

# ANNUAL REPORT & ACCOUNTS 2019/2020

class

Centre for Labour  
and Social Studies



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# SAM TARRY

## CLASS President and Chair

I'm proud to have spent the past few years as CLASS President overseeing a think tank standing up for everyday people across the country. CLASS shows it is possible to do policy thinking in a way that isn't centred on the Westminster bubble and that the issue of class, and the work of the Trade union movement is as relevant as ever.

Our unique approach and connection to the labour movement keeps us relevant, authentic and on the-pulse. During these politically turbulent times, CLASS needs to be shouting even louder so that the realities of everyday life and the damaging impacts of Covid-19 on working people across this country are kept at the centre of policy making, and that as we rebuild our country, Trade unions and the people we represent are at the heart of shaping a new deal for our nation.

We will continue to use our platform to demand the radical change that matches the multiple challenges of economic inequality, social division, racial injustice and climate breakdown.

Its been an honour and a privilege to serve as President, and I thank our Trade Union friends who fund, support, advice and back the work we have done. I would also like to thank Faiza, who is always determined, optimistic and full throated in demanding the just economy we need as she leads CLASS day to day.

In Solidarity,

**Sam Tarry MP, President of CLASS (TSSA)**



# INTRODUCTION

## Strategy

### Key points of our strategy:

Articulate a narrative with evidence that explains current economic problems, highlighting the root causes and points to forgotten issues of power.

Offer policy solutions which address the root problems of economic, social and climate challenges to influence the political parties, so that people believe that there is a viable alternative.

Popularise our narrative and policy solutions through media, blogs, events and training, in particular ensuring ideas are diffused and learning is shared.

## This report outlines the activities of the Centre for Labour and Social Studies (CLASS) from April 2019 to the end of March 2020

2019-20 was yet another year of dramatic economic and political events – from the Brexit debate and upheaval, yet another General Election delivering a Conservative majority, to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic and economic crisis. CLASS has been at the forefront of analysing these events, whether on news channels, via research outputs or holding events.

In 2019-20 CLASS's reputation as a leading left think tank was further solidified. We engaged with a greater number of leading policy makers on the Left, more members of the public on the ground, held bigger and even more popular events and received a new round of funding from the Trust for London to continue our race and class work. CLASS has retained a persistent progressive voice in the public and political sphere, and we continue to punch above our weight in terms of media appearances, political influence and grassroots engagement.

Highlights of the year include our CLASS "boot camp" in Bristol – which combines our knowledge of various policy areas with our aim to tool-up the Left movement. Our Brighton boot camp attracted 100 attendees with another 80 turned away due to capacity limits, and the toolkit



that was born out of these Bootcamps over 2018 and 2019 has been one of our most popular downloaded outputs ever. This series of events and toolkit puts into action our promise to empower from the grassroots levels upwards.

CLASS published a total of 18 publications last year, which included outputs on education, inequality and guides on how to communicate progressive ideas. We championed left causes via 64 media appearances including on Politics Live and Newsnight, and speaking at over 40 events. CLASS

was mentioned an incredible 262 times in local, national and international print media. The CLASS website continues to be an important source of progressive policy analysis, with our twitter and Facebook likes and follows increasing exponentially.

We published 76 blogs addressing developments including the Budget, green policy, Brexit and party manifestos. Through our Labour Market Realities publication and race and class research, our work is increasingly living our values, ensuring the voice of everyday people are heard, that our policies listen to these voices and that our work is accessible to a wide range of people.

As a result of strong support across the trade union movement CLASS is grounded in the experiences of working people. We received consistent funding from our core supporting unions in 2018/19, and we continue to have strong support from a cross-

section of unions.

The on-going political flux and societal turmoil in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic and demands for racial justice after the brutal murder of George Floyd in the US means CLASS has to stand up and stand out to be heard. To do this we need to be bolder and more innovative in our outputs. That means our media operation must be wider, our events bigger and better, our connection with policymakers greater, our influence on political parties stronger, but above all, we need to include activists much more in this battle of ideas to shift the debate. Over the next year CLASS will continue to work tirelessly to this end.



# ABOUT CLASS

CLASS is a leading left think tank working to ensure policy is on the side of everyday people. Originating in the trade union movement, CLASS has an authentic connection to working people and a unique insight into the challenges society faces.



We combine grassroots voices with intellectually compelling analysis to show an alternative way forward. CLASS works with a coalition of academics, activists and politicians to inspire the Left and cement a broad alliance of social forces to support reform and equip our supporters with the tools to popularise a new agenda.

CLASS has been shaping and championing Left analysis and policy debates since its creation. Our publications, events and training cover issues such as employment, the impact of public spending cuts, the macro economy, public services and housing. We recognise that these issues are intrinsically linked to inequalities in income, wealth, race, class and gender and that a fairer society and greener economy requires structural change.

# ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION

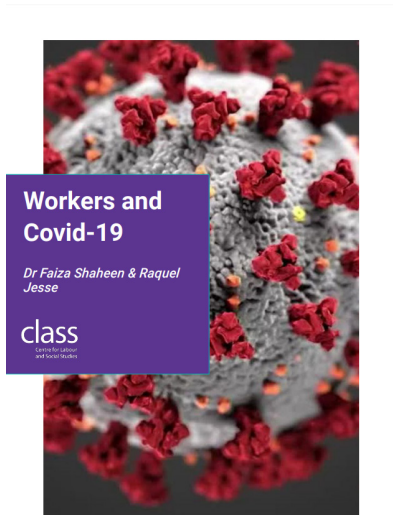
CLASS now has four members of staff – Dr **Faiza Shaheen** (Director), **Lester Holloway** (Communications and Events Officer), **Raquel Jesse** (Projects Officer), and **Adam Almeida** (Research Analyst - post shared with the Runnymede Trust).

CLASS is an independent organisation supported by a number of trade unions. While the day-to-day activities of CLASS are run by the staff and overseen by the elected Officers, strategy, policy priorities and the overall management of CLASS are the responsibility of the Management Committee. At the end of March 2020, CLASS had the support of 12 trade unions.

Management Committee:

**Sam Tarry** MP - President and Chair; **Geoff Shears** - Vice Chair; **Andrew Towers** - Vice Chair. **Liane Groves**; **Carolyn Jones**; Lord **John Hendy** QC; **Kevin Courtney**; **Ronnie Draper**; **Chris Kitchen**; **Dave Watson**; Prof **Keith Ewing**; **Andrew Murray**; **John Earls**; **Doug Nicholls**; **Neil Foster**; **Matt Waddup**; **David Gould**; **Will Pickering**; **Sian Errington**; **Sian Jones** and **Chris Brown**.

# PUBLICATIONS



## Workers and Covid-19

This report assessing the risk to workers from the Covid-19 pandemic. It contains labour market analysis showing least 44 per cent of the British workforce (14 million) are at risk of loss of earnings. The figures are contained in a new CLASS briefing which includes interviews with 12 senior trade union officials representing under-threat sectors like manufacturing, hospitality and social care. The unions - representing millions of workers - report a complete lack of faith that government financial measures will end up in the pockets of workers.



## The Facts & the Fixes: Immigration

The way we talk about immigration has scapegoated and sometimes dehumanised people. Decades of anti-immigration narrative has resulted in the Windrush generation. It divides working class communities and diverts attention from the real causes of inequality. This factsheet highlights key facts and puts forward seven policy fixes to tackle the anti-immigration regime.



## The Facts & the Fixes: Inequality

There is a huge amount of evidence that inequality in Britain is extreme and increasing, which is harmful for both the economy and the society. This factsheet highlights key facts and puts forward six policy fixes to get us started.





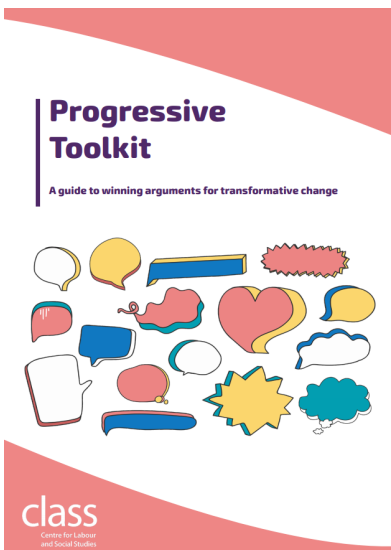
## Guide to the Labour Manifesto 2019

This briefing highlights some key policy pledges made in the Labour Party manifesto for the 2019 snap general election.



## Labour vs Conservative Manifestos

This briefing looks at the key manifesto pledges for Labour and the Conservatives across 12 topics, and gives our verdict.



## Progressive Toolkit

This Progressive Toolkit briefing is a guide to winning arguments for transformative change. It can be used to assist conversations on the doorstep, at work or in a social setting. It covers conversation tips, talking about the economy, public services, poverty, and building solidarity across communities.



## The Facts & the Fixes: Housing

Access to affordable and good quality housing should be a right, not a luxury. But right now, the UK housing market is failing young people, low and medium earners, and the vulnerable.

# PUBLICATIONS



## The Facts & the Fixes: Austerity

Public spending cuts (known as austerity) have brought unnecessary hardship and misery on broad swathes of the UK population. It is a political project designed to shrink the size of the state, and it has no basis in people-centred economics.



## The Facts & the Fixes: Class

Class remains a significant determinant of disadvantage, with the main factors for "success" in life being the wealth of your parents and your place of birth.



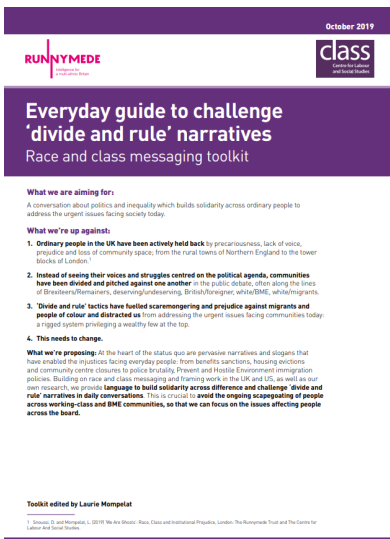
## Tips for Communicating

This is part one of a toolkit series which aims to give helpful tips about how to communicate progressive ideas and values to win arguments for transformative change. This briefing is focused on how to communicate effectively. It can be used to assist conversations on the doorstep, at work or in a social setting.



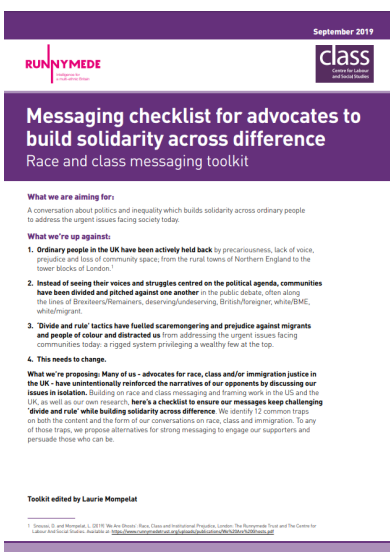
## Queen's Speech Briefing 2019

This Briefing assesses the main announcements in the 2019 Queen's Speech, including their likely impact if implemented.



## Everyday Guide to Challenge 'Divide and Rule' Narratives

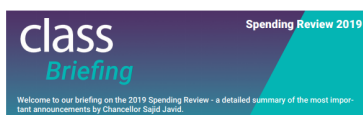
At the heart of the status quo are pervasive narratives and slogans that have enabled the injustices facing everyday people. This everyday guide challenge 'divide and rule' narratives exists to help build solidarity across difference.



## Race And Class Messaging Toolkit

Many of us – advocates for race, class and/or immigration justice in the UK – have unintentionally reinforced the narratives of our opponents by discussing our issues in isolation. Building on race and class messaging and framing work in the UK and US, as well as our own research, this checklist identifies 12 common traps on both the content and the form of our conversations on race, class and/or immigration. To any of those traps, we propose alternatives for strong messaging to engage our supporters and persuade those who can be.

# PUBLICATIONS



## Spending Review 2019

This briefing on the 2019 Spending Review includes a breakdown and summary of the Chancellor's plan for government spending over the next financial year. The announcements provide insight into what a Boris Johnson government would do if they stay in government.

### What is the Spending Review?

Introduced under former Prime Minister Gordon Brown, the Spending Review should be an opportunity for the Government to set out its spending plans for public services and outline the fiscal/economic agenda. Normally, it's a chance to take a long-term view of the government's

much it can spend within the 'fiscal rules' which also cover how much can be borrowed.

### 2019 Spending Review:

The Chancellor, Sajid Javid, has announced his spending plans for Britain's first year outside the European Union. This is the financial year 2020 / 2021 and his plan is based on the assumption that we will exit the European Union on October 31, 2019. Javid has claimed that his spending plan is a "new economic plan for a new economic era". He continued to say that this plan not only marks the end of austerity but the beginning of a "decade of renewal".

### Key Spending announcements for

## Spending Review Briefing

This briefing looks at the 2019 Spending Review by Chancellor Sajid Javid.

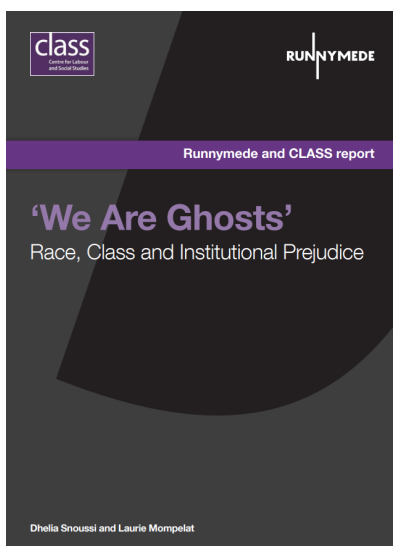


## The Cost of Doing Nothing

The case for long term investment to tackle automation

## The Cost of Doing Nothing: The Case for Long Term Investment to Tackle Automation

This report calculates the social and economic costs of failing to invest in preparing Britain for the challenges of automation, as high as £55 billion a year by 2030. It predicts that if the government continues to ignore seismic changes in the labour market then history will repeat itself with the social costs equivalent to the way the industrial revolution hit agricultural communities or the way coal mine closures devastated mining towns.



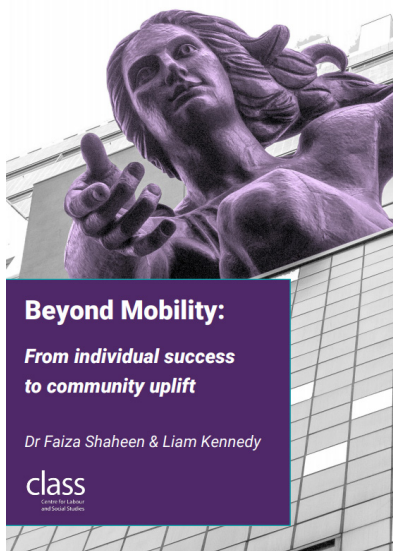
## 'We Are Ghosts' - Race, Class and Institutional Prejudice

This joint report by CLASS and the Runnymede Trust follows a year-long study assessing how people across 14 London boroughs identified in terms of class and race. The report found that interviewees firmly rejected the 'dehumanising' way that public services were delivered to them and resented the impact of gentrification.



## A New Vision for Further and Higher Education

Our systems of further and higher education are no longer fit for purpose. After decades of marketisation and years of austerity cuts, recent high-profile strikes in the education sector signified a service at breaking point. How can we dismantle the elitism of higher education, the degradation of further education and create a system that promotes the values of justice, hope and solidarity? This collection of essays hopes to start a conversation about how we move forward.



## Beyond Mobility: From Individual Success to Community Uplift

This pamphlet argues that the concept of social mobility is no longer fit for purpose because it individualises the notion of success and legitimates the ignoring of social and economic disparities. It makes the case for changing the narrative to one where public policy creates communities that fosters wellbeing and allows people to lead a life of dignity and respect regardless of whether they 'rise' or not.

# MEDIA

## In the period April 2019 to March 2020 we generated 64 prestige appearances on national TV and radio

**BROADCAST:** We maintained a high number of TV and radio appearances, slightly down from 70 in the previous period (2018-19), but nevertheless marking a 110 per cent increase compared to 2017-18. Highlights include BBC Any



Questions, BBC Newsnight, Channel 4 News, and seven appearances on BBC 2's Politics Live. Sky News once again topped the list, with 29 appearances, including commentary during the Labour Party conference. The amount of prestige broadcast coverage comes despite Dr Faiza Shaheen being on leave for the period of the general election campaign but includes all appearances as Director in the lead-up to that period, during which there was an appetite to hear the voices of the progressive Left. Topics covered included the strategic importance of the steel industry, the Queen's Speech, public spending cuts, Brexit and the early part of the Coronavirus pandemic. Appearances exclude coverage specifically related to Dr Faiza Shaheen's candidacy which, if counted, would have added significantly to the total amount.



### Shamed in the eyes of the world

It can't have been a happy week for those who want Brexit to herald the return to the yesteryear of Britannia. Far from taking back control, hapless Theresa May had to accept a new leaving date of October, handed down to her by the EU. I asked some of my friends and family around the world what they thought of Brexit to get a flavour of our current world standing...  
Cousin, Pakistan: "It seems to me that the Brexit farce continues. Is this what democracy looks like in one of the oldest democracies of the world? I hope sense will prevail."  
Friend, USA: "The buffoonery and grandstanding is unbelievable. AND THAT'S COMING FROM AN AMERICAN!"  
Friend, Pakistan: "I don't remember a time when the UK seemed as divided as it does at the moment."  
Auntie, Fiji: "We don't hear too much about it but the Prime Minister isn't looking good. Is she sick?"

### Call to action

Another week, another list of teenagers stabbed. This week it

### Highlights include:

- Sky News: 29 appearances
- BBC PoliticsLive: 7
- BBC Newsnight: 6
- Channel 4 News: 5
- BBC Breakfast: 1
- ITV Good Morning Britain: 1

## CLASS were featured 262 times in the national, regional/ local and international print and online media.

**PRINT AND ONLINE:** The greatest increase in media coverage was seen in the print

and online media, where we saw a 125 per cent increase in coverage compared to the previous period (2019-19). A good proportion of the increase was due to mentions of CLASS in the context of the general election, but even excluding those CLASS still achieved a high profile for our work. This is notable given that we publicised less research output than in the previous year.

Highlights include a full-page guest column in the Daily Mirror (see left). Faiza took part in two Guardian podcasts in addition to writing 6 opinion pieces, and was featured in the same publication 21 times, including coverage

of our 'Workers and Covid-19' report. CLASS was also featured in the Independent and The i Paper (16 times), and all the regular publications.

DMIST FRIDAY 12.04.2019 DAILY MIRROR 31

# FAIZA SHAHEEN

## Mothers showing the spirit we all need to beat climate change

**WHEN it comes to tackling climate change, I'm starting to believe mum could be the word.**

Out and about in my constituency, I've been pleasantly surprised by a growing concern over the issue of pollution – especially among women with small children.

Are mums the fighters we've been missing in our efforts to save Mother Nature?

They were certainly out in force at a recent public meeting about the building of a new

**THREAT**  
To life on melting ice caps

proved, the Earth's poles are melting at an alarming rate. And it's not just

we should be tackling it. The organisation was regarded as "hippy", middle class, and out of touch with everyday life.

Policy strategists used to dismiss me as soon as I said I worked there, but it turns out they should have been paying closer attention.

A decade later, the Green New Deal my colleagues were working on is now being championed by America's rising Democrat star Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. This represents

### High street low

Debenhams, another old favourite shop of my mother's slid into administration this week.

With Woolworths long gone and HMV, BHS and many other stores closing, our high streets look very different to a decade ago.

Yes we all buy online, but there's nothing Luddite about wanting to save our high streets.

The likes of Amazon have an unfair and unjust advantage, so the very least we can do is level the playing field and ensure workers aren't treated like robots.

More broadly, we must look at this as an opportunity to re-imagine the high street with new community spaces and pop-ups run by local people.

### Speak my mind

Class snobbery is definitely still alive and kicking in 2019. This week I appeared on two political TV shows and, as per usual, I was flooded with emails and

### Highlights include:

- The Guardian: 21 quotes, mentions
- The Independent: 9
- The i Paper: 7
- London Evening Standard: 5
- Daily Mail & Huffington Post: 4 each
- Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, City AM: 3 each

# BLOGS

CLASS published 76 internal blogs across the 2019-20 period on a wide range of subjects, including the policy response to the Coronavirus, responding to the Budget, poverty, insourcing, manufacturing, anti-trade union laws, poverty and the threat to EU citizens during Brexit. We ran articles on the NHS surcharge for foreign-born NHS workers before it became a hot topic during the crisis.

Authors included Mark Serwotka (PCS), Kevin Courtney (NEU), Ronnie Draper (BFAWU), Dave Ward (CWU), John Earls, Ben Norman, James Lazou (Unite), Carolyn Jones (IER), Ann Pettifor, Maya Goodfellow, Prof Marjorie Mayo, Wanda Wyporska (Equality Trust), Prof Richard Wilkinson, Prof Malcolm Sawyer, James McAsh, Maike Bohn, Prof Ozlem Onaran, Luke Hildyard (High Pay Centre), Kate Bell (TUC), Hilary Cottam, and many others.

The screenshot shows the CLASS website interface. At the top left is the CLASS logo (Centre for Labour and Social Studies). To the right are social media links for Contact us, Facebook, and Twitter. A navigation menu includes About, Our work, Library, Blog, News, and Events. The breadcrumb trail reads: Home → Blog → Uncertainty & Dog-Whistle Politics: The Future Of EU Citizens. The main image is a photograph of the European Union flag in front of a building with a fence. Below the image is the title 'Uncertainty & Dog-Whistle Politics: The Future Of EU Citizens' and the author 'Maike Bohn' with the date '6/12/19'. The article text begins: 'Migration has always been a controversial topic in politics, but it became an obsession in the run-up to the EU referendum. The 2016 vote followed years of unsuccessful government pledges to push net migration below 100,000. For some, 'take back control' meant 'take back control of immigration'. The referendum campaign witnessed countless toxic and unsubstantiated headlines about migrants, portrayed as putting a huge strain on the availability of jobs and housing. Many happily accepted the loss of freedom of movement for British citizens, because it meant having 'fewer of them' coming over.' To the right of the text are 'Share' buttons for Facebook and Twitter.



# SOCIAL MEDIA AND WEB



**WEBSITE:** CLASS experienced a slight dip in our web traffic, but we are still above the 2018-19 level. Our audience remains primarily young with over 76 per cent of website users aged under 45 years old. 46 percent were female. The most popular posts were Ann Pettifor on the economy and general election, Lester Holloway's video on "five reasons why we can't get Brexit done", and an older article from Kalwant Bophal on systemic racism in employment (2018) that made a hitrates comeback in 2019-20.



**TWITTER:** Our Twitter account finished at 28,000 followers by the end of the annual period, increasing by 7,000 over the 12 months, and 11,500 over two years. We attracted 4.9 million impressions (up 4.8 the previous year, and from 3.8 in the year before that).

**OTHER SOCIAL MEDIA:** We saw a modest rise in Facebook followers up to 5,786, a 25 per cent rise over a two year period. Our mailing list also increased its' reach and pick-up.

**VIDEO:** On Vimeo, our videos were played 214,000 times, a 53 per cent rise from 2018-19. Our videos continue to perform well on social media. Our most popular was advertising the GROW event that was postponed due to the Coronavirus crisis.

# EVENTS

## CLASS AT CONFERENCES

CLASS held a stall at Labour conference, the TUC Congress and seven annual conferences of trade unions that sponsor CLASS. We organised more fringe meetings at the Labour Party conference, including one in partnership with the UCU to promote the findings of a report on the future of further and higher education, published with support from the UCU. Speakers included their general-secretary Jo Grady, and essay authors Prof Richard Hall, Sol Gamsu and Emma Hardy MP.

One on race and class, with Owen Jones, Dave Ward (CWU), and Dr Omar Khan (Runnymede Trust). We also held a very popular session on the Green New Deal with Ann Pettifor. And we held our annual Review of the Year with Maya Goodfellow, Shami Chakrabarti and Shaista Aziz. At the TUC we held a fringe event on immigration with representatives from GMB, Manuel Cortes (TSSA general secretary) and Maya Goodfellow. All events were well attended.



**BRISTOL BOOTCAMP:** We organised a Bristol Bootcamp to build on the success of our previous bootcamps. Special guest speakers included Keir Starmer, Diana Holland (Unite), Satbir Singh (JCWI), Molly Scott Cato MEP, Owen Jones, Extinction Rebellion and more.

**OTHER EVENTS:** We jointly organised an event to launch our race and class report in partnership with the Runnymede Trust, with Samia Badawi, John Harris (Guardian), Patrick Vernon and Dr Omar Khan. We also jointly organised an event on housing crisis in partnership with the Free Word Centre.

# FINANCIAL SUMMARY

	Actual (£)	Budget	2018-19
<b>Income</b>			
Events	1,963	2,000	3,300
Miscellaneous Income	584	1000	20,426
Donations	160,076	170,000	186,424
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>162,623</b>	<b>173,000</b>	212,150
<b>Expenditure</b>			
Direct Expenses, Design & Conference	5,669	6,000	7,837
Salary & Staff Exp & Recruitment Expenses	135,168	142,500	165,785
Website & Subscription	1,351	2,000	1,000
Events	17,516	15,000	15,976
Printing, Stationery and Office	1,298	4,000	1,232
Professional Fees (inc survey)	1,800	3,000	19,558
Bank Charges & Interest	117	100	70
Bad Debts Write Off	6,050		
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>168,969</b>	<b>172,600</b>	211,408
<b>Net Profit/(Loss)</b>	<b>(6,346)</b>	<b>400</b>	742

Individual Donation (Full Breakdown £)	
Unite	70,000
GMB Union	41,000
CWU	12,500
ASLEF	6,000
NUM	2,000
PCS	7,000
NEU	10,000
UCU	5,000
TSSA	6,000
Bakers Union	1,500
Trust for London (via Runnymede Trust)	6,000

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