General Election 2019

Manifesto Mashup!

November 2019

Jay Kennedy Director of Policy and Research Directory of Social Change 352 Holloway Road London N7 6PA jkennedy@dsc.org.uk



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Introduction

We're in the final stretch of the General Election campaign, with the big vote taking place on 12 December 2019. Time for Manifesto Mashup!

What is it?

This snap election leaves even less time than usual to get to grips with the blizzard of policy details – so our aim here is to help you more quickly identify policies that might affect your charity or cause area in the future. We've sifted several hundred pages from the three parties with reach across the UK (Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat)¹ and categorised the flurry of initiatives into themes of interest to charities, voluntary groups, and social enterprises. Mostly the points are taken verbatim from the documents, but sometimes we have paraphrased or edited for brevity.

What isn't it?

Comprehensive – because of the shortened time-frame we've had to focus on these three political parties (others are available), and have included mainly domestic policy (not foreign policy or international development, for example). We've also generally excluded policy relating to the NHS, education and defence as these are core statutory responsibilities (even though those policy areas will be hot election topics and obviously do affect many charities and their beneficiaries).

Perhaps you'll be glad to hear we've not included Brexit as a category either; the positions of the parties are well known (or should be by now!). Brexit will undoubtedly have an impact on the delivery of all of these plans to some degree, but it's still too soon to say how.

What's a manifesto, anyway?

Basically it's a political party's commitment or promise of what it's going to do if it comes to power. Although manifesto commitments may be treated as written in stone when it's convenient, often individual proposals are forgotten or quietly shelved if they prove unpopular or too difficult. With ongoing Brexit uncertainty still looming over this election, many of the proposals (and importantly, the spending commitments) may fall victim to

¹ The Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP), Plaid Cymru (the Party of Wales), the Brexit Party and the Green Party also had published manifestos at the time of writing, and their election results and policy proposals will likely have some impact on the next Parliament. In the case of the SNP, for example, this may include delivering large numbers of MPs back to Parliament. In the case of the Brexit Party, it may be by having an influence on which of the 'main' parties win certain key seats. For the Greens, many of their proposals appear to have already been taken or adapted by the other parties for their own manifestos – particularly by the Liberal Democrats. However, none of these parties are likely to form the next Government unless they are part of a coalition with one or more of the three 'main' parties analysed in detail in this document).



whatever happens to our relationship with the EU, and the economic and social impact that has.

If you're wondering: 'isn't there any more detail about this issue in there?' Generally there isn't. Individual policy initiatives typically lack much beyond a vague, top-level headline or promise which is set in some broader context (with some figures attached if they're really serious). Despite this, getting a sense of what the parties are promising now, and how they differ from each other, can be an indication of what they might do in government should they come to power.

What are these manifestos like, in general?

Of the three manifestos, the Conservative version incorporates the least detail and specifics; further, as the governing party with a long track record to defend, it often refers to continuing or improving upon existing initiatives. At 60 pages (with plenty of pictures), it is much shorter than the other two, which total around 100 pages each.

The Liberal Democrat manifesto overall contains the most detail, with lists of more specific proposals for their areas of focus, and far fewer images. The Labour manifesto is somewhere in the middle, with specific commitments typically embedded in broad statements and sweeping narratives.

It's possible to view these stylistic differences in terms of the parties' distance from actually forming a government and having to be accountable for their promises. Both the Conservatives and Labour are more likely to be in the driving seat of the next government than the Liberal Democrats, even if there were to be another Coalition. Therefore their proposals may come under more scrutiny and pressure to eventually become reality, and are paradoxically less specific as a result!

These characteristics are reflected in the number of points in the categories shown below. In some policy areas, some parties provided much more detail than others – we have noted this where relevant.

We hope you'll find this Mashup helpful!



1. Civil Society

Despite the publication of high-level civil society strategy papers for both the Conservative and Labour parties well before the election, sadly the policy initiatives set out in those documents received few direct mentions or specific commitments in any of the manifestos. In fact, there were hardly any mentions of 'civil society', 'charity' or 'social enterprise' at all.

Conservatives

- Use government procurement to support new ideas and new companies.
- Continue to support charities which have helped to transform public services.
- Ensure that £500 million of the UK Shared Prosperity Fund is used to give disadvantaged people the skills they need.
- Establish a £150 million Community Ownership Fund to encourage local takeovers of civic organisations or community assets that are under threat (for example, local football clubs, pubs or post offices).

Labour

- Work with organisations and charities already making the UK a more equal and fairer society.
- Support and maintain the social capital values of [civic society] organisations in the rebuilding of public services.
- Free the voices of civil society by repealing the Lobbying Act 2014 and overhauling the rules that govern corporate lobbying.

- Develop an economy that fosters a diversity of types of business mutuals, social enterprises and community interest companies and empowers employees.
- Provide a supportive framework to develop social enterprises businesses with a social focus rather than a profit motive.
- Extend forthcoming EU 'right to repair' legislation for consumer goods, so helping small repair businesses and community groups combat 'planned obsolescence'.



2. Climate Change and the Environment

Green policy has really 'broken through' in this election, perhaps partly in an attempt to secure younger voters. The manifestos are arguably the most ambitious and detailed on green issues ever. Green policy is also interwoven across other related policy areas (such as transport, health, economic development) in ways it has not been in the past.

Conservatives

- Commit the UK to being carbon net zero by 2050.
- Prioritise the environment in the next Budget, investing in the infrastructure, science and research that will deliver economic growth.
- £1 billion Ayrton Fund to support UK science and technology involvement in affordable and accessible clean energy projects for developing countries.
- Create a £500 million Blue Planet Fund to help protect oceans from plastic pollution.
- Invest £800 million to build the first fully deployed carbon capture storage cluster by the mid-2020s.
- Invest £500 million to help energy-intensive industries move to low-carbon techniques.
- Lower energy bills by investing £9.2 billion in the energy efficiency of homes, schools and hospitals.
- £640 million new Nature for Climate Fund; reach an additional 75,000 acres of trees a year by the end of the next Parliament; restore peatland.
- Consult on the earliest date by which we can phase out the sale of new conventional petrol and diesel cars.
- £4bn for flood defences.

- Commit to '30 by 2030' implement 30 recommendations outlined in a separate Labour policy paper, to put the UK on track for a net-zero-carbon energy system within the 2030s and go faster if credible pathways can be found.
- Deliver nearly 90% of electricity and 50% of heat from renewable and low-carbon sources by 2030.
- Drive forward a 'Green Industrial Revolution' by dedicating £250bn of the proposed £400bn National Transformation Fund to a Green Transformation Fund dedicated to renewable and low-carbon energy and transport, and biodiversity.
- Build 7,000 new offshore wind turbines, 2,000 new onshore wind turbines, and enough solar panels to cover 22,000 football pitches.
- Develop new nuclear power needed for energy security.
- Aim to end new sales of combustion engine vehicles 2030.



- Introduce a new Clean Air Act, with a vehicle scrappage scheme and clean air zones, complying with World Health Organisation limits for fine particles and nitrous oxides.
- Provide an extra £5.6 billion in funding to improve the standard of flood defences and respond to the increased risk of flooding.
- Embark on an ambitious programme of tree planting, with both forestry and native woodland species, including planting an NHS Forest of 1 million trees.

The Liberal Democrat manifesto contains the most detailed environmental commitments of the three parties analysed here. A ten page section (pp 39-49) links diverse policy areas including energy consumption and fuel poverty, vehicle emissions and transport policy and farming. Some of the main features are shown below. In many ways the Liberal Democrat proposals mirror those proposed by the Green Party, which is not analysed here.

- Set a new legally binding target to reduce net greenhouse gas emissions to zero by 2045 at the latest.
- Introduce an emergency programme to insulate all Britain's homes by 2030, cutting emissions and fuel bills and ending fuel poverty.
- Invest in renewable power so that at least 80 per cent of UK electricity is generated from renewables by 2030 and banning fracking for good.
- Protect nature and the countryside, tackling biodiversity loss and planting 60 million trees a year to absorb carbon, protect wildlife and improve health.
- Invest in public transport, electrifying Britain's railways and ensuring that all new cars are electric by 2030.
- Establish a Department for Climate Change and Natural Resources; appoint a cabinet-level Chief Secretary for Sustainability in the Treasury to coordinate government-wide action
- Create a statutory duty on all local authorities to produce a Zero Carbon Strategy, including plans for local energy, transport and land use
- Guarantee an Office of Environmental Protection that is fully independent of government
- Create a new Green Investment Bank and increasing funding for Innovate UK and new Catapult innovation and technology centres on farming and land use and on carbon dioxide removal.
- Establish a £5 billion fund for flood prevention and climate adaptation over the course of the parliament to improve flood defences
- Establish a 'blue belt' of marine protected areas covering at least 50 per cent of UK waters by 2030, in partnership with UK overseas territories.



3. Children and Young People

There were a number of initiatives to assist children and young people in the three manifestos. However, as with other areas, spending commitments must be seen in the context of previous under-investment and austerity cuts, as well as the level of need.

Conservative

- Provide £780 million in new funding to support children with Special Educational Needs (SEN) from 2020, and more school places for children with complex needs.
- Review the care system to make sure all care placements and settings are providing children and young adults with the support they need.
- £1 billion fund to help create more high quality, affordable childcare, including before and after school and during the school holidays.
- Continue the National Citizen Service; Youth Futures Foundation to invest at least £90 million to improve employment outcomes for young people.
- Invest £500 million in new youth clubs and services (re-announcement from Budget 2019).

- Develop a cross-governmental National Strategy for Childhood focusing on health, security, well-being and poverty.
- Reverse cuts to Sure Start and create a new service, Sure Start Plus, with enough centres to provide a genuinely universal service
- Within five years, provide all 2, 3 and 4-year olds 30 hours of free preschool education per week and access to additional hours at affordable rates; extend childcare provision for 1-year-olds.
- Provide funding for children with special educational needs and disabilities.
- 'Poverty-proof' schools, introducing free school meals for all primary school children, encouraging breakfast clubs, and tackling the cost of school uniforms.
- Tackle the disproportionate levels of BAME children in custody, review the youth custody estate, strengthen youth courts and build on the Lammy Review.
- Rebuild early intervention services and replace the Troubled Families programme with a Stronger Families programme, refocused on long-term support to reduce the risk of children going into care.
- £845 million plan for Healthy Young Minds to more than double annual spending on children and adolescent mental health services.
- Rebuild youth services and guarantee young people's access to youth workers.
- Invest in a youth justice system in which schools, local authorities, health authorities and youth services work together to divert young people from crime.
- Build a properly funded, professionally staffed National Youth Service, and will guarantee every young person has access to local, high-quality youth work.



- Guarantee that every child who is eligible for free school meals has access to at least an hour a day of free activities to improve their health and wellbeing.
- Offer free, high-quality childcare for every child aged two to four and children aged between nine and 24 months where their parents or guardians are in work: 35 hours a week, 48 weeks a year. Increase funding for these free hours to cover actual costs
- Provide free, high-quality childcare for children of working parents from nine months.
- Invest £1 billion a year in Children's Centres to support families and tackle inequalities in children's health, development and life chances.
- Provide a £500m ringfenced youth services fund to local authorities to repair the damage done to youth services and enable them to deliver a wider range of services, reach more young people and improve training for youth workers



4. Criminal Justice, Policing and Prisons

Criminal justice, policing and prisons policy is high on the agenda for the electorate. Notably, all three manifestos make various commitments to offender education and rehabilitation, as well support for victims of crime – both are critical to many charities working in this field.

Conservative

- Recruit 20,000 new police officers.
- Back teachers to enforce school discipline; put children who endanger others in new alternative schools; trial Secure Schools for young offenders.
- Legislate to require schools, police, councils and health authorities to work together through Violence Reduction Units to prevent serious crime.
- Target known knife carriers, making it easier for officers to stop and search those convicted of knife crime. Anyone charged with knife possession will appear before magistrates within days not weeks.
- Tougher sentencing for the worst offenders; life imprisonment without parole for child murderers.
- Create a prisoner education service focused on work-based training and skills; improve employment opportunities for ex-offenders, including a job coach in each prison.
- Support all victims of domestic abuse and pass the Domestic Abuse Bill.
- Increase support for refuges and community support for victims of rape and sexual abuse.

- Rebuild the whole police workforce, recruiting more police officers, police community support officers and police staff. Re-stablish neighbourhood policing.
- Establish a Royal Commission to develop a public health approach to substance misuse, focusing on harm reduction rather than criminalisation.
- Reunify probation and guarantee a publicly run, locally accountable probation service.
- Work to eliminate institutional biases against BAME communities, including risk of stop and search poisoning relationships between communities and police.
- Introduce minimum legal standards of service for all victims of crime.
- Ensure better police training on domestic abuse and offences arising from coercive control.
- Consider the evidence for effective alternatives and rehabilitation of prolific offenders.
- Restore all early legal aid advice, including for housing, social security, family and immigration cases.



- Recruit hundreds of new community lawyers; promote public legal education and build an expanded network of law centres.
- Set new standards for tackling domestic and sexual abuse and violence, and appoint a Commissioner for Violence against Women and Girls.

- Transform prisons into places of rehabilitation and recovery by recruiting 2,000 more prison officers and improving the provision of training, education and work opportunities; reduce the number of people unnecessarily in prison.
- Improve and properly fund the supervision of offenders in the community, with far greater coordination between the prison service, probation service providers, the voluntary and private sectors and local authorities.
- End the use of police cells for people facing a mental health crisis.
- Introduce a target of one hour for handover of people suffering from mental health crisis from police to mental health services and support police with adequate levels of training in mental health response.
- Invest £1 billion to restore community policing, enough for two new police officers in every ward.
- Adopt a public health approach to the epidemic of youth violence: identifying risk factors and treating them, rather than just focusing on the symptoms.
- Embed Trauma-informed Youth Intervention Specialists in all Major Trauma Centres.
- Establish a Women's Justice Board and provide specialist training for all staff in contact with women in the criminal justice system.
- Reduce the overrepresentation of people from BAME backgrounds throughout the criminal justice system.
- Establish a new right to affordable, reasonable legal assistance, and invest £500 million to restore Legal Aid, making the system simpler and more generous.



5. Equalities and Human Rights

Both the Labour and Liberal Democrat manifestos have whole sections dedicated to human rights and equalities, containing specific commitments that are too detailed to list in full here. There is also synergy between some Labour and Lib Dem proposals, for example on the gender pay gap and Human Rights Act. Several initiatives would have a direct effect on charities as employers, not just in policy terms.

Conservative

- Update the Human Rights Act and administrative law to ensure that there is a proper balance between the rights of individuals, our vital national security and effective government.
- Protect people from physical attack or harassment whether for their sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion or disability, and expand funding for and protect places of worship.
- Vigorously combat harassment and violence against all religious groups, and against LGBT people.
- Publish a National Strategy for Disabled People before the end of 2020.

- Appoint human-rights advisers to work across the Foreign Office and government to prioritise a co-ordinated approach to human rights.
- Advocate for human rights at every bilateral diplomatic meeting.
- Ensure all health and social care services are made accessible to BAME, LGBT+ and disabled patients.
- Create a new Department for Women and Equalities, with a full-time Secretary of State, responsible for ensuring all our policies and laws are equality-impact assessed in order to deliver a fairer society for women and all under-represented groups.
- Establish a modernised National Women's Commission as an independent advisory body to contribute to a Labour government.
- Maintain a firm commitment to the Human Rights Act and Convention on Human Rights.
- Ratify both the Istanbul Convention on preventing domestic abuse and the ILO Convention on Violence and Harassment at work.
- Require all employers with over 250 employees to obtain government certification on gender equality or face further auditing and fines; lower the threshold to workplaces with 50 employees by the end of 2020.
- Transform the workplace for disabled people by requiring that all employers be trained to better support them, while introducing mandatory disability pay-gap reporting for companies with over 250 employees.



- Defend the Human Rights Act, resist any attempt to withdraw from the European Convention on Human Rights and oppose any laws that unnecessarily erode civil liberties.
- Extend limited legal rights to cohabiting couples, for example, to give them greater protection in the event of separation or a partner's death.
- Complete the introduction of equal marriage, by removing the spousal veto and allowing those marriages that were dissolved solely due to the Gender Recognition process to be retrospectively restored.
- Tackle the rise in hate crimes by making them all aggravated offences, giving law enforcement the resources and training they need to identify and prevent them
- Complete reform of the Gender Recognition Act to remove the requirement for medical reports, scrap the fee and recognise non-binary gender identities.
- Ensure accurate population data on sexual orientation and gender identity by including a question on LGBT+ status within the 2021 Census.
- Increase accessibility to public places and transport by making more stations wheelchair accessible, improving the legislative framework governing blue badges, setting up a benchmarking standard for accessible cities, and banning discrimination by private hire vehicles and taxis.
- Push for at least 40 per cent of board members being women in FTSE 350 companies and implementing the recommendations of the Parker review to increase ethnic minority representation.
- Extend the Equality Act to all large companies with more than 250 employees, requiring them to monitor and publish data on gender, BAME, and LGBT+ employment levels and pay gaps.



6. Housing and homelessness

Shortages of affordable housing and the increasing problems of homelessness and rough sleeping are key issues for the electorate and many charities. All three manifestos made commitments in this area; in some cases there are synergies or clearly articulated differences between parties on specific policies (for example, on the 'Right to Buy', and the 'Vagrancy Act').

Conservative

- Maintain current commitment to a Right to Buy for all council tenants and the voluntary Right to Buy scheme agreed with housing associations.
- Reform shared ownership, making it fairer and more transparent.
- Simplify shared ownership products by setting a single standard for all housing associations.
- Bring in a Better Deal for Renters, including abolishing 'no fault' evictions and only requiring one 'lifetime' deposit which moves with the tenant. This will create a fairer rental market.
- Bring forward a Social Housing White Paper which will set out further measures to empower tenants and support the continued supply of social homes.
- Renew the Affordable Homes Programme, to support the delivery of hundreds of thousands of affordable homes.
- End the blight of rough sleeping by the end of the next Parliament by expanding successful pilots and programmes such as the Rough Sleeping Initiative and Housing First.

- Stop housing costs running away from benefits by scrapping the bedroom tax and increasing the Local Housing Allowance.
- Introduce a £1 billion Fire Safety Fund to fit sprinklers and other fire safety measures in all high-rise council and housing association tower blocks.
- Deliver a new social housebuilding programme of more than a million homes over a decade, with council housing at its heart.
- Fund a new Decent Homes programme to bring all council and housing association homes up to a good standard.
- Reform Help to Buy to focus it on first-time buyers on ordinary incomes.
- Stop runaway rents by capping them with inflation, and give cities powers to cap rents further.
- Give renters the security they need to make their rented housing a home, with new open-ended tenancies to stop unfair, 'no fault' evictions.
- Tackle the root causes of rising homelessness with more affordable homes and stronger rights for renters.



- End rough sleeping within five years, with a national plan driven by a prime minister-led taskforce; make available 8,000 additional homes for people with a history of rough sleeping.
- Repeal the Vagrancy Act and amend antisocial behaviour legislation to stop the law being used against people because they are homeless.

- Build at least 100,000 homes for social rent each year and ensure that total housebuilding increases to 300,000 each year.
- Help finance the large increase in the building of social homes with investment from a £130 billion capital infrastructure budget.
- Devolve full control of Right to Buy to local councils.
- Help people who cannot afford a deposit by introducing a new Rent to Own model for social housing where rent payments give tenants an increasing stake in the property, owning it outright after 30 years.
- Proactively enforce the regulations that are intended to protect social renters.
- Fully recognise tenant panels so that renters have a voice in landlord governance.
- Urgently publish a cross-Whitehall plan to end all forms of homelessness.
- Introduce a 'somewhere safe to stay' legal duty to ensure that everyone who is at risk of sleeping rough is provided with emergency accommodation and an assessment of their needs.
- Ensure sufficient financial resources for local authorities to deliver the Homelessness Reduction Act and provide accommodation for survivors of domestic abuse.
- Legislate for longer term tenancies and limits on annual rent increases.
- Scrap the Vagrancy Act, so that rough sleeping is no longer criminalised.



7. Social Care

The crisis in Social Care is long-standing priority for the public and many charities, which politicians from across the spectrum have failed to adequately respond to for years. A 'Social Care Green Paper', repeatedly promised since at least 2017, so far hasn't materialised. The Conservatives and Liberal Democrats call for 'seeking consensus' whereas Labour plan a National Care Service.

Conservatives

- Urgently seek a cross-party consensus in order to bring forward the necessary proposal and legislation for long-term reform.
- Commitment that nobody needing care should be forced to sell their home to pay for it.
- Additional funding of £1 billion for the year beginning in April 2020 and every year of the new Parliament.
- Provide £74 million over three years for additional capacity in community care settings for those with learning disabilities and autism.
- Extend the entitlement to leave for unpaid carers to one week.
- Support hospices (re-announcement of a £25 million cash injection to support 200,000 people at the end of their lives).

Labour

- Build a comprehensive National Care Service for England, providing communitybased, person-centred support.
- Provide free personal care, beginning with investments to ensure that older people have their personal care needs met, with the ambition to extend this provision to all working-age adults.
- Ensure no one faces costs of more than £100,000 for the care they need in old age; introduce a lifetime cap on personal contributions to care costs.
- Increase the Carer's Allowance for unpaid full-time carers.
- Wholesale review of the care system [for children and young people], including kinship care, considering national standards such as a central register.

- Introduce a dedicated, progressive Health and Care Tax, offset by other tax reductions, on the basis of wide public consultation and engagement. This tax would raise £7 billion a year in additional revenue.
- Establish a cross-party health and social care convention that builds on the existing body of work from previous conventions and select committees.



- Fully introduce Sir Stephen Bubb's 'Time For Change' report recommendations (in the wake of serious failures at institutions that care for people with learning disabilities and autism).
- Support the creation of a new Professional Body for Care Workers, to promote clear career pathways with ongoing training and development, and improved pay structures.
- Introduce a new requirement for professional regulation of all care home managers, who would also be required to have a relevant qualification.



8. Welfare, Benefits and Poverty

The decade of austerity has had a dramatic, and mostly very negative, impact on the lives of people who rely on various social benefits, and are served in different ways by charities. The future of the Universal Credit benefits system was a key feature in all three manifestos. See also initiatives under 'Equalities and Human Rights' above.

Conservative

- Continue the roll-out of Universal Credit; do more to make sure that Universal Credit works for the most vulnerable.
- End the benefit freeze, while making sure it pays to work more hours.
- Keep the triple lock [on pensions], the winter fuel payment, the older person's bus pass and other pensioner benefits.
- Maintain commitment to free school meals.

Labour

- Scrap Universal Credit. Stop people moving onto the programme, while immediately beginning work to design a new system.
- Implement an emergency package of reforms to mitigate some of the worst features of Universal Credit while a new system is designed.
- Scrap the bedroom tax and increase the Local Housing Allowance.
- Maintain the 'triple lock' [on pensions] and guarantee the Winter Fuel Payment, free TV licences and free bus passes as universal benefits.
- Increase Employment and Support Allowance by £30 per week for those in the work-related activity group.
- Raise the basic rate of support for children with disabilities to the level of Child Tax Credits.
- Ensure severely disabled people without a formal carer receive extra support to enable them to meet the extra costs they inevitably face.
- Support those who look after others, increasing the Carer's Allowance to the level of the Jobseeker's Allowance.

- Make the welfare system [Universal Credit] work by: reducing the wait for the first payment from five weeks to five days; removing the two-child limit and the benefits cap; increasing work allowances and introducing a second earner work allowance; making reforms to support the self-employed.
- Invest £6 billion per year to support changes to the welfare system.



- Introduce a statutory guarantee of regular respite breaks for unpaid carers, and require councils to make regular contact with carers to offer support and signpost services.
- Provide a package of carer benefits such as free leisure centre access, free bus travel for young carers, self-referral to socially prescribed activities and courses; raise the amount people can earn before losing their Carer's Allowance.
- Establish a legal right to food to enshrine in law the government's responsibility to ensure that existing and new public policy is audited for its impact on food security.
- Increase Local Housing Allowance in line with average rents in an area.
- Abolish the bedroom tax and introduce positive incentives for people to downsize.
- Separate employment support from benefits administration and increase spending on training and education; introduce an incentive-based scheme to replace the current sanctions system
- Reverse cuts to Employment Support Allowance, End Work Capability Assessments and replace them with a new system run by local authorities.
- Aim to end fuel poverty by 2025 by providing free energy retrofits for low-income homes as part of our programme to reduce energy consumption from buildings.

