

The Choice

The Labour future / The Tory threat

The Choice:

The Tories:

for a privileged few

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Britain can't afford five more years of David Cameron

This week the Tories will present a plan for a privileged few, not for everyday working people.

With the NHS going backwards and a recovery which works just for a few, working people across the country know the truth going in to Conservative Party conference: Britain can't afford five more years of David Cameron.

The Tory plan has failed. Too many people are treading water, working harder and harder just to stay afloat, worried that the next generation are finding it harder to get on than the last.

Working people are an average of £1,600 a year worse off under the Tories. Family energy bills have been allowed to rise by over £300 since the election. The average age of first time buyers has now reached 33. George Osborne once said we were "all in it together", but in government he and David Cameron have judged success by the satisfaction of a few at the top.

David Cameron complacently claims this economy is fixed, but the recovery is benefiting a privileged few far more than most families. Those earning over £150,000 have had their taxes cut, while tax has been raised for everyone else. Hedge funds have been given a tax break, while families are worse off. Families with children have been hit hard, while childcare costs are up and there is a shortage of nursery places.

Despite promising to protect the NHS, under David Cameron it is going backwards. One-in-four patients are waiting a week or more for a GP appointment. Waiting lists for treatment are at their highest level for six years. Thousands of frontline NHS staff have been lost while £3 billion has been wasted on a damaging reorganisation they promised wouldn't happen. Once again, you can't trust the Tories with the NHS.

Britain can't afford another five years of the Tories. Their plans could mean:

- Patients waiting longer for NHS treatment, finding it even harder to get a GP appointment and facing the prospect of more charging for services.
- Further tax breaks for millionaires as David Cameron refuses to rule out cutting the top rate even further.
- No action on the cost of living crisis. This will be the first time since the 1920s that people will be left worse off at the end of a parliament than they were at the beginning. If the Tories don't understand the cost of living crisis, how can they be trusted to fix it?

The choice at the election is clear: five more years of a Tory Government that stands up for a privileged few, or a Labour Government that has a plan to make Britain's future better off.

The Choice: your wages

Working people can't afford five more years of the same old Tory failure. While David Cameron and George Osborne claim the economy is fixed the reality couldn't be further from the truth. The Tories have no answers to the cost-of-living crisis and are not going to deliver a balanced, investment-led recovery that raises living standards for all. Instead, they will continue to stand up for just a privileged few at the top.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failure on living standards

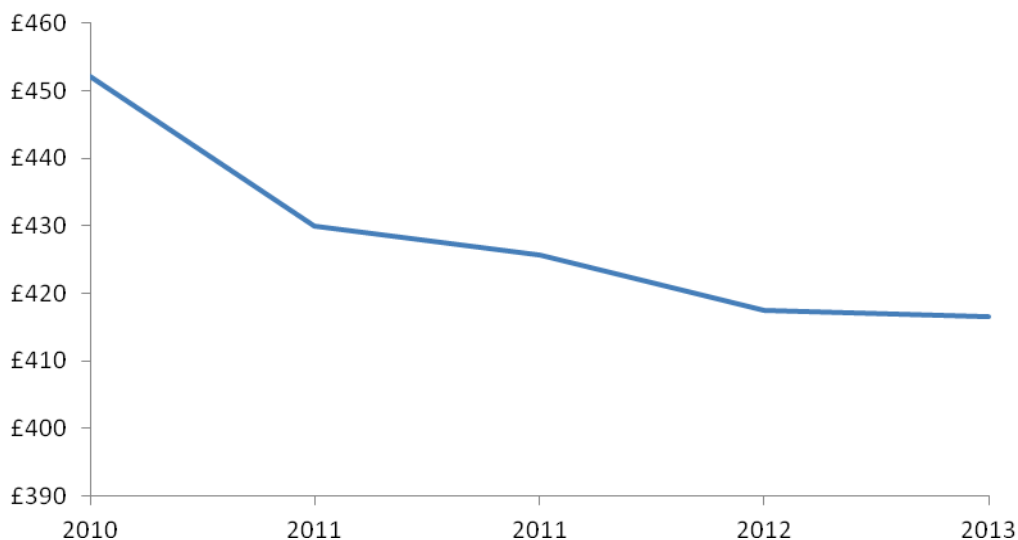
- In their 2010 manifesto the Tories claimed they wanted to see an economy where people's standard of living "rises steadily and sustainably".

"We want to see an economy where not just our standard of living, but everyone's quality of life, rises steadily and sustainably."

Conservative Party Manifesto 2010, p.viii

- The reality is that wages after inflation are down by more than £1,600 a year since 2010.

Gross median weekly wages for all employee jobs (2013 prices)



Source: House of Commons Library analysis, ONS, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) 2010-2013 ; RPI: ONS series (two 2011 figures indicate break in series which has been accounted for in overall change)

- British workers have suffered one of the biggest falls in real wages among EU member states since David Cameron came to power. Only workers in crisis-hit Greece, Cyprus and Portugal have endured bigger falls.¹
- A massive squeeze on wages is set to become the Tories' legacy. Analysis from the House of Commons Library shows that under David Cameron working people will have seen the biggest fall in wages of any Parliament since 1874-1880.

¹ Eurostat

Failure on fairness

- Back in 2010 George Osborne claimed we were “all in this together” and that he was “not going to balance the budget on the backs of the poor.”

“We are all in this together. I am not going to balance the budget on the backs of the poor.”
George Osborne, Mail Online, 14 March 2010, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1257820/Blow-Cameron-polls-say-heading-hung-Parliament.html>

- But his decision to cut the 50p rate to 45p from April 2013 handed a £3 billion tax cut to the richest one per cent in the country.² Someone earning £1 million received a tax cut of over £42,000 a year.
- Bonuses in the finance and business sectors soared by 62 per cent in April 2013 as bankers deferred payments in order to take advantage of the tax cut.³
- Ordinary people are worse off, with families paying hundreds of pounds a year more in VAT thanks to the Government’s decision to raise VAT to 20 per cent.⁴
- Labour analysis of figures from the Institute for Fiscal Studies has found that households will be £974 a year worse off by the time of the next General Election because of tax and benefit changes since 2010.

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

Tory threat on living standards

- This squeeze on wages is set to become the Tories’ legacy. Under David Cameron working people will have seen the biggest fall in wages of any Parliament since 1874-1880. This is set to be the first Parliament since the 1920s where people are worse off at the end than they were at the beginning.⁵

² HMRC, Exchequer effect of the 50 per cent additional rate of income tax, March 2012, Table A1, p.48,
<http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/budget2012/excheq-income-tax-2042.pdf>

³ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-market-statistics/august-2014/table-earn01.xls>

⁴ Hansard, written answer, 5 July 2010, Column 99W,

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmhansrd/cm100705/text/100705w0004.htm#10070542000230>

⁵ House of Commons Library analysis using Bank of England: Three centuries of data; ONS, Average Weekly Earnings and Consumer prices; OBR, Economic and Fiscal Outlook; and House of Commons Library calculations

Tory threat on fairness

- We know George Osborne and David Cameron originally planned to cut the top rate to 40p⁶ and they both repeatedly refused to rule out a further tax cut for those at the top. This would mean giving 16,000 millionaires, on average, a tax cut of more than £110,000 a year. And that's on top of the tax cut they've already received.
- Some Tories don't even want to stop there. David Cameron's close Cabinet colleague - the Minister for Government Policy Oliver Letwin – is advocating the old right-wing idea of a flat tax if the Tories win the election, something George Osborne has described as “exciting”.⁷ The Institute for Fiscal Studies have previously calculated that a flat tax system at 31 per cent would be broadly fiscally neutral⁸ but would amount to an increase in income taxes for the 24 million taxpayers who are basic rate payers, whilst at the same time offering a huge tax cut to the very richest.

⁶ The Spectator, 10 December 2013, <http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/2013/12/david-cameron-interview-tax-coalition-green-crap-and-team-nigella/>

⁷ <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/sep/07/conservatives.uk1>

⁸ Institute for Fiscal Studies, Options for a UK 'flat tax', some simple simulations, <http://eprints.ucl.ac.uk/14873/1/14873.pdf>

The Choice: an economy that works

The Tories claim their plan is working, but David Cameron and George Osborne have missed their targets to balance the books. The UK is facing a lost decade for living standards.

Labour's economic plan to make work pay and build a stronger, more balanced economy will make Britain better off and fairer.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failure on balancing the books

- In 2010 David Cameron pledged that his Government would balance the books by 2015, but he and George Osborne have failed, with the deficit now set to be £75 billion next year. The Tories are now set to borrow almost £190 billion more than planned in 2010.⁹
- So far this year the Tory-led Government has borrowed £2.6 billion more than during the same period last year.¹⁰
- As a result of this failure, the Tories are set to miss their own fiscal mandate to get the debt falling as a proportion of GDP by next year (2015-16). Instead, public sector net debt is set to peak at 78.7 per cent of GDP in 2015-16.

Failure on rebalancing the economy

- UK export growth since 2010 is sixth in the G7, 16th in the G20 and 22nd in the EU.¹¹ This is despite the fact the Tories have a target to double exports by 2020 - a target they are on course to miss by around £330 million.
- While business investment is slowly starting to recover it's still below its pre-crisis peak¹². Meanwhile, infrastructure output is down 11.3 per cent compared to May 2010.¹³

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

Tory threat on jobs and growth

- Another five years will bring a race to the bottom on wages, Treasury opposition to a proper industrial strategy and flirting with exit from the European Union.
- George Osborne is once again a Tory Chancellor who, having abolished the Regional Development Agencies and backed plans to persuade workers to trade their rights at work

⁹ Office for Budget Responsibility, Economic and Fiscal Outlook, November 2010 and March 2014; Office for Budget Responsibility, public finances databank

¹⁰ ONS, Public sector finances, 23 September 2014, http://ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_377958.pdf

¹¹ IMF, World Economic Outlook Database April 2014

¹² ONS, Business Investment, 27 June 2014

¹³ ONS, Output in the construction industry, May 2014, 11 July 2014

for shares, is blocking the Heseltine plan to devolve real power and resources to business and local government to support skills and local innovation.

- And David Cameron is once again a Tory leader caving into his Eurosceptic backbenchers - putting the party interest before the national interest by threatening to walk away from the EU. This would be a disaster for British jobs and businesses. Last month, John Cridland, Director-General of the CBI, warned that the UK's EU membership "supports jobs, drives growth and boosts our international competitiveness" and that leaving the EU would leave us "beholden to its rules without being able to influence them".

The Choice: Living standards

Under David Cameron the cost of living is rising for families and working people. In energy, housing and childcare costs have spiralled and yet the Government has failed to take action. Only with Labour would there be the far-reaching reform needed to help increase living standards for all.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failing on energy

- David Cameron has repeatedly failed to stand up to the 'Big Six' energy companies. Under the Tories, energy bills have soared by almost £300 a year. Since 2010 household energy bills in the UK have risen twice as fast as inflation and four times as fast as wages.¹⁴ Household energy prices in the UK have risen faster than almost anywhere else in the developed world since 2010.¹⁵
- The number of households in fuel poverty is projected to increase to 2.33 million in 2014 and the difference between people's bills and what they can afford has grown to £480 in 2014.¹⁶

Failing on childcare

- Childcare costs have risen by 30 per cent since 2010 – five times faster than wages.¹⁷ The Tories promised to protect Sure Start but there are 628 fewer Sure Start children's centres than when David Cameron became Prime Minister,¹⁸ and 35,000 fewer childcare places.¹⁹
- While millionaires have been given a tax break by the Tories the childcare support available for families has been reduced – by 2015 the Government will have taken away up to £15 billion in support for children and families.

¹⁴ According to analysis from the House of Commons library, based on figures from the Department for Energy and Climate Change, household energy bills rose by 21% in real terms between 2010 and 2013. According to analysis from the House of Commons library, inflation (CPI) totalled 11% between 2010 and 2013 and overall average earnings rose by 5.4% between 2010 and 2013 (based on ONS average earnings data).

¹⁵ According to analysis from the House of Commons library, based on figures from the Department for Energy and Climate Change, between 2010 and 2013 domestic electricity prices including taxes rose faster in the UK than any other country in the EU 15 and IEA for which data is available apart from Ireland. Domestic gas prices including taxes rose faster in the UK for all but four countries for which data is available.

¹⁶ Annual Fuel Poverty Statistics Report, 2014, 12 July 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/annual-fuel-poverty-statistics-report-2014>

¹⁷ Family and Childcare Trust, 2014 Annual Childcare Costs Survey, p11, <http://www.familyandchildcaretrust.org/childcare-costs-surveys>

¹⁸ Department for Education, Numbers of Sure Start children's centres: April 2010, 17 June 2010. Current figures are based on local authority responses to the Freedom of Information request "Please provide the number of designated statutory children's centres now", received between April 2014 and July 2014. Some local authorities were keen to highlight that reductions were due to mergers.

¹⁹ Ofsted, Registered childcare providers and places in England

Failing on housing

- David Cameron said that his Government would build more homes, but the Tories have presided over the lowest level of house-building in peacetime since the 1920s. Annual home completions have been lower under the Conservatives than in every year of the last Labour Government.
- George Osborne's Comprehensive Spending Review in 2010 reduced the affordable housing budget by 60 per cent. This removed £4.4bn worth of funding for building new affordable homes.

"The Chancellor announced a £4.4bn investment in capital spend on housing. This suggests that money for new social housing has been cut by 60%, down from £8.8bn over the previous three year period to £4.4bn over the next four years. Full details of how this figure will break down have yet to be revealed."

Shelter, Comprehensive spending review briefing, October 2010

https://england.shelter.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0010/297604/Shelter_briefing_spending_review_Oct10.pdf

- The number of affordable home completions has fallen by 32 per cent compared with the last full year of the last Labour Government.²⁰
- Home-ownership has fallen to its lowest point since 1988 and Generation Rent is being let down, with the average monthly rent now at an all-time high of £747²¹, going at almost double the rate of wages.²²

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

The Tory threat on energy

- Without action we will continue to see spiralling profits on the back of soaring energy bills. The amount of profit that energy companies make per household has more than doubled – from £40 in 2010 to a projected figure of £106 in 2014.²³

The Tory threat on childcare

- By 2015 this Government will have taken away up to £15 billion in support for children and families. At the same time they have done nothing to help parents with the soaring cost of childcare and lack of availability of places. With costs continuing to rise and places continue to plummet, another five years of the Tories will see parents still struggling to balance work and family life under a Government that just doesn't get that childcare is part of the cost-of-living crisis.
- Over this parliament the budget for Sure Start will have been reduced by more than a third²⁴ and there are 628 fewer Sure Start centres since 2010.²⁵ Many of those centres that remain

²⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/affordable-housing-starts-and-completions-april-2013-to-march-2014>

²¹ LSL Property Services, buy-to-let index, 18 July 2014, http://www.lslps.co.uk/documents/buy_to_let_index_jun14.pdf

²² Office for National Statistics, Average Weekly Earnings, 16 July 2014, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/datasets-and-tables/data-selector.html?cdid=KAB9&dataset=lms&table-id=15>

²³ Ofgem Supply Market Indicators, July 2014, <https://www.ofgem.gov.uk/publications-and-updates/charts-outlook-costs-make-energy-bills>

have been downgraded and face an uncertain future under the Tories. It's clear that under another five years of the Tories Sure Start will still be at risk, with more staff losses, centres open for less hours, services reduced and even more closures likely.

The Tory threat on housing

- Comparing demand for housing with supply suggests that, if the current trend continues, by 2020 the gap between housing supply and demand could reach 1.3 million people – the equivalent number of household spaces of three cities the size of Birmingham.

Housing completions by region and the “demand gap”

Region	Total gap 2010/11 – 2019/20
East Midlands	-102,350
East of England	-156,300
London	-383,475
North East	-41,800
North West	-95,850
South East	-214,875
South West	-90,075
West Midlands	-117,925
Yorkshire and the Humber	-114,375
England	-1,317,025

Source: House of Commons library figures using data sourced from the Department for Communities and Local Government, Table 253a, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-house-building> and the Town and County Planning Agency, estimate of housing demand and need in England 2011-2031

- Many more people with aspirations of home ownership risk being locked out of the market. By 2020, on current trends, the average house price in the UK could be 13 times the average wage in 2020.

²⁴ NurseryWorld, 4 November 2013, <http://www.nurseryworld.co.uk/nursery-world/news/1140172/childrens-centres-closing-despite-demand>

²⁵ Department for Education, Numbers of Sure Start children's centres: April 2010, 17 June 2010. Current figures are based on local authority responses to the Freedom of Information request "Please provide the number of designated statutory children's centres now", received between April 2014 and July 2014. Some local authorities were keen to highlight that reductions were due to mergers.

The Choice: NHS

You can't trust the Tories with the NHS. Under David Cameron NHS services are going backwards and frontline staff have been lost, all part of the Tories' top-down reorganisation which has wasted £3bn.

Our cherished service is surviving – but only just. Five more years of the Tories could push it over the edge. In the past, it's always fallen to Labour to rescue the NHS. We'll do it again.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failing on waiting times

- In June 2011, David Cameron promised that NHS waiting times would be kept down. Last year almost a million people waited longer than four hours in A&E.²⁶ Since 2009/10, the number of people who waited longer than four hours in a hospital A&E has almost trebled.
- Compared to before the General Election 7,100 more patients waited longer than 18 weeks for their operations.²⁷
- The waiting list is now above three million²⁸ – the highest level for six years. Compared to before the General Election, there are 522,261 more people on waiting lists.²⁹

Failing on GP access

- Before the election, the Tories said that they would “ensure that every patient can access a GP in their area between 8am and 8pm, seven days a week”,³⁰ but they scrapped Labour's guarantee of a GP. 60% of patients now say they waited more than 48 hours to see a GP.³¹
- According to the Royal College of General Practitioners (RCGP), the number of occasions during which patients have to wait more than a week to see their GP or practice nurse are set to go through the 50 million barrier for the first time ever.³²
- The number of GPs is falling under David Cameron. The Department of Health's own GP Taskforce recently concluded that there is a “GP workforce crisis” and that the “GP workforce is now shrinking rather than growing”.³³

²⁶ <http://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/ae-waiting-times-and-activity/weekly-ae-sitreps-2013-14/>

²⁷ Source: NHS England, Consultant-led Referral to Treatment Waiting Times

²⁸ Source: NHS England, Consultant-led Referral to Treatment Waiting Times

²⁹ NHS England, Consultant led waiting times, <http://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/rtt-waiting-times/rtt-data-2014-15/>

³⁰ Conservative Party Manifesto 2010

³¹ Conservative Party Manifesto 2010, Pg 47

³² Royal College of General Practitioners (RCGP), 28 July 2014, <http://www.rcgp.org.uk/news/2014/july/crisis-hit-gp-surgeries-forced-to-turn-away-millions-of-patients.aspx>

³³ NHS England, Securing the Future GP Workforce

Delivering the Mandate on GP Expansion, March 2014, <http://offlinehbp1.hbp1.co.uk/NewsAttachments/PGH/GP-Taskforce-report.pdf>, Page6

Failing the frontline

- Before the election, David Cameron promised to protect frontline services.

"I will protect frontline services"

David Cameron, *The Sun*, 23 July 2009, <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/2550252/David-Cameron-Im-ready-to-govern.html>

- Over 7,000 NHS frontline staff were made redundant between 2010/11 and 2012/13.³⁴
- The number of nurse training places has been cut by over 7,000 since 2009/10.³⁵ Latest workforce figures show that there are over 2,223 fewer district and community nurses when compared to the General Election. There are also 982 fewer modern matrons in the NHS.³⁶

Failing on social care

- Despite promises, the Tory-led Government has made deep cuts to local authority budgets which have resulted in £3.5 billion being taken out of adult social care.³⁷
- Under David Cameron, fewer people are getting the services they need. Compared to 2009/10, almost a quarter of a million fewer older people are receiving publicly funded community services - a 26 per cent drop. Since 2009/10 the number of older people receiving home-delivered meals has more than halved.³⁸
- Care charges are rising, meaning that fewer people can afford to pay for care. The average annual cost for an older person who pays for ten hours home care and receives five meals on wheels a week has increased to £7,900 a year – up almost £740 since 2009-10.³⁹
- Pressures on the social care sector are having a knock-on effect in the NHS. Since 2009/10 there has been a 48.1 per cent increase in people aged over 90 coming into A&E via blue-light ambulance. Delayed discharges into, and avoidable admissions from, social care settings have also placed increased demand on acute services.⁴⁰

³⁴ Source: Freedom of Information request to the Department of Health

³⁵ Hansard, 7 May 2014 : Column 243W,

http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmhansrd/cm140507/text/140507w0004.htm#140507w0004.htm_wqn0

³⁶ Health and Social Care Information Centre, Workforce Figures,

<http://www.hscic.gov.uk/searchcatalogue?productid=15436&topics=1%2fWorkforce%2fStaff+numbers&sort=Relevance&size=10&page=1#top>

³⁷ ADASS, 2 July 2014, <http://www.adass.org.uk/social-care-services-unsustainable-adass/>

³⁸ Nuffield Trust, Focus on social care for older people, 26 March 2014, <http://www.nuffieldtrust.org.uk/publications/focus-social-care-older-people>

³⁹ <http://www.thisismoney.co.uk/money/news/article-2531939/Care-home-costs-rocket-740-Elderly-vulnerable-householders-pay-10pc-three-years-ago.html>

⁴⁰ Source: Health and Social Care Information Centre, January 2014

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

- Under them there is the prospect of more NHS services being charged for, and fewer services being provided free at the point of need.⁴¹ The Association of Directors of Adult Social Services has warned that “countless vulnerable people” will “fail to receive, or not be able to afford, the social care services they need and deserve”.⁴²
- Since 2010 it has got harder to see your GP. Another five years of the Tories risks patients having to wait even longer to get an appointment to see their doctor.⁴³
- Another term of David Cameron risks people waiting even longer for operations and treatment.⁴⁴
- Social care services are under more strain than any other part of the system, with people across the country increasingly unable to receive support. Our health and care requirements as a population are changing, and the increasingly fragmented health and care system needs to change to meet this challenge.

⁴¹ Guardian, 10 July 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jul/10/half-nhs-bosses-patients-pay-services-10-years>

⁴² The Guardian, 2 July 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jul/02/adult-care-services-breaking-point-funding-cuts>

⁴³ Pulse, 20 May 2014, <http://www.pulsetoday.co.uk/your-practice/practice-topics/access/two-week-wait-for-gp-appointments-to-become-the-norm-in-many-practices-within-a-year/20006739.article#.U9VXmvlDXHQ>

⁴⁴ Guardian, 12 June 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jun/12/nhs-waiting-list-over-3-million>

The Choice: Social security

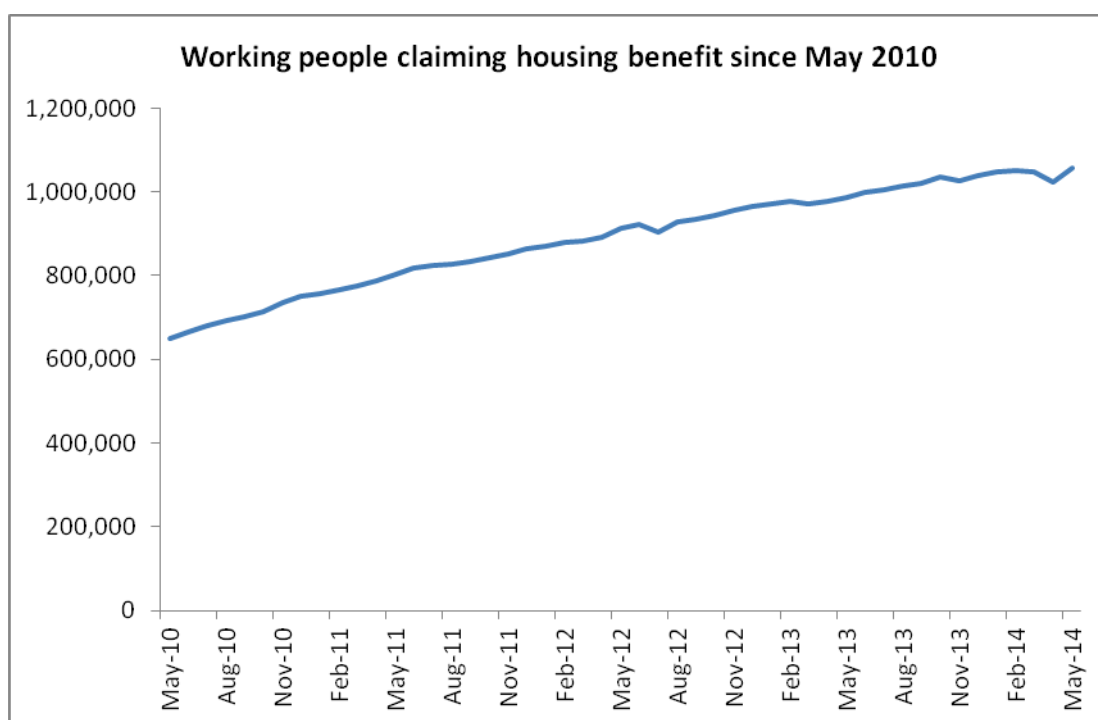
The Tories are failing to deliver on welfare reform. Hardship and deprivation are increasing and the economic and fiscal costs are mounting.

Another five years of the Tories means five more years of insecurity and of low-paid, poor quality jobs that cost taxpayers more. Labour will put the right values at the heart of our system, so that it rewards work, responsibility and contribution.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failing on the drivers of social security spending

- The Tories say they're ending welfare dependency, but the Tories' cost-of-living crisis has seen more and more working people claiming benefits in order to get by. Since the Tories took office there has been an increase of around 60 per cent in the number of working people claiming Housing Benefit.



Source: Department for Work and Pensions, Stat Xplore

- The research shows that this will cost the taxpayer an estimated extra £4.3 billion in Housing Benefit over the course of this Parliament.⁴⁵
- The number of people working part-time because they can't get a full-time job has increased by 250,000 since the General Election.⁴⁶ The state has had to pay out an extra £1.6 billion in benefits to those people working part-time rather than full-time.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ House of Commons Library analysis using DWP Benefit Expenditure and caseload tables 2014

⁴⁶ Office for National Statistics, Labour Market Statistics, July 2014

⁴⁷ Labour analysis of Labour Market Statistics

Failing to deliver flagship policies

- **Universal Credit.** Iain Duncan Smith once promised that more than a million people would be claiming Universal Credit by April 2014. The actual figure is 11,070.⁴⁸ At the current rate of progress the Tories won't achieve their target for roll-out of Universal Credit for over a thousand years.
- **Youth Contract.** When the Youth Contract wage incentive scheme was launched in April 2012 it was due to run for three years and provide 160,000 wage incentives.⁴⁹ The Government has now confirmed that it has been scrapped and only 12.5 per cent of the promised wage incentive payments have been delivered.⁵⁰
- **My Benefits Online.** The DWP has scrapped the online service resulting in a loss of £27.2 million.⁵¹
- **Work Programme.** The latest official statistics show that after two years on the Work Programme, more people have returned to the job centre than have got a job. As of June 2014 70 per cent of people (568,000) on the Work Programme were returned to Jobcentre Plus after two years.⁵²
- **Employment and Support Allowance.** The Work and Pensions Select Committee said the ESA needed "fundamental reform" and described the backlog of 700,000 cases awaiting assessment as "unacceptable".⁵³

Failure on fairness

- Nothing sums up the failure on fairness more than the hated Bedroom Tax. The Government's own impact assessment confirmed that almost two-thirds of people hit by the Bedroom Tax (420,000 of 660,000) are disabled, who will lose over £700 a year.

	Estimated number of claimants affected	Breakdown of working age SRS HB claimants affected
Disabled	420,000	63%
Non-disabled	250,000	37%
TOTAL	660,000	100%

Department for Work and Pensions, Housing Benefit: Size Criteria for People Renting in the Social Rented Sector, Equality Impact Assessment, updated June 2012

⁴⁸ Department for Work and Pensions, Universal Credit statistics, 17 September 2014

⁴⁹ Deputy Prime Minister's Office, 2 April 2012, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/boost-for-unemployed-young-people-as-youth-contract-opens-for-business--2>

⁵⁰ DWP, Youth Contract statistics, 28 August 2014,

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/347896/OFFICIAL_Youth_Contract_Official_Statistics_August_2014.pdf

⁵¹ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/323953/dwp-annual-report-accounts-2013-2014.PDF

⁵² DWP, Work Programme statistics, 18 September 2014

⁵³ Work and Pensions Select Committee report, Employment and Support Allowance and Work Capability Assessments, July 2014

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

The Tory threat on working people's benefits

- By the end of the next Parliament the number of working people claiming Housing Benefit is set to double compared to what it was in 2010/11. Analysis by the House of Commons Library has found between now and the end of the next Parliament the total working people claiming Housing Benefit will be over 1.2 million, which would see spending on Housing Benefit for people in work is set to rise by £1.4 billion over the next Parliament (2014/15 to 2018/19). This works out at a real terms increase of almost £1 billion.

The Tory threat on low wages

- Low wages are also helping to push up the welfare bill. The Bank of England has said that the low pay, low skill jobs that have been created over the last year are placing downward pressure on wages.

“Half a percentage point of the weakness in AWE growth reflected a compositional effect: employment growth over the past year had been concentrated in lower-paid sectors. Perhaps relatedly, recent employment growth had been more heavily skewed towards those in lower skilled occupations.”

Bank of England, Minutes of the Monetary Policy Committee meeting, 9 and 10 July 2014, p.7, <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/minutes/Documents/mpc/pdf/2014/mpc1407.pdf>

- New House of Commons Library analysis shows that spending on tax credits for people in work is set to rise by an estimated £2.5 billion over the next Parliament from £21.2 billion in 2014/15 to £23.7 billion in 2018/19.

	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18	2018/19	Change 2014/15- 2018/19
	Forecast	Forecast	Forecast	Forecast	Forecast	
Child Tax Credit and Working Tax Credit (In work)	21,193	21,265	22,127	22,989	23,708	+2,514

Source: House of Commons Library estimate based on the OBR's latest tax credit expenditure forecasts and the latest outturn data in respect of in-work and out-of-work tax credit recipients. The estimate is based on a simplifying assumption that the proportion of tax credit spend going to in-work families remains unchanged over the forecast period (approx. 72%).

- Tory failure risks the social security bill going up and up. Leaked papers have suggested that the Tories are at risk of breaching their own welfare cap because of rising Employment and Support Allowance costs.

“The government could breach its self-imposed cap on welfare spending as a result of the cost of the main sickness benefit, leaked internal documents say.

“The memos suggest Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) costs are rising with few cost-cutting options.

“In March, MPs agreed a 2015-16 welfare cap of £119.5bn, excluding the state pension and some unemployment benefits.”

BBC, 20 June 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-27927843>

The Choice: Crime, justice and immigration

At next year's election, the British people face a choice on crime and justice. A choice between the Tories, who are complacent on crime, neglecting neighbourhood policing while violent crime rises, and Labour, who will restore confidence in our police and criminal justice system.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failing on immigration

- Before the 2010 General Election David Cameron promised to reduce net migration to the “tens of thousands”.⁵⁴
- In Government the Tories have continued to repeat this pledge. In a speech in 2011 David Cameron said “no ifs, no buts” this was a promise he would be keeping.⁵⁵
- ONS quarterly migration statistics published in August show that net migration is at 243,000, up from 212,000 the previous quarter.⁵⁶

Failing on police numbers and neighbourhood policing

- In 2010, David Cameron promised he would protect the frontline but there are now almost 16,000 fewer police officers than there were in 2010. The Government’s deep reduction in officer numbers has come at the same time as they wasted £100 million on Police and Crime Commissioner elections – elections which saw a turnout of just 15 per cent in November 2012.
- Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary has warned that neighbourhood policing is “being eroded” as forces deal with the pressure they are under by broadening the remit of officers previously dedicated to this area.

⁵⁴ “We would like to see net immigration in the tens of thousands rather than the hundreds of thousands. I don’t think that’s unrealistic. That’s the sort of figure it was in the 1990s and I think we should see that again.”

David Cameron, Telegraph, 21 January 2010

“So we will take steps to take net migration back to the levels of the 1990s – tens of thousands a year, not hundreds of thousands.”

Conservative Party Manifesto 2010

“If you elect a Conservative government on 6 May, we will:...

5. Control immigration, reducing it to the levels of the 1990s – meaning tens of thousands a year, instead of the hundreds of thousands a year under Labour.”

David Cameron, “A contract between the Conservative Party and you”, 30 April 2010

⁵⁵ “If we take the steps set out today, and deal with all the different avenues of migration, legal and illegal, then levels of immigration can return to where they were in the 1980s and 90s, a time when immigration was not a front rank political issue.

“And I believe that will mean net migration to this country will be in the order of tens of thousands each year, not the hundreds of thousands every year that we have seen over the last decade. Yes, Britain will always be open to the best and brightest from around the world and those fleeing persecution. But with us, our borders will be under control and immigration will be at levels our country can manage. No ifs. No buts. This is a promise we made to the British people. And it’s a promise we are keeping.”

David Cameron, ‘Good immigration, not mass immigration’ speech, 14 April, 2011,

http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2011/04/David_Cameron_Good_immigration_not_mass_immigration.aspx

⁵⁶ “Net long-term migration to the UK was estimated to be 243,000 in the year ending March 2014, a statistically significant increase from 175,000 in the previous 12 months.”

Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, August 2014, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/migration1/migration-statistics-quarterly-report/august-2014/index.html>

Failing on serious crime

- The number of rape, domestic violence, and child abuse cases reported to the police is going up. But the number of cases that the police put forward for prosecution is plummeting as the service is hollowed out.
- Despite the fact that the number of recorded crimes is going up, the number of cautions, proceedings and convictions is falling.

Offence Group	Year	Recorded crime	Cautions	Proceedings	Convictions
Violence against the person	2012	607,616	70,250	207,920	141,527
	2013	614,464	63,554	197,136	134,420

Source: *Criminal Justice Statistics 2013*, Ministry of Justice Statistics bulletin, published 15 May 2014
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/311304/criminal-justice-statistics-2013.pdf

Failing on sentencing

- David Cameron promised to introduce an automatic jail sentence for those caught carrying a knife, but he has broken his promise. The Tories attempted to introduce a 50 per cent sentence discount rate for early guilty pleas, even for violent crimes like rape; they abolished Labour's tough sentencing reforms for the most serious and dangerous criminals, replacing them with a watered down 'two strikes' policy that give criminals one free hit⁵⁷; and they broke their promise to introduce minimum and maximum sentences.
- Rather than prosecuting serious offences the Police are increasingly using alternative, less resource-intensive mechanisms, including 'Community Resolutions'. Community Resolutions are intended for use in relation to lower level crime, but are now being used for serious offences, including domestic violence, against the guidance of the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO).

Failing on prisons

- David Cameron and the Tories promised a "rehabilitation revolution", but they have failed. Prisons are not properly punishing and reforming criminals, doing little to cut re-offending and stopping people becoming needless victims of crime down the line.
- The Chief Inspector of Prisons Nick Hardwick warned of a "political and policy failure" and that "the situation is extremely serious and I am very concerned".⁵⁸
- Prisons are increasingly dysfunctional and violent places. 2013 saw the highest number of deaths in custody ever; suicides are up; violence against prison staff is up; the prison riot squad is being deployed on an increasingly frequent basis; and the Government is also losing control of prison contraband.

⁵⁷ House of Commons Library Standard note SN/HA/6086, 27 November 2013

⁵⁸ BBC News 14 June 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-27847007>

- The number of prisoners absconding from prisons in England and Wales increased by 10 per cent last year.⁵⁹ On the Tories' watch we have seen the first Category A prisoner escape in 17 years.

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

The Tory threat on neighbourhood policing

- Police forces and Neighbourhood teams are increasingly being forced to pick up additional responsibilities in a police service hit hard by the Government's deep reductions to officer numbers, with almost 10,000 fewer response officers, 1,300 fewer traffic Police and hundreds fewer detectives. Many 'neighbourhood teams' will now be 'neighbourhood' in name only as their teams increasingly have to cover 999 emergency response, traffic calls and detective work rather than being on the beat.

The Tory threat on prisons

- Prisons are full to bursting. As of 26th September, the prison population is 85,634, which is 98 per cent of capacity.⁶⁰ Prisoners are being kept in police cells in order to relieve the pressure on places.⁶¹ 17 prisons have been closed (and three partly closed) by the Government since May 2010 meaning unless there is action to address the problems the situation risks getting even worse.

The Tory threat on reoffending

- At present reoffending accounts for on average 8,000 crimes a week and as a result re-offending will continue to cost the economy over £10 billion a year. The Tories are failing to tackle the problem and have no solutions. Five more years of the Tories risks another term where our prisons are left to drift and the issue of reoffending is not given the attention it requires.

⁵⁹ [NOMS Annual Report 2013/14](#), 31 July 2014 (page 8)

⁶⁰ Ministry of Justice, Prison Population figures 2014, 26 September, 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prison-population-figures-2014>

⁶¹ Hansard, 14 May, 2014,

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmhansrd/cm140514/text/140514w0005.htm#1405159002890>

The Choice: Education

The Tories are damaging standards, with unqualified teachers, failing Free Schools and a crisis in primary school places, leading to more and more infants crammed into large classes. They are taking our education system backwards.

Five years of David Cameron: Tory failure

Failing on teacher quality

- Under Labour all permanently employed teachers had to be qualified. This Government has changed the rules and scrapped that requirement, allowing schools to employ unqualified teachers permanently, threatening standards.⁶² Now, teachers don't need to demonstrate:
 - knowledge and understanding of how to teach;
 - that they know how to manage pupil behaviour and control a class;
 - regard for the need to safeguard pupils and observe proper boundaries with pupils.⁶³
- This decision has seen a 16 per cent rise in unqualified teachers in our classrooms in the last year across all state-funded schools. Academies and Free Schools alone have seen a 50 per cent increase.

	Unqualified teachers (thousands)		
	November 2012	November 2013	% Change
All publicly funded schools	14.8	17.1	16%
Academies, CTCs and Free Schools	5.3	7.9	49%

Source: *School workforce in England: November 2013, 10 April 2014*,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/school-workforce-in-england-november-2013>

Failure on teacher supply

- The Government missed its own target for trainee teachers by 2,000 trainees last year – making it the second year in a row targets have been missed.

	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14
Target number of trainees	36,170	35,485	34,285	35,295	34,470
Trainees recruited	38,230	37,444	not available	34,880	32,470
% Contribution to target (final figures)	106%	109%	not available	99%	94%

⁶² DfE, Academies to have same freedom as free schools over teachers, 27 July 2012,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/academies-to-have-same-freedom-as-free-schools-over-teachers>

⁶³ DfE, Teachers' Standards, 1 July 2011,

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/283198/Teachers_Standards.pdf

*Government figures do not include Teach First

**The 2013/14 column shows official figures as of November 2013. Estimates for in year starts would increase this number to 33,110 – 96% of the Government’s own target.

Sources: DfE, 26 November 2013, *Initial teacher training: trainee number census - 2013 to 2014*

DfE, 20 November 2012, *Initial teacher training: trainee number census*

DfE, 2011 - 12 *ITT census to targets;*

DfE, 2010 - 11 *Census summary*

TDA, 2009 - 10 *Census summary*

Failure of Free Schools

- David Cameron said that Free Schools would “drive up standards”.

“Those who support free schools are on the side of parents, charities and committed teachers who are trying to make things better on the side of the choice, freedom and competition that will really drive up standards.”

David Cameron, 9 September 2011, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-on-education--2>

- However, too many Free Schools are failing – one third of those inspected so far are rated “inadequate” or “requires improvement” by Ofsted, which is worse than official figures for all state-funded schools.⁶⁴

Failure on school places

- Hundreds of millions of pounds are being spent on Free Schools in areas that already have enough school places, instead of focusing on the need for more primary school places.⁶⁵
- In their 2010 manifesto, the Conservative Party promised to create "*small schools with smaller class sizes*", but since 2010 the number of infants taught in classes of over 30 has soared to 93,665 – up by 200 per cent – and there are five times the number of “titan” primary schools – schools with more than 800 pupils – than in 2010.

	Jan 2010	Jan 2014	% change
Number of primary schools with over 800 pupils	16	77	381%
Number of infants taught in classes of over 30	31,265	93,665	200%

Sources: DfE, *Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2010*, 13 May 2010

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/218952/main_20text_20sfr_092010.pdf

DfE, *Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2014*, 12 June 2014,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2014>

⁶⁴ <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/inspection-reports/find-inspection-report>

⁶⁵ The Guardian, 10 May 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/may/10/gove-lunatic-raid-free-schools>

Failure on opportunities for young people

- At a time when almost 750,000 young people are still unemployed, the Government has neglected vocational education and has no plan for the forgotten 50 per cent of young people not choosing university.
- The number of young people starting apprenticeships is falling⁶⁶, and of the increase in apprenticeships since 2010, 79 per cent have gone to people aged over 25, and 94 per cent of these are not new job entrants but existing employees.⁶⁷
- The quality of apprenticeships has been downgraded under this Government, with low quality courses that all too often last only for short durations and provide no training at all.⁶⁸ Nearly two-thirds of all apprenticeships created since 2010 are at level 2 – a level that would not be recognised as apprenticeships in other countries.⁶⁹

Five more years of David Cameron: the Tory threat

The Tory threat on teaching

- The number of infants taught in classes of over 30 has soared by 30 per cent in the last year. If this continues at this rate, then over 450,000 infants will be taught in large classes by 2020. Based on the Government's current forecasting, there will be 1,970,897 infants in state-funded schools by 2020. This means around one in four infants could be in large classes of over 30 by 2020.⁷⁰

Record levels of unqualified teachers in schools, damaging standards

- There has been a 16 per cent rise in unqualified teachers in our classrooms in the last year across all state-funded schools. If the number of unqualified teachers continues to rise at this rate, by 2020 there will be nearly 50,000 unqualified teachers working across state-funded schools. This represents one in ten of the current teaching workforce and would mean an average of two unqualified teachers in every state-funded school.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Unqualified FTE teachers	14,800	17,100	19,757	22,828	26,375	30,474	35,210	40,682	47,004

Source: DfE, *School workforce in England*, 10 April 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2013>

⁶⁶ Skills Funding Agency/BIS, Further education and skills: statistical first release, 26 June 2014,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/learner-participation-outcomes-and-level-of-highest-qualification-held>

⁶⁷ BIS/DfE (2013) "The Future of Apprenticeships in England: Next Steps from the Richard Review", Presentation to unionlearn conference, 27 June 2013

⁶⁸ Skills Funding Agency/BIS, Further education and skills: statistical first release, 26 June 2014,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/learner-participation-outcomes-and-level-of-highest-qualification-held>

The Public Accounts Committee (2012) *Adult Apprenticeships*, London: The Stationery Office

Higton J and Colahan M (2013) *Follow-up Research: Apprentices' Pay, Training and Working Hours*, London: Department for Business, Innovation and Skills

⁶⁹ Skills Funding Agency/BIS, Further education and skills: statistical first release, 26 June 2014,

<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/learner-participation-outcomes-and-level-of-highest-qualification-held>

⁷⁰ DfE, *National pupil projections: trends in pupil numbers* - July 2014, 16 July

2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/national-pupil-projections-trends-in-pupil-numbers-july-2014>

The threat of profit-making schools

- Five more years of the Tories would see more dangerous reform of school structures, with providers being allowed to make a profit out of schools and our children's education. Education Secretary Nicky Morgan has said that allowing profit-making schools was something she would consider "very carefully".⁷¹
- Michael Gove has already said that under a second term Tory government Free Schools could move to the situation where they were able to make profits.

The Tory threat on vocational education

- The Tories have viewed vocational education as second class and have no plan for the forgotten 50 per cent not choosing university. The skills gap in important industrial sectors keeps on growing.
- While there are almost 750,000 young people still unemployed, the proportion of young people starting apprenticeships is falling. If it continues at the current rate, fewer than half of all those starting apprenticeships in 2020 will be under the age of 25.

⁷¹ Nicky Morgan, TES, 3 September 2014, <http://news.tes.co.uk/b/news/2014/09/03/nicky-morgan-refuses-to-rule-out-schools-being-run-for-profit.aspx>

Labour's Plan for Britain's Future

At Labour's 2014 Conference, Ed Miliband set out a plan for Britain's future which will tackle the cost-of-living crisis, stand up for the next generation and save the NHS.

Tackling the cost-of-living crisis

- Raise the National Minimum Wage to £8 an hour by the end of the next Parliament - double the increase under the Tories.
- Freeze gas and electricity bills to 2017, and reform our broken energy market so that it works for hardworking families and businesses.
- Support small firms with a cut in business rates and access to finance through a proper British Investment Bank and a more competitive banking system.

Standing up for the next generation

- A Youth Jobs Guarantee for young people unemployed for a year or more - a real, paid job they will have to take or lose benefits.
- Require every firm getting a major government contract to offer apprenticeships, and introduce new gold standard vocational qualifications.
- Meet the demand for new homes, and increase the number of new homes being built to at least 200,000 homes a year by the end of the next Parliament.

Saving the NHS

- A £2.5 billion Time To Care Fund, providing 20,000 more nurses, 8,000 more GPs, 5,000 new homecare workers and 3,000 more midwives - paid for by asking those at the top to pay more and making sure hedge funds and other tax avoiders play by the rules.
- A guarantee of a GP appointment within 48 hours, to improve services and ease pressure on A&E at hospitals.
- Repealing the Tories' Health and Social Care Act to put the right values at the heart of the NHS and stop wasteful spending.

The Choice

The Labour future / The Tory threat