservatism has put it – “if a liberal drives an SUV it is the car of the elite. If a Republican does it, it is instantly the car of the common man. They have a whole stereotype that they’ve spent years building”. It scarcely needs pointing out that Kerry and Bush are identical in their Ivy League credentials. This is less about reality than optics.

Rumsfeld and Cheney themselves were really the very definition of an insider. In Kissinger’s words, “a special Washington phenomenon: the skilled full-time politician-bureaucrat in whom ambition, ability, and substance fuse seamlessly”.

The conceit proved to be self-defeating. Many registered Republicans were fully willing to believe that there was a liberal establishment which did not share their aims or respect their cultural choices. But they felt too that the leadership of their own party fitted the description, and began organising to replace existing Republican candidates and officials.

The Tea Party defeated a number of GOP candidates. Florida, Delaware, Utah, Alaska and Nevada all saw moderate Republican incumbents lose primaries. In 2010, nearly 140 Congressional candidates had Tea Party backing, and the fear of being targeted in a primary by a Tea Party candidate had an inevitable chilling effect on more moderate Republicans.

Moderate conservative John McCain was forced to add Sarah Palin to his ticket to balance suspicion about his politics. The centrist Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney did manage to overcome a Tea Party challenge to secure his party’s presidential nomination but was pulled far to the right during the campaign, away from his own record, towards the Tea Party and towards defeat.

And the establishment’s candidate for the 2016 nomination – Jeb Bush – was soundly beaten by the Tea Party choice Ted Cruz, and ultimately by Trump himself. The Republicans have lost their own party to a counter-establishment golem of their own making.

Consider an alternative history of the 2016 presidential election where Clinton’s success in the popular vote brings her a victory in the electoral college. Four years on, a chastened Republican party run the dully centrist Jeb Bush who wins against a flagging Democratic machine. The Democrats then run the talented and charismatic Michelle Obama against him, who sweeps the electoral map and serves two terms. Seven presidencies spanning 45 years, with two people of colour, and two women – but drawn from only three families.

Understanding why to many in America this looks less like diversity and more like oligarchy is crucial to understanding how anti-establishment politics have proven so powerful. Trump, cast against a revolving set of political dynasties, seems to be an iconoclast even with his vast inherited wealth.

Conservatives and Ukip

We can chart a similar history on the right of British politics. Direct intellectual and political lines can be drawn from the Thatcher phenomenon to the rise of Ukip as an electoral force, 30 years later.

From the early days of her premiership, Margaret Thatcher set herself against the existing social hierarchies

of class and an emerging one of public sector technocrats as much as she set herself against unionised labour. She built a coalition of traditional Conservatives and a new breed of aspirational working-class and lower-middle class voters for whom pushing against a liberal establishment was a deeply personal aim. It is a set of ideas which continues to define conservative politics in the party, the media and the wider country today.

One part of this coalition is particularly important. Self-employment and small business ownership grew more in public consciousness than in reality during this period. But there was a growing sense of self-identity amongst a broad grouping of skilled manual workers and of entrepreneurs who felt common interests and cultural norms, and saw themselves in opposition to the same groups Thatcher had set herself against.

So much in politics is a dispute between competing understandings of fairness. For this new coalition, fairness was found in personal responsibility. These voters rejected both a politics and a labour movement which they felt were supporting people unwilling to work, but had nothing to say to 'hard working families' and which, they felt, understood direct employment – particularly by the state – but saw self-employment as somehow gauche. And they contrasted a deeply felt nationalism with a culturally and politically globalist elite across civil society for whom New York was closer to their personal experience than Grantham.

For Thatcher and her supporters, Europe became the embodiment of this statist, internationalist elite. As she said in her Bruges speech in 1988:

“Europe is the result of plans. It is in fact, a classic utopian project, a monument to the vanity of intellectuals, a programme whose inevitable destiny is failure”.

The experience of knocking on doors in the 2015 general election illustrated just how much this remains the case. Europe was one of the most commonly raised topics by voters. It was not raised in isolation. It would sit as part of a matrix of issues including gay marriage, immigration, MPs' expenses, bankers, and often a specific personal example of being failed by the system. Our constitutional relationship with the continent had become a proxy for a wider discussion about the future of our society – about personal responsibility versus personal freedoms as the central gravity of your moral universe.

For recent Conservative leaders, this has posed a tactical problem. Appease this post-Thatcher strand of patriotic individualism, or try and outflank it on the centre? David Cameron unwisely tried both. His Big Society project sat uneasily against the increasing anti-Europeanism of his back benches and the country. Intermittent spasms of uneasy nationalism only served to increase demand for a more red-blooded conservatism.

The result came in a sharp increase in the political relevance of the anti-establishment, anti-Brussels and socially conservative Ukip, and ultimately in the decision to hold a Brexit referendum. It also meant that following Cameron's resignation, liberal Conservatives now find themselves significantly diminished in the party's hierarchy. By 2014, Ukip were polling as high as one quarter of the total vote. Analysis of Ukip's vote has consistently shown a large

amount of that support came from people who 35 years previously had formed Thatcher's new coalition – these were the heirs to her Bruges Speech.

Her electoral success in convening a counter-establishment bloc of lower middle and working-class voters was, a generation later, proving the largest single risk to Conservative electability.

Today it seems that the Ukip force has faded away, but not before they had a remarkable impact on the future of the Conservative party and the country more broadly.

Miliband and the rise of the left

Watching the confusion of many Labour MPs over the rise of Jeremy Corbyn brings these parties' histories to mind.

There is genuine bewilderment about how such an apparently old-fashioned figure could be swept to office on a wave of youth power.

Part of the reason is the strategy followed by Corbyn's immediate predecessor. Those of us of an age to be annoyed by the rise of 90s themed retro nights can easily forget that a 20-year-old Momentum activist would have been only 13 when Ed Miliband became leader.

For these young people, their entire politically aware lives had been spent with a Labour leader making a powerful argument that the system was rigged. They were told by Miliband that “the 21st Century choice is: are you on the side of... the producers or the predators?”.

Time and again Milibandism described – not without reason – a capitalist system operated corruptly in favour of an economic and social elite. Young people took the message on board, but were less convinced that Miliband or any of his peers had the radicalism needed to address the problem. They also recognised the establishment when they saw it, and the Miliband tribe of former special advisors, children of previous MPs and other fellow travellers is without question an insider group.

Corbyn is the natural and inevitable result of the political programme that the Labour leadership group followed under Miliband. Perhaps more than even the rule changes Miliband introduced, it was the question he posed to the left – ‘how can we get rid of the establishment?’ – that led to the party's transformation.

Just as with the Republicans and the Tea Party, or the Conservatives and Ukip, Labour's elites found themselves the victims of a counter-establishment golem that they had themselves encouraged.

It is easy to see why politicians are attracted to an idea of themselves as fighting the establishment. But when we draw our political leaders from an ever-narrower pool, any claims to outsider status will struggle to ring true.

For people energised by these new movements this is an exciting time, and it is hard to argue that the old political establishments deserve protection when they have singularly failed to make an effective argument for their survival. But as society and our politics become more polarised, we might all pause to ask whether populism is best placed to address the challenges of the coming years.

The rabbi in the story brought the golem to life by writing the word 'truth' on its forehead. Many mainstream politicians have attempted to confer the same endorsement onto populist movements. Time and again, that has proven to be a deep strategic error. ■



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Corbyn's effects

Corbynism is a collective endeavour in the best Labour tradition – and there is much more to come, writes *Mark Perryman*



Mark Perryman is the editor of The Corbyn Effect published by Lawrence & Wishart, priced £15. He is a research fellow in sports and leisure culture at the University of Brighton and co-founder of Philosophy Football

OVER THE PAST two years what has made the Corbynite challenge so distinctive, and has become a core part of its appeal, is the way Labour is becoming both a party and a social movement. It heralds a party that is more than the sum of its members, branches, annual conference and MPs.

Theorist of the 21st century's social movements David Graeber summed up very well the changes that would be needed for Labour to complete this process of combining the electoral and the social:

"Over the past century it [Labour] has gradually become like all the other political parties – personality (and of course, money) based, but the Corbyn project is first and foremost to make the party a voice for social movements once again, dedicated to popular democracy (as trades unions themselves once were). This is the immediate aim. The ultimate aim is the democratisation not just of the party but of local government, workplaces, society itself."

Corbynism, like Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain and Jean-Luc Mélenchon's La France Insoumise, has not emerged out of nowhere. It is part of a wider phenomenon. These movements are not all the same. But each is popular with a base beyond, and sometimes in contradiction with, the left's traditional support. Each has enjoyed a surge of success contrary to the rapidly declining position of the previously majoritarian social democratic party in their countries. Journalist Paul Mason seeks to explain this shift in sociological terms, describing the base as 'the graduate with no future' equipped with access to social media and a flexible, if broadly supportive, attitude to traditional left-ist ideologies. It is a distortion to suggest that this newly engaged base is the sole source of Labour's increased vote share and huge swings in some constituencies but nor would it be wise to discount its significance either.

And after the June general election where might these tendencies take Labour next? Neal Lawson is the chair of Compass, standard-bearer of new thinking. In an open

letter he explained why as a soft leftie in 2015 he surprised himself voting for the hard left candidate, Corbyn:

"But things change. There is no perfect wave, and Jeremy isn't perfect. But this is not about the person but the moment and the wave the Corbyn candidacy has unleashed. I voted for the wave."

These were sentiments I could identify with. I'd come to the same conclusion as Lawson with similar political values still intact though with perhaps a smidgen more enthusiasm. Lawson's description of the 'wave' is crucial:

"The Corbyn wave is a window into what is possible. Its energy is breaking up the permafrosted soil that for 30 years has been too harsh for our dreams to grow in. Labour as a party and a movement cannot survive electorally or politically unless it holds out the hope of radically changing society. On this point, time has caught up with New Labour. If the best it gets is to slow the pace at which the poor get poorer and the planet burns then it's not enough to sustain us. A party needs high ideals and deep organic roots in society if it is to transform that society. This cannot be done from the top down, only when a party meets a groundswell from below."

And now we have that groundswell. First it was the party that was transformed, and now, after 8 June, it could well be the country come the next election. For this to be sustained however we cannot rely on one individual, whatever his rock star popularity. On the eve of Jeremy's re-election as leader in 2016 academic David Wearing described both the opportunity ahead and the obstacles:

"For now, the Labour membership's potential to organise as an active social movement has yet to be realised, which is unsurprising given the exclusionary, aggressive and patronising attitude they have been greeted with by the party establishment. But those members should not allow themselves to be demoralised by what's happen-



ing in Westminster. Instead, they can take the initiative themselves, and set about shifting the ground on which future general elections will be fought and won.”

Such a viewpoint was viewed with derision by most MPs. And plenty of Labour members also lined up alongside the massed ranks of the commentariat long after Jeremy’s triumphant re-election to oppose any such notion. As the months wore on and the poll ratings sank lower, a number of Jeremy’s most prominent supporters peeled off too. A landslide defeat beckoned and an early general election was surely Labour’s worst nightmare. Much of this pessimism was entirely understandable at the time. Those of us beaming with pride now at what has been achieved might enjoy proving the naysayers wrong but we had our doubts too. We’re activists, not fan club followers or personality cultists.

But there was a reason behind the derision we’d faced. Two fundamentally different conceptions of what constitutes the political – different though not always entirely incompatible. Writer Rachel Shabi sums up admirably well the impetus of Corbynism that connects with a constituency that seeks a Labour party that is at one and the same time a social movement:

“This pursuit of collectivism, in the face of decades of rampant individualism, was always one of the more radical aspects of Corbyn’s leadership. It was in evidence throughout his campaign speeches, where he often spoke of society’s many cohorts as one community, binding together groups – young and old, black and white, nurses as well as builders and office workers – that are more often encouraged to compete against each other in the current economy.”

Keir Hardie and Ellen Wilkinson, the hunger marches, Labour winning the peace in ’45, Bevan and the foundation of the NHS, Barbara Castle on the picket line with the women Ford strikers campaigning for equal pay, Foot, Kinnock and Benn leading CND demonstrations, Bernie Grant standing with his community after the 1985 Broadwater Farm riots – after all of that none of what Rachel was describing should appear either new or threatening. But threatening was precisely how some seemed to regard such a shift, and 8 June has done precious little to

alter their opinion. They describe their outlook as ‘Clause One Socialism’ and have the pin badges to prove it.

The grouping most identified with this Clause One position inside the Labour party, Progress, puts it thus:

“In the 1930s, 1950s and 1980s Labour was pulled away from its true path by syndicalist social movements. At its founding, the party’s intention was clearly spelled out for the world to see in the very first paragraph of the constitution: to ‘maintain in parliament ... a political Labour party.’”

In contrast to this parliament-centred view, the key potential of Corbynism is as a party that has a lived experience of, and presence in, every community, at all levels of society. In my small East Sussex town of Lewes, just six miles from where Labour conference will be meeting, I set myself a ‘10-minute rule’ every time I step outside the door. Before I reach my set time I’ve met someone who I know is a fellow member of the Labour party. A neighbour, a market stall holder, a fellow parent, a swimmer down at the pool, someone serving me in a shop, the programme editor of the football club I support. We are everywhere but if we are restricted to the kind of role that Clause One is being interpreted to ascribe to us – passive supporters to be switched on and off when a canvassing session is required, extras rather than the actors – what a waste it would be.

What could have been more symbolic of this potential than the person who introduced Jeremy at his final outdoor rally of the 2017 general election campaign, Saffiyah Khan? A few months previously a photo of her, a young Asian, Muslim woman fearlessly facing down the English Defence League boot boys in her home city of Birmingham, peacefully with a smile on her face, had gone viral. She had stood up for what she knew was right. Neither parliamentarianism nor protest politics can do that on their own. Rather it needs Saffiyah and hundreds of thousands like her to make such resistance possible. And in the process Corbynism challenges the traditional version of populism that on occasion it has threatened to become.

Corbynite Labour is not a stage army at anyone’s beck and call but individuals who come together and become communities of change from below. Welcome to the Corbyn effect. We’ve only just begun. ■

The blame game

Poor places are not responsible for their own poverty and nor do the people who live there cause their own stigmatisation, argues *Stephen Crossley*



Stephen Crossley is a senior lecturer in social policy at Northumbria University. His book In Their Place: The Imagined Geographies of Poverty, published by Pluto Press, is out now

“Certain milieus gather reputations for moral inferiority, squalor, violence, and social pathology, and consequently they objectify the fantasy of the dreadful enclosure... According to the stereotype, housing projects are loci in which sick and dangerous people drift together in a kind of behavioural sink, producing urban capsules of pathology so highly concentrated that the ordinary resources of the body social cannot control them.”

E.V. Walter, 1977

POLITICIANS, AND THOSE with political aspirations, have often sought to demonstrate their concern about poor neighbourhoods by visiting them. The historian Seth Koven notes that when William Beveridge first arrived at Toynbee Hall, one of the university settlements in the East End of London, ‘he felt like ‘an American tourist doing Whitechapel in two days’. In the United States in the spring of 1964, the then president, Lyndon Johnson, embarked on a series of ‘poverty tours’ as part of America’s ‘all-out war’ on human poverty and unemployment. More recently, politically motivated visits to, or discussions about, disadvantaged and impoverished neighbourhoods have often been suffused with attempts to localise the causes of some of the problems faced by residents of those areas.

When Tony Blair was elected prime minister in 1997, he chose the Aylesbury estate in Southwark, London, as the setting for his first speech. Built in the 1960s and 1970s, the Aylesbury replaced older Victorian housing that was considered no longer fit for purpose. The estate featured elevated walkways – ‘streets in the sky’ – and the early residents loved their new properties, although this did not last. Blair was unequivocal as to why he had chosen the estate as the setting for his speech, arguing that the estate, and places like it, had been ‘forgotten’ by the previous government. He spoke of the ‘fatalism’ on the estate, and ‘the dead weight of low expectations, the crushing belief that things cannot get better’ that needed to be addressed if the estate and, by extension the country, was to improve and succeed. The implication was clear: people on the Aylesbury estate had given up and this lack of aspiration and hope was, as much as anything else, the reason for their poverty.

Blair talked of an ‘underclass... cut off from society’s mainstream’. Although the speech was delivered to residents of the estate, it was very much addressed to the wider electorate, with the location providing the perfect site to articulate the divisions Blair perceived in British society.

Denying the residents of the Aylesbury Estate the right to define themselves, Blair called them ‘forgotten people’, made them appear ‘Other’, and brought them to the attention of the mainstream majority, to whom he was determined to ‘reconnect’ them. His speech made no mention of the lack of any evidence that supported the ‘underclass’ thesis, and the robust refutation of the concept by British social scientists at regular intervals from the 1930s onwards.

In 2002, the then leader of the Conservative party, Iain Duncan Smith, travelled to Easterhouse estate in Glasgow in an attempt to demonstrate that he wanted to ‘listen and learn’ from the people that Blair had accused the Tories of ‘forgetting’. His visit was referred to as the ‘Easterhouse epiphany’ by the Scottish newspaper the *Herald*, and Duncan Smith himself later admitted that it was ‘a sort of Damascene point’.

Subsequent visits to Easterhouse and other parts of the East End of Glasgow helped to bring Duncan Smith back from the land of the political dead following his disastrous spell as Conservative leader. It was during these visits that he allegedly discovered his ‘passion for social justice’. Once again, the setting was more than just a backdrop for a politician attempting to mark himself out as a champion of and for the poor. The *Daily Telegraph* noted, in keeping with the ‘forgotten people’ discourse, that ‘IDS went to streets that had seen few Tories in recent years, to find out what causes poverty and how to put it right’. Following a promise he made to Janis Dobbie, a woman he met in Easterhouse, whose son had just died after a heroin overdose, Duncan Smith established the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) think tank. His frequent visits helped ensure that Easterhouse and other parts of east Glasgow became strongly associated with the concept of a dysfunctional and broken society that the CSJ propagated. Duncan Smith himself stated that it was going to Glasgow that helped him realise the scale of the problems that society faced and, indeed, what had caused them:

Standing in the middle of an estate like Easterhouse, you know it was built after the war for a purpose, only to see this wrecked and dreadful set-up today, with families

locked into generational breakdown, poverty, drug addiction and so on. And that really does confront you with the thought that we did this – we built the brave new world, and look where it's gone.

More recently, in January 2016, whilst he was still prime minister, David Cameron launched an initiative to rid Britain of its “sink estates” as part of his attempt to ‘wage an all-out assault on poverty and disadvantage’. He said he wanted to ‘really get to grips with the deep social problems – the blocked opportunity, poor parenting, addiction and mental health problems’, adding:

There's one issue that brings together many of these social problems It's our housing estates. Some of them, especially those built just after the war, are actually entrenching poverty in Britain – isolating and entrapping many of our families and communities.

Echoing Blair nearly 20 years earlier, he went on to argue that these estates were ‘cut off, self-governing and divorced from the mainstream’. Cameron's announcement was met with immediate criticism for, as one architect put it, heralding in ‘a new era of blaming buildings – rather than government welfare policy – for the socio-economic challenges facing many impoverished communities’. Essentially, it ‘conflated the causes of poverty with the layout of a communal stairwell’. Author Lynsey Hanley argued that Cameron's position attempted to turn cause and effect on their heads, and ‘flaunts a refusal to look at the complex situations of marginalised people, not least why some people are cast, through policy and perception, to the margins in the first place’.

All of these interventions by high-profile politicians are good examples of the neighbourhood effects thesis, which argues that where you live affects your life chances. Harald Bauder, who authored an influential and critical paper on neighbourhood effects in 2002, argued that: ‘The idea of neighbourhood effects suggests that the demographic context of poor neighbourhoods instils ‘dysfunctional’ norms, values and behaviours into individuals and triggers a cycle of social pathology and poverty that few residents escape.’

Neighbourhood effects studies claim to demonstrate that place matters when it comes to addressing social issues. These studies have been influential on both sides of the Atlantic partly because, as Tom Slater of Edinburgh University points out in a trenchant critique of the concept: ‘it is seductively simple and, on the surface, very convincing’. Focusing on problems caused in and by ‘problem areas’ is also politically expedient for politicians attempting to distract attention away from the shortcomings or unintended consequences of their own policies. Indeed, as Slater argues, the neighbourhood effects theory is an ‘*instrument of accusation*, a veiled form of class antagonism that conveniently has no place for any concern over what happens *outside* the very neighbourhoods under scrutiny’.

Stigmatised spaces thus appear to take on a life of their own, able to entrench poverty and attract disadvantage. Residents are portrayed as members of a homogeneous underclass, and the reality of neighbourhoods as contested, heterogeneous, socially constructed spaces gets glossed over by this simplistic narrative. Such myths also deflect

attention away from the external forces that largely determine the conditions in which people live.

Families in places such as Easterhouse and the Aylesbury estate are not responsible for housing policy, nor do they decide macro-economic policy, wage levels or education systems or structures. Residents do not make decisions about the levels of support offered via what is supposed to be a system of social security, nor do they have much influence over the levels of funding available to local public services. People living in poor neighbourhoods do not even have much say over how they are talked about or treated by such services and other organisations and institutions. They generally do not generate their own stigmatisation. The ‘taint of place’ that is often attached to working-class neighbourhoods comes from how they are represented in media and political discourses.

Decisions about resources and services that could be made available to neighbourhoods and their residents are often taken hundreds of miles away, perhaps by people whose only experience or knowledge of poverty might have been gleaned from a carefully managed day trip or two. It is worth remembering that relatively few of the politicians who voted through, or abstained during, the welfare reforms introduced in the UK since 2010, were going to be substantially affected by them, or could imagine what they might mean to the many families already living on low incomes across the country. Once people living in a poorer neighbourhood are perceived to be responsible for that locale's deprivation then you are likely to get misplaced attempts to help or, worse, policies of disinvestment, with damaging and harmful consequences.

Economic geographers working at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research at Sheffield Hallam University have demonstrated various ‘Westminster effects’ on disadvantaged neighbourhoods by highlighting how the government's recent welfare reforms have had disproportionately greater impact upon poorer areas. In a similar vein, researchers at the Institute for Fiscal Studies have demonstrated that it is poorer local authorities that lost most money from central government changes to local government spending and revenue allocation. Indeed, in December 2016, the Department for Education announced a new funding formula for schools that would see funding shift from many schools in poorer, urban areas to often more affluent rural areas in the south and east of England. More recently, the shocking tragedy at Grenfell Tower has highlighted attempts, in one of the richest local authority areas of the country, by councillors, officials and contractors to minimise costs when refurbishing the tower.

It is vital to acknowledge that where people live can significantly affect their lives, and also to understand the local effects of national policies. Notwithstanding this, a compelling case can be made that the strongest effects, both symbolic and material, exerted on residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the UK most often emanate from the words and actions of politicians in Westminster, rather than emerging out of concrete walkways. ■

The ‘taint of place’ attached to working-class neighbourhoods comes from how they are represented



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A road to nowhere?

As Brexit talks continue, *Simon Usherwood* assesses progress so far



Simon Usherwood is reader in politics at the University of Surrey and a member of the UK in a Changing Europe programme

MUCH INK HAS been spilt over Brexit and its myriad dimensions since last summer's referendum. However, as the UK works its way through the formal Article 50 negotiations it is time to take a dispassionate look at how the government is performing.

For all that Brexit was a decision of the British polity, almost everything that has followed since has been driven by the EU. The only aspect so far that the UK has determined has been the starting date for the process. Why might this be so? The simple answer is that the EU has followed good negotiating practice from the start, while the UK appears not to have done so.

Most importantly, the EU knows what it wants: to ensuring that the integrity of the treaties is maintained and that membership is a better deal than non-membership. From that very simple starting point, it has been able to build up everything that follows, by virtue of having these underlying interests in place. Interests are not the same as positions, which are specific and usually rigidly defined, and are really useful because they leave options open, rather than closing them down.

This matters especially for Article 50, because the UK does not have a similar set of interests: wanting 'the best possible deal' is not an interest, but a statement of hope. In the face of the UK's uncertainty, the EU is able to adapt and work around what it finds, as the UK finds it. It is evident that there isn't any particular outcome that it requires, only a set of observations about the consequences of anything the UK might desire. Thus, the mandate notes that the four freedoms of the single market belong together, so it's all in or all out, but the UK can decide which for itself.

Secondly, the EU has largely separated the people from the problem. It has been very largely indifferent to who sits in the negotiating chair, or in Number 10, or how big anyone's mandate might be, because instead it has been focused on the specifics of resolving the Article 50 to a satisfactory conclusion for all involved. In this it has been helped by its relatively dominant position, and by not having to work its (multiple) domestic audiences, but the difference in tone is very evident: one side handling detailed questions of policy, the other making noises off telling the EU to 'go whistle'.

And then the third point: the EU has done lots and lots of preparation. From the morning after the referendum, work was begun to build teams, gather information, find consensus positions with member states and the European Parliament, so that it was more than ready to go by the time the UK got around to submitting notification in March. The commission has now issued 10 position papers, while

the UK has produced seven. Admittedly, the commission hasn't produced one on the Irish border question (unlike the UK), but the overall impression is of directed and focused problem-solving at work.

This preparation has then fed into owning the agenda. The ideas contained in the very first response to the referendum have been reinforced and elaborated consistently and firmly since, presenting the Article 50 path, and its sequencing, as the only viable and acceptable path to follow. Even the issuing of multiple position papers is a reflection of how it keeps the UK on the back foot, constantly having to respond to the latest output rather than advancing its own ideas first. In the court of public opinion, the UK ends up looking like it's playing catch-up or being churlish about what's suggested.

Finally, the commission has one more card up its sleeve, namely that it is structurally inflexible. You might call this its Uruguay aspect, after the Uruguay round, the final stage of long-drawn out trade talks for the then Gatt back in 1992. The Commission claimed then (largely sincerely) that it couldn't give any more ground to the US on agriculture because the French wouldn't let it.

For GATT, so for Brexit. The mandate might have been largely consensual in its formation, but different member states have different interests in the outcome, so the mandate is something of a balancing act. Both the process of its agreement and its content have already hardened what the commission might give ground on in the talks.

If this is all so obvious, why haven't the British done the same? There has been much work in DEXEU and other units to build up capacity, plans and positions. But much of it has yet to see the light of day, because of the first aspect of negotiating practice noted above, namely the question of purpose. Brexit might mean Brexit, but circular definitions do not constitute an objective.

The referendum campaigns (on both sides) were a pursuit of winning the vote, not having a discussion about the future direction of the country. The slogans and the claims were designed to get out the vote, not to develop a vision of what the UK might look like. At best, that campaigning created a set of empty signifiers, to be filled by individual hopes and aspirations, but with no means of aggregating and implementing them. Unless there is a general understanding of that, then the purpose of being out of the EU is unclear and must necessarily remain so.

Until then the commission will be able to continue to advance its agenda and preferences, knowing that the UK will struggle to engage or push back, because it simply doesn't know what it wants or needs. ■

Books

Progressive pointers

A new package of ideas to take on rentier capitalism provides food for thought for Labour, writes *James Coldwell*



James Coldwell is a Labour councillor in the London borough of Southwark and works for responsible investment charity ShareAction

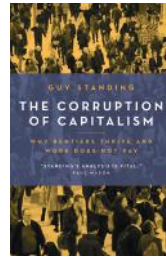
Labour's great victories – 1945, 1964, 1997 – occurred when the party conveyed a confident vision of the future. Whether its relative success in 2017 followed this formula is open to question. On the one hand, the Labour offer inspired under-25s to vote on a scale most political analysts believed impossible. The election campaign drew in thousands of first-time activists, buoyed by a belief that Labour could bring about a more hopeful future. On the other, the most prominent policies in the manifesto could hardly be described as progressive, looking back, as they did, to a time when railways were state-owned and university education was free.

Though it is difficult to refute the appeal of the Labour manifesto, the reasons for its popularity remain contested. This helps to explain why assessments of Jeremy Corbyn continue to diverge so starkly. For some he is the model of a new-style leader, whose success rests partly on his understanding of modern political campaigning. For others he is a "regressive radical", uninterested in developing new policy initiatives.

If he wishes to throw off this latter label, the Labour leader may want to consider some of the solutions proposed by Guy Standing in *The Corruption of Capitalism*. The corruption of the title refers to the way in which capitalism has tilted away from the production of useful goods and services, and come to be dominated by rent-seeking activities. Thus global elites achieve dominance not through pioneering entrepreneurialism, but by accumulating assets. Hoovering up housing, intellectual property rights and financial assets generates rental income for their owners without increasing productivity or benefiting wider society. At the same time, changing patterns of work and the rise of the on-demand economy lead to an increase in insecure and poorly paid work, with the result that inequality becomes further entrenched.

Standing's description of the results of growing inequality is convincing. In the main, his analysis sits comfortably alongside other work likely to be known to his readership. That inequality has returned to pre-Second World War levels is widely acknowledged thanks to the success of Thomas Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.

Less persuasive in Standing's work is the way in which all major political and financial actors of the last 40 years are presented as conspiring to bring about the present situation. The least impressive chapter – entitled "The cor-



The Corruption Of Capitalism: Why Rentiers Thrive And Work Does Not Pay,
by Guy Standing,
Biteback Books,
£9.99

ruption of democracy" – recalls some of the zanier sections of Owen Jones's *The Establishment*. British politicians of all stripes are lumped together as if no significant political battles have been fought since Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister in 1979. Thus Gordon Brown's tax credits become a continuation of Thatcher's efforts to weaken workers' bargaining strength. In the same vein, the unprecedented standards in healthcare achieved under the last Labour government are to be considered null and void since they were partly financed by PFI contracts.

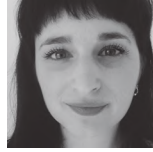
Standing, an economist at SOAS, University of London and former director at the International Labour Organization, is best known for tracing the rise of the precariat. The latter consists of "millions of people obliged to accept a life of unstable labour and living, without an occupational identity or corporate narrative to give to their lives." *The Corruption of Capitalism* is clear that this expanding class contains within it the capacity to upend the unjust and unsustainable form of rentier capitalism that has been in the ascendant since the 1980s. Whether such a revolt can be achieved by peaceful means is a question left unanswered.

Three solutions offered to bring about Keynes' hoped-for "euthanasia of the rentier" deserve serious consideration. First, modern tasking platforms like Uber and TaskRabbit should be regulated and taxed. At the same time, 'taskers' who use these platforms to provide on-demand services should receive greater protections. Second, countries should create sovereign wealth funds, financed by taxation on the various forms of rent described in the book, and aimed at ameliorating the economic insecurity of the precariat. Lastly, a universal basic income should be introduced to reduce inequality, incentivise those on low incomes to take paid work and allow others to dedicate more time to unpaid work, most notably care-giving.

It is frustrating that more space is not dedicated to an exploration of the likely ramifications of these policies. Each suggestion is fresh, radical and contains enormous potential for transformation: more commentary on trials, costings, implementation and influencing public perception would therefore be very welcome. Ultimately, however, Standing deserves huge credit for offering these ideas up for discussion. If Labour is to position itself as the party of progressive radicalism in Britain, this is a discussion it should seek to lead. **F**

In a new land

The story of immigrant experience in the post-war years has much to teach us today, suggests *Claire Sewell*



Claire Sewell is head of media and communications at the Fabian Society

“That young man in the double-breasted suit and snap-brim trilby, grasping the handrail of the ship at Tilbury Dock, those girls in their crisp summer dresses...”

It’s an image emblematic of an era of post-war migration: men and women from the West Indies crowding together on the top deck of the *Windrush* as it arrived at Tilbury docks. These 429 migrants from the Caribbean were part of what became known as the *Windrush* generation and it is their story that Clair Wills recounts in her new book, *Lovers and Strangers*.

Britain was desperate for workers after the second world war: to rebuild after the Blitz; to power the vision for the future that would later be showcased in the Festival of Britain in 1951; and to help make the newly founded NHS a reality.

To address the shortage of labour, and give the economy a boost, Britain welcomed migrants from the Commonwealth and refugees from war-torn Europe. The British Nationality Act, passed in 1948, gave a quarter of the population of the planet – *all* of Britain’s imperial subjects and citizens of the commonwealth – the legal right to live in Britain with the same rights of citizenship as people born in Britain. During the 1940s and 1950s migrants began to enter Britain from the Caribbean, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Italy, Malta, Cyprus, India, Pakistan and Ireland.

But would be wrong to assume – as the now-iconic *Windrush* photos may suggest – that Britain welcomed these newcomers with open arms. In the run-up to the passing of the 1948 Act, home secretary James Chuter Ede acknowledged concerns from some quarters: “It would be a bad thing to give the coloured races of the Empire the idea that, in some way or other, they are equals in this country.”

Wills demonstrates the contributions made by immigrants but does not shy away from the tensions that existed as migrants tried to find their place in their new land. *Lovers and Strangers* is a rich account of two decades of British history from the arrival of *Windrush* in 1948 until Enoch Powell’s infamous Rivers of Blood speech in 1968. The book is packed with vibrant anecdotes from immigrants recounting their own experiences of 1950s and 1960s Britain. These are, often illuminatingly, set alongside more official accounts from politicians, journalists and

sociologists. Along the way Wills’ introduces us to carers, homeowners, dancers, lovers and the troublemakers who had a run-in with the law. Encounters with this varied mix of characters leaves the reader in no doubt that there is no single story to tell of the immigrant experience.

With *Lovers and Strangers*, Wills sets out to avoid parallels between the past and the present, but there is no denying the resonances. For example, she describes how “popular anxiety about immigrants could be rationalised as a practical problem of finite resources – surely the country’s coffers could not stand up to an ‘influx’ or a ‘flood’ of newcomers” an argument which brings to mind rhetoric from the more virulent of the Leave camp during the Brexit campaign. An end to free movement would not only allow Britain to “take back control” but would also address the country’s economic, social and cultural problems too.

The trope of immigrants as the cause of social ills is a recurring theme in Wills’ book. Following the Notting Hill riots in the summer of 1958 tighter controls were placed on immigration, whilst the issues likely to have led to the unrest – including the housing crisis and rising unemployment – were not addressed.

On Sunday 22 April 1968 the racial tensions which had been bubbling under the surface for years came to the surface when Enoch Powell delivered his Rivers of Blood speech. Powell may have been denounced by his fellow politicians but he received a groundswell of popular support. Novelist and second generation immigrant Hanif Kureishi recalls how “graffiti in support of [Powell] appeared in the London streets. Racists gained confidence. People insulted me in the streets.”

The real problem for Powell and his supporters, Wills notes, was ‘immigrant power, the demand for equal treatment’. Sadly, Powell’s insistence that ‘ordinary’ English men “found their wives unable to obtain hospital beds in childbirth, their children unable to obtain school places” would not seem out of place in the pages of the *Daily Mail* today.

Immigration remains a complex political issue, and the origins of some of the complexity can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s. But, what also comes across strongly in *Lovers and Strangers* is that the experience of immigrants exists beyond the established political narrative. Politicians and policymakers should take note. ■



Lovers And Strangers: An Immigrant History Of Post-War Britain
by Clair Wills,
Allen Lane, £25

Shaw and the sun

Founding Fabian George Bernard Shaw could often be found soaking up the rays in his rotating shed, writes *Tania Woloshyn*



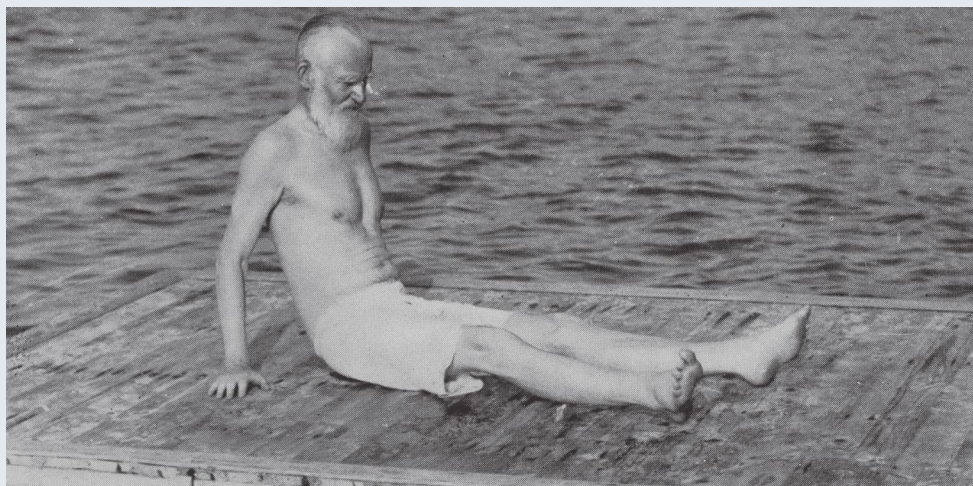
Tania Woloshyn was a Wellcome Trust research fellow in the medical humanities, based in the Centre for the History of Medicine at the University of Warwick (2012–2016)

OF ALL THE images you may have come across of the illustrious Fabian, Nobel laureate and famous playwright, George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), I doubt you're familiar with this one.

With all the intimacy and informality of a holiday snapshot, this photograph shows Shaw poised at the edge of a wooden deck, surrounded by lapping water, and wearing rather little. He is sunbathing, of course, his skin proudly exposed to the sun's rays, and it is a demonstration of sorts. I didn't find it in a private family archive; I found it in a 1929 how-to book about 'the sunlight cure'.

Light therapy was known by a number of different names during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, among them the sunlight cure, sun therapy, and heliotherapy. Sunlight could also be artificially replicated by means of electric lamps, which emanated a combination of ultraviolet, visible and infrared (heat) rays, and this was known as phototherapy. Perhaps it will come as no surprise that in the United Kingdom the artificial form, available at the flick of a switch, was more commonly used than the natural, which relied on readily available sunshine outdoors. However, as Shaw demonstrates, this did not waiver the conviction of many ardent sun-worshippers, who openly embraced the sun's transformative rays at home and abroad.

By 1929, when Victor Dane's populist book was published, sunbathing had become an increasingly mainstream practice. Indeed the year before *The Times* had even devoted a supplement to it, titled 'Sunlight and Health', in praise of both natural and artificial sources of ultraviolet energy. Dane's book similarly advocated sunbathing and the use of light therapy lamps to poor and rich alike in his book. A popular promoter and controversial



naturopath, he thought a suntan was the visible manifestation of 'solar energy' (ultraviolet radiation) stored in the body:

'Pigmentation is a sign that solar energy has been transformed into human energy. The rays of the sun are very powerful germicides. As the skin imbibes more of these rays, it stores up a great deal of this germ-killing energy ... [and] once pigmentation has taken place, and a nice deep brown skin obtained, any length of exposure can be endured without the slightest feeling of discomfort. Also the body will have stored enough Solar energy... to fight against any outside disease-bringing influence which may attack him. Therefore, the first goal to be striven for by those who seek regeneration from the sun is, pigmentation. After that, health will come by leaps and bounds.'

This notion of sunbathing as a revitalising practice remains with us today, despite our awareness that ultraviolet light is a carcinogen. We may now rely primarily on little pills to get our daily dose of vitamin D – known as the sunshine vitamin – but in the 1920s and 1930s exposing one's skin to light was considered to be infinitely more 'natural' (even via electric lamps). And certainly far more pleasurable than a spoonful of cod liver oil!

As with Dane, George Bernard Shaw's devotion to the sun went beyond the holiday-maker's occasional summer trip to the beach; it bordered on spiritualist practice. He even built a special outdoor office in his garden, a rotating shed that could be turned so as to always face the sun, much like a heliotropic sunflower. Shaw wittily named the shed after the capital city, so that when he didn't wish to be disturbed whilst writing he could simply say he was 'in London'.

Returning to the photograph of Shaw in Dane's book, I think it's important to understand then that we are looking at a special kind of sunbathing. Shaw's pose may appear

relaxed but it is also reverent. He was an early champion of an offshoot of sunbathing called 'naturism', which complemented his devotion to vegetarianism and celibacy. Naturism, latter known as nudism, was initially conceptualised as a regenerative, moral practice, in which fresh air and sunlight were seen as powerful natural forces that could cleanse and protect the body from degenerative social ills.

A few years later, in March 1932, Shaw was one of many diverse luminaries who penned a letter to *The Times'* editor advocating nude sunbathing. The other signatories included the internationally-renowned heliotherapist Dr Auguste Rollier, the psychologist John C. Flügel, the illustrator Robert Gibbings, the evolutionary biologist and eugenicist Julian Huxley, the writer and pacifist Vera Brittain, the feminist and socialist campaigner Countess Dora Russell (wife of philosopher Bertrand Russell), and the radiologist Alfred C. Jordan (founder of the Men's Dress Reform Party, a branch of the New Health Society). Together these well-known advocates straddled the boundary between social elite and social outcast. As a Fabian, Shaw's socialism must be contextualised as part and parcel of these other 'natural', healthy and morally righteous practices and beliefs.

Yet it's also worth bearing in mind that the socio-political meanings of light's healing properties were not particular to socialism. Bodily exposure to light was promoted by members of Labour and Conservative governments throughout the early twentieth century. So too was it promoted in fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and the communist Soviet Union. Individual and national investments in light, therefore, were not apolitical – they did not transcend competing politics, but rather were readily absorbed into them. ■

Soaking Up The Rays: Light Therapy And Visual Culture In Britain, c.1890–1940, by Tania Woloshyn is published by Manchester University Press

ANNUAL REPORT 2017

Kate Green MP, chair of the Fabian Society



In what has been the most remarkable year in politics, both here in the UK and abroad, the Fabians have continued to do what we're rightly renowned for: rigorous, principled, innovative policy thinking. Our work this year has focused on some of the most important public policy challenges of our time, from our future role in Europe, to the changing face of work, to climate change, to the kind of society we wish to live in. With a Labour government again in prospect, the Fabians are eager and excited to play our part in helping to shape the agenda of an incoming Labour government, and our reports have presented a wide range of new, imaginative and pragmatic policy solutions which we have been very pleased to share and debate with senior Labour politicians.

As befits our position as longstanding members of the Labour family, this year we have also turned the spotlight on our internal party organisation. We were delighted to celebrate the contribution of Labour women politicians in our pamphlet 'This Woman Can', marking the 20th anniversary of the election of 101 Labour women MPs in 1997. But our work on how the party needs to do more to become more diverse and inclusive for the 21st century makes for uncomfortable reading – and it couldn't be more important, and we hope our recommendations will be taken forward by the party executive.

As we progress on the path to government, we have also looked in detail at the changing nature of Labour's support, and what we need to do to secure power. And if some of our earlier predictions of electoral outcomes turned out to be a little wide of the mark, we can take comfort from the fact that nearly no one predicted the spectacular result in the 2017 general election! The society and Fabians up and down the country threw ourselves into campaigning when the snap election was called, and we are very pleased that 15 new Fabian MPs were elected this June, giving a total of 305 Fabian members of the House of Commons and House of Lords.

In my first year as chair, my greatest pleasure has been meeting and attending events with our members. Our local societies go from strength to strength, and in Scotland, the appointment of a new staff member has

enabled us to significantly increase our activity and impact. Fabian Women, the Fabian policy networks and Young Fabians have a full programme of activities, and make a huge contribution to the society. Our national conferences have, as ever, proven to be stimulating, popular and hugely enjoyable, attracting top-flight national and international speakers, including, again, at our New Year conference, the leader of the Labour party, Jeremy Corbyn. We hold a full programme of party conference fringe events – and we don't forget the social side, with our local societies' parliamentary tea party, and our reception at the Labour conference.

All this activity, and our continuing influence, could not be achieved without our amazing committee members, and especially our wonderful staff. I pay huge tribute to all of them, but especially to my predecessor as chair, Seema Malhotra, and to our general secretary Andy Harrop and deputy general secretary Olivia Bailey. An enormous thank you to all of you who have given your support and commitment to the society this year. Politics will need the Fabians more than ever in the months ahead, and I look forward to continuing to work with you.

Treasurer's report David Chaplin, treasurer of the Fabian Society

Over the past 12 months a number of factors have negatively affected the Fabian Society's ability to raise income in order to meet our overall financial targets. The general election in particular caused disruption to a number of the society's existing projects and work plans, as well as complicating a frankly already challenging fundraising climate.

These factors are reflected in the end of year account for 2016/17, in which the Fabian Society is able to present a negligible deficit as the financial year comes to a close.

At the outset of the financial year, I reported to members that the executive committee's objectives remain to move the Fabian Society towards securing an annual net surplus, and a healthy and manageable cash-flow. Both of these strategic objectives suffered over the past 12 months as political events outside of our control made them harder to achieve.

However, despite these challenges our membership has remained one of the Fabian

Society's core strengths in this financial year. Without the growing number of members our political and financial position would indeed be weaker. I am especially grateful to those members – old and new – who continue to make provisions for additional contributions to the Fabian Society's work, either through regular giving or legacies. Your generous donations make a real difference in allowing the society to continue its work.

Over the past year, we have seen a small but reassuring increase in our membership of 1.4 per cent overall. This follows an increase of 9 per cent in the previous year, and as always, we will be considering new ways to engage and grow our membership over the coming 12 months. The voluntary sections and the Young Fabians in particular play a vital role in expanding our membership year-on-year, and that expansion is just as important as ever given the wider financial challenges that we have faced in recent months.

Looking ahead to the coming year, our financial and operational plans remain robust. The executive committee and the society's leadership team continue to prepare for a range of different scenarios which could have a negative impact on our financial health, and through the finance & general purposes sub-committee, the society's key performance indicators are monitored regularly and our budget targets are scrutinised. As an executive committee, we remain committed to making cautious and prudent financial decisions and to continue to focus on building a lasting financial reserve for the society's future.

Finally, I'd like to thank the staff team of 12 people who between them manage to keep the society running with ever increasing pressures on their time. Andrew Harrop, our general secretary, Phil Mutero, our operations director, and Olivia Bailey, our deputy general secretary, have all worked incredibly hard alongside their outstanding teams to maintain the Fabian Society's excellent events, publications, research, and other editorial output over the past twelve months. On behalf of the executive committee I'd like to extend our thanks and appreciation to the whole team at Petty France.

Financial statements

The accounts presented in this report are an extract from the financial statements and may not contain sufficient information to allow

**Income & Expenditure
Account**
for the Year Ended 30th June 2017

	2017	2016
	£	£
INCOME		
Individual members	232,276	225,097
Institutional affiliations and subscriptions	5,325	6,320
Donations and legacies	12,934	9,466
Publications sales	2,472	2,663
Conference and events	154,786	140,109
Publication sponsorship and advertisements	93,569	47,509
Research projects	232,565	243,910
Rents	17,913	16,873
Bank Interest, royalties and miscellaneous	568	770
Total Income	£752,408	£692,717
EXPENDITURE		
Research projects	59,155	54,953
Staff costs	420,346	362,626
Printing and distribution	94,456	84,869
Conference and events	54,817	65,374
Promotion	5,627	5,842
Affiliation fees	5,086	5,421
Postage, phone and fax	10,758	10,623
Depreciation	17,881	16,898
Travel	1,470	533
Other	6,910	6,148
Stationery and copying	9,179	6,545
Legal and professional	4,946	5,194
Irrecoverable VAT	1,223	333
Premises costs	52,038	52,598
Bad debts	1,882	-
Information systems	7,190	7,952
Total Expenditure	£752,964	£685,909
Surplus/(Deficit) Before tax and transfers	(556)	6,808
Transfers from reserves	-	-
Surplus/(Deficit) before taxation	(556)	6,808
Corporation Tax	-	-
Surplus/(Deficit) for the year	£(556)	£6,808

Balance sheet
as at 30th June 2017

	2017		2016	
	£	£	£	£
FIXED ASSETS		1,226,090		1,237,559
CURRENT ASSETS				
Stock	6,448		4,515	
Debtors and prepayments	160,234		133,503	
Bank and cash	-		9,575	
	166,682		147,593	
CREDITORS-AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR				
Creditors and accruals	(113,984)		(105,808)	
Net current assets		52,698		41,785
Net assets		£1,278,788		£1,279,344
General fund		1,272,513		1,273,069
Restricted fund		6,275		6,275
TOTAL FUNDS		£1,278,788		£1,279,344

a full understanding of the financial affairs of the society. For further information, the full financial statements and auditor's report should be consulted. Copies of these can be obtained from the Fabian Society, 61 Petty France, London SW1H 9EU.

Auditors' statement

We have audited the financial statements of the Fabian Society for the year ended 30 June 2017 which comprise the income and expenditure account and balance sheet and notes to the financial statements, including a summary of significant accounting policies. The financial reporting framework that has been applied in their preparation is applicable law and United Kingdom Accounting Standards, including Financial Reporting Standard 102 The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice).

In our opinion, the financial statements:

- give a true and fair view of the state of the society's affairs as at 30 June 2017 and of its surplus for the year then ended;
- have been properly prepared in accordance with United Kingdom Generally Accepted Accounting Practice

Knox Cropper Chartered Accountants
8/9 Well Court
London, EC4M 9DN
Registered Auditors

Funding partners
Research and editorial

Aventis Pharma Ltd, Countryside Alliance, The Challenge, Dartmouth Street Trust, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Groundwork, Here Now, Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust, Labour Campaign for Human Rights, Labour Party, Labour Tomorrow, Legal & General Ltd, The People's Pension, Royal London, Scope, TUC, Woodlands Trust, WWF, Yorkshire Building Society.

Conferences, receptions, lectures & seminars

Association of British Insurers, CityUK, Deloitte, ICAEW, Lloyds Banking Group, NSC Trust, TSB Bank, Young Women's Trust.

Trade unions

Community, CWU, FBU, NASWUT, TSSA, TUC, UNISON, USDAW

Noticeboard

Fabian Society AGM 2017

Saturday 18 November 2017

13.00–16.30

Venue: Conference hall, Mary Sumner House 24 Tufton Street, London

SW1P 3RB

13.15 Doors open

13.30 Debate

14.30 Tea and coffee

15.00 Annual general meeting

1. Apologies

2. Minutes of 2016 AGM

3. Matters arising

4. In memoriam

5. Chair's report

6. Treasurer's report

7. General secretary's report

8. Approval of annual report 2016/17

9. Appointment of auditors

10. Motions

11. Jenny Jeger prize

12. Date of next AGM

13. AOB

16.30 (approx.) Close of meeting, following by an informal social

To register your attendance at the AGM, please visit www.fabians.org.uk/agma2017

AMENDMENTS TO RULES PROPOSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Motion 1: Rule 9 (Executive committee)

Delete 'Eight members shall be a quorum for the executive committee' and replace with 'Six members shall be a quorum for the executive committee'.

Motion 2: Rule 12 (Executive committee elections)

Insert after line 21: 'Only members of the society who are paid-up and who were members of the society 90 days before the nomination deadline may stand or vote in the ballot.'

Motion 3: Rule 15 (Subscriptions)

Replace existing rule 15 with:

'The full rate of subscription for members and associates shall be £48 per annum or £4 per month. The concession rate for under-21s, students, low-income pensioners and people receiving out of work benefits shall be £24 per annum or £2 per month. Additional members at the same address may pay half price (and receive one mailing per household). Members with overseas addresses will pay an additional £12 per year to cover additional postage costs. The

annual rate for publication subscription shall be £150 (£200 overseas). Subscribing bodies shall pay a minimum subscription fee determined on the following scale: constituency Labour parties £48; organisations up to 10,000 members £150 (up to 3 mailing addresses); organisations with 10,000 to 100,000 members £495 (up to 6 mailing addresses); organisations with 100,000 to 1,000,000 members £995 (up to 12 mailing addresses); organisations over 1,000,000 members: £1,750 (up to 18 mailing addresses).'

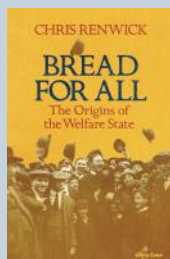
Fabian Fortune Fund

Winner: Dr Edwin Passes, £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](mailto:giles.wright@fabians.org.uk)

FABIAN QUIZ



BREAD FOR ALL: THE ORIGINS OF THE WELFARE STATE

Chris Renwick

Today, everybody seems to agree that something has gone badly wrong with the British welfare state. In the midst of economic crisis, politicians and commentators talk about benefits as a lifestyle choice, and of 'skivers' living off hard-working 'strivers' as they debate what a welfare state fit for the 21st century might look like.

This major new history tells the story of one of the greatest transformations in British intellectual,

social and political life: the creation of the welfare state, from the Victorian workhouse, where you had to be destitute to receive help, to a moment just after the second world war, when government embraced responsibilities for people's housing, education, health and family life, a commitment that was unimaginable just a century earlier. Though these changes were driven by developments in different and sometimes unexpected currents in British life, they were linked by one overarching idea: that through rational and purposeful intervention, government can remake society. It was an idea that, during the early 20th century, came to inspire people across the political spectrum.

In exploring this extraordinary transformation, *Bread for All* explores and challenges our assumptions about what the welfare state was originally for, and the kinds of people who were

involved in creating it. In doing so, it asks what the idea continues to mean for us today.

Penguin has kindly given us five copies to give away. To win one, answer the following question:

In 1943, Conservative politician Quentin Hogg famously advocated support for the welfare state on what grounds?

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

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

ANSWERS MUST BE RECEIVED NO LATER THAN 10 NOVEMBER 2017



Listings

BIRMINGHAM & WEST MIDLANDS

For details and information, please contact Luke John Davies at bhamfabians@gmail.com

BOURNEMOUTH & DISTRICT

27 September, 6pm. Rt Hon Hilary Benn MP: 'The Brexit Challenge'. Elsteade Hotel, 12-14 Knyveton Rd, Bournemouth 27 October, 7.30pm. Question Time with Douglas Lock, Katie Taylor, Patrick Canavan and Paul Kimber. Friends Meeting House, Wharncliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth. 24 November, 7.30pm. Clare Moody MEP: 'Brexit Update'. Friends Meeting House, Wharncliffe Rd, Boscombe, Bournemouth.

The society celebrates its 125th anniversary in 2017 with activities and meetings. Contact Ian Taylor on 01202 396634 for details or taylorbournemouth@gmail.com

BRIGHTON & HOVE

20 October. Peter Kyle MP: 'Co-operation in the Labour Party: Could it help Labour to Survive and Thrive?' Friends Meeting House, Ship St, Brighton. Please use Meeting House Lane entrance.

Details of most meetings from Ralph Bayley: ralphfbayley@gmail.com

BRISTOL

Regular meetings. Contact Ges Rosenberg for details at grosenberg@churchside.me.uk or Arthur Massey on 0117 969 3608 arthur.massey@btinternet.com

CARDIFF

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

CENTRAL LONDON

Fabian Society office, 61 Petty France, SW1H 9 EU. Details from Giles Wright on 0207 227 4904 or giles.wright@fabians.org.uk

CHISWICK & WEST LONDON

All meetings at 8pm in Committee Room, Chiswick Town Hall. Details from the secretary, Alison Baker at a.m.baker@blueyonder.co.uk

COLCHESTER

21 September. Lianna Etkind from the Campaign for Better Transport: 'The Bus Bill and Railway Campaigning'. 19 October, Polly Billington, Labour's 2015 Candidate in Thurrock: 'Labour as I see it'. 7pm, Hexagonal Room, Quaker Meeting House, 6 Church St, Colchester. Details of meetings from Maurice Austin at maurice.austin@phonecoop.coop

COUNTY DURHAM

Six Saturday meetings per year at the Lionmouth Rural Centre, near Esh Winning, DH7 9QE, Saturday 12.15pm - 2pm, £3 including soup and rolls. Annual local membership is £8 for waged, £4 for unwaged. No need to say you're coming. Membership not needed at first visit. 16 September: The Durham County Plan so far - discussion led by Eddie Tomlinson, until recently cabinet member for housing & rural affairs; Cllr Fraser Tinsley MRTPI, area planning committee (south and west) and John Ashby MRTPI, vice-chair Fabians, active on Durham City group 18 November: Natalie Davison,

principal, Bishop Auckland College on further education: Key issues and future scenarios

Details from the secretary, Professor Alan Townsend, 62A Low Willington, Crook, Durham DL15 0BG, 01388 746479, Alan. Townsend@dur.ac.uk

CROYDON & SUTTON

New society with regular meetings. Contact Emily Brothers at emily.brothers@btinternet.com. CUMBRIA & NORTH LANCASHIRE Meetings, 6.30pm for 7pm at Castle Green Hotel, Kendal. For information contact Robin Cope at robincope@waitrose.com

DARTFORD & GRAVESHAM

Regular meetings at 8pm 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 & DISTRICT

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

EAST LOTHIAN

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

FINCHLEY

29 September. Heather and Dave Wetzl: 'Land Valuation Tax'. 30 November. Professor Floya Anthias: 'Has Identity Replaced Class in Politics?' All meetings at the Blue Beetle, 28 Hendon Lane N3 1TS. Enquiries to Mike Walsh on 07980 602122 or mike.walsh44@ntlworld.com

GLASGOW

Now holding regular meetings. Contact Martin Hutchinson at mail@liathach.net

GLOUCESTER

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

GRIMSBY & DISTRICT

17 September, 3pm. Cllr Roy Oxy, Leader of NEL Council: 'The Future Shape of Health and Social Care in North East Lincolnshire'. 112 Cleethorpes Road, Great Grimsby, NE Lincolnshire DN31 3HW. Regular meetings. Details from Pat Holland at hollandpat@hotmail.com

HARROW

Details from Gillian Travers at gillian.travers@hotmail.com. Fabians from other areas where there are no local Fabian societies are very welcome to join us.

HASTINGS & RYE

Meetings held on the last Friday of each month. Please contact Warren Davies at WarrenGDavies@hotmail.co.uk

HAVERING

4 October. Vince Maple, Leader of the Labour Group on Medway Council: 'Being an Effective Opposition'. 6 November Fay Hough: 'Involving the Younger Voter'. 8pm, media suite, the Royals, Viking Way, Rainham Village. Details of all meetings from David Marshall at david.c.marshall@talk21 or 01708 441189. For the latest information, see the website haveringfabians.org.uk. Havering Fabians:

ISLINGTON

21 September. Emily Thornberry MP: 'What's the Immediate Future for the Labour Party?'. Details of all meetings from Adeline Au at siewiyin.au@gmail.com

IPSWICH

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

MANCHESTER

Please contact the secretary David Meller at david.meller@me.com

MERSEYSIDE

Please contact James Roberts at jamesroberts1986@gmail.com

NEWHAM

20 September. Tom Copley AM: 'Grenfell Tower. The Anatomy of a Disaster and the Future of Social Housing in London'. 7pm - 9pm at Eat 16 Cafe, 16 Tarring Road, Canning Town E16 1HN. Please contact Rohit Dasgupta at rhit_svu@hotmail.com

NORTHUMBRIA AREA

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

NORTH EAST LONDON

Contact Nathan Ashley at nathanashley88@gmail.com

NORFOLK

New society forming. Contact Stephen McNair for details. stephen.mcnaire@btinternet.com

OXFORD

18 October, 6pm - 8.45pm. Book Launch with Barry Knight, Director of the Webb Memorial Trust and author of 'Rethinking Poverty'. Ruskin College, Dunstan Road, Oxford OX3 9BZ. Please contact Michael Weatherburn at admin@oxfordfabians.org.uk

PETERBOROUGH

6 October. Fiona Onasanya MP: 'My Hopes for Peterborough'. 21 October. Visit to see 'The Best Man'. Cambridge Arts Theatre 10 November. Cllr Matthew Mahabadi: 'Integration v Multiculturalism'. Meetings at 8pm at the Ramada Hotel, Thorpe Meadows, Peterborough. Details from Brian Keegan on 01733 265769, or brian@briankeegan.demon.co.uk website https://peterboroughfabians.com

PORTSMOUTH

New members very welcome. Meetings at 7.30pm at The Havelock Community Centre, Fawcett Rd, Southsea PO4 0LQ. For details, contact Nita Cary at dewicary@yahoo.co.uk

READING & DISTRICT

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

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 8341 or robertljmurray@hotmail.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

Contact Paul Freeman on 0191 5367 633 or at freemanpsmb@blueyonder.co.uk

SUFFOLK

Details from John Cook at ipswichlabour@gmail.com, www.twitter.com/suffolkfabians

SURREY

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

THANET

Please check the website for details www.thanetfabians.org.uk

TONBRIDGE & TUNBRIDGE WELLS

Contact Martin Clay at martin.clay@btconnect.com or lorna.blackmore@btinternet.com

TOWER HAMLETS

Regular meetings. Contact Chris Weavers on 07958 314846 or towerhamletsfabiansociety@googlegmail.com

TYNEMOUTH

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

YORK

Regular meetings on 3rd or 4th Fridays at 7.45pm at Jacob's Well, Off Micklegate, York. Details from Cynthia Collier at mike.collier@talktalk.net

DATE FOR YOUR DIARY

Oxford regional conference
Saturday 25 November -
all day at Quaker
Meeting House, St Giles,
Oxford. Further details
from Michael
Weatherburn at
admin@oxfordfabians.
org.uk

TheCityUK

Labour Party Conference fringe event

Our vision for the industry's future - what next for finance and related professional services?

Date: 25 September 2017

Venue: Holiday Inn, 137 King's Road, Brighton, BN1 2JF (outside secure zone)

Time: 5.00pm until 6.30pm (arrivals from 4.50pm)

In partnership with

**FABIAN
SOCIETY**

The panel of speakers includes:

Jonathan Reynolds MP, Shadow Economic Secretary to the Treasury

Alison McGovern MP, Treasury Select Committee Member (former Shadow Minister to the Treasury)

Miles Celic, Chief Executive Officer, TheCityUK

Andrew Kail, UK Head of Financial Services, PwC

THE MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGIES ASSOCIATION

MANUFACTURING TECHNOLOGIES ENGINEER THE WORLD AROUND YOU



MTA members design, manufacture and supply the advanced machinery, equipment and intellectual property that enables manufacturers to create their products. As well as providing industry intelligence and access to the latest research and technology, the MTA encourages talent through funding and support for workplace training and education initiatives in schools, colleges and universities.

In April 2018 the MTA will deliver MACH the UK's only major exhibition focused on manufacturing technologies.



The
Manufacturing
Technologies
Association

62 Bayswater Road
London
W2 3PS

T: +44 (0)20 7298 6400
F: +44 (0)20 7298 6430
E: info@mta.org.uk

The MTA owns and organises

MACH
09-13 April 2018
NEC Birmingham UK
machexhibition.com

www.mta.org.uk





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General Secretary: John Hannett
President: Jeff Broome
Usdaw 188 Wilmslow Road,
Manchester
M14 6LJ

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