

# **Annual Report**

Year End March 2013

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# Contents

Introduction	3
Organisation and Administration	4
Supporting Unions 2012-2013	4
Management Committee	4
Class National Advisory Panel	4
Events	6
Publications and Projects	7
Website and Social Media	10
Action: Developing Class	12
Press and Media	14
Finance Report 2012-2013	16



# Introduction

This report outlines the activities of the Centre for Labour and Social Studies (Class) from April 2012 to March 2013. Class was formally established in May 2012 with the support of Unite the Union, GMB, PCS and the Institute of Employment Rights. Over the course of the year Class received support from ASLEF, CWU, GFTU, TSSA and UCATT. Over the coming year we anticipate broader support from the trade union movement and go into 2013 with the backing of the NUT and the possibility of further engagement with BECTU.

Policy making should not be a top-down activity. Class was formed with the intention of bridging the gap between the intellectual expertise of academics and economists and the trade unions, with their unique roots in the experiences of working people. With this goal in mind Class has sought to produce publications and organise events aimed at informing and inspiring both policy makers and trade union members.

The first year of any organisation will inevitably involve shifting priorities. Determining the most effective means of commissioning work, disseminating messages and utilising resources takes time. In our first year Class built a sound foundation within the trade union movement and a secure financial basis from which to move forward. Establishing links with key trade unionists, academics, journalists and policy makers has been a priority along with raising the media profile of the organisation. In a few short months Class has had a significant impact within the trade union movement, the media and the political arena. The foremost goal of Class has been to assist in articulating an alternative that will resonate with working people. From the response received during our first year it is clear there is a huge appetite for the alternative political direction Class is offering.

#### **Next Year**

The profile attained in the first year will be built upon to ensure that by the end of next year Class is achieving consistent media exposure. Links now established with academics and experts will allow Class to move forward with its agreed programme of work at a faster pace. Dissemination and promotion of new ideas will be more effective due to the relationships established with policy makers and journalists.

The need for Class to deliver projects and events aimed at both policy makers and activists in the trade union movement has been reasserted and forms a core part of our plans for the year ahead.



# Organisation and Administration

Class has grown substantially in its first year and has gone from having one part-time member of staff – Rachel Yates (Centre Coordinator) for 4 days a week, to an office of three with the addition of Anneliese Midgley (Political and Communications Officer) for 2½ days a week and Roisin McDermott (Project and Events Officer) working full-time. Owen Jones continues to provide ad hoc consultancy on policy and media work.

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 2013, Class boasted the support of eight trade union organisations. Over the coming year we anticipate broader support from the trade union movement and go into 2013 with the backing of the NUT and the possibility of further engagement with BECTU.

## **Supporting Unions 2012-2013**

Unite the Union

**GMB** 

PCS

**ASLEF** 

**TSSA** 

**UCATT** 

GFTU

CWU

## **Management Committee**

The Management Committee is made up of representatives of supporting unions, the Institute of Employment Rights and nominated parliamentary advisors from the Class National Advisory Panel. Three nominated officers from the Management Committee act as Directors of Class for financial purposes.

- President: Tim Roache GMB
- Vice-President: Geoff Shears IER
- Chair: Steve Hart Unite
- Steve Bell CWU
- Manuel Cortes TSSA
- Prof Keith Ewing IER
- John Hendy QC IER
- Carolyn Jones IER

- James McGowan ASLEF
- Steve Murphy UCATT
- Andrew Murray Unite
- Doug Nicholls GFTU
- Dave Watson PCS

#### Parliamentary Advisors

- Jack Dromey MP
- Jon Trickett MP

## **Class National Advisory Panel**

The National Advisory Panel of experts has grown substantially over the course of the first year. Members offer policy guidance on their specific areas of expertise and assist in whatever capacity they are able to.



- Diane Abbott MP, Shadow Minister for Public Health
- Professor Huw Beynon, Cardiff University
- Dr Ha-Joon Chang, University of Cambridge
- Manuel Cortes, TSSA
- Professor Danny Dorling, University of Sheffield
- Jack Dromey MP, Shadow Minister for Housing
- Daniel Elton, Mass 1
- Mark Ferguson, Labour List
- Billy Hayes, CWU
- **Sunny Hundal**, Liberal Conspiracy
- Will Hutton, The Observer and Oxford University
- **Joy Johnson**, Journalist and political commentator
- Paul Kenny, GMB
- Stewart Lansley, Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research
- Professor Costas Lapavitsas, SOAS
- Ian Lavery MP, Chair of the Trade Union Group of Labour Members of Parliament
- Professor Ruth Lister, Loughborough University
- Kevin Maguire, The Mirror and New Statesman
- Angela Mason, Fawcett Society
- Professor Doreen Massey, Open University
- **Professor Marjorie Mayo**, Goldsmiths University of London
- Len McCluskey, Unite the Union

- Professor Jonathan Michie, University of Oxford
- **Seumas Milne**, The Guardian
- Richard Murphy, Tax Research UK
- Steve Murphy, UCATT
- Lisa Nandy MP, Shadow Minister for Children and Young Families
- Doug Nicholls, GFTU
- Frances O'Grady, TUC
- Ellie Mae O'Hagan, Journalist and Activist
- Ann Pettifor, PRIME: Policy Research in Macroeconomics
- Professor Kate Pickett, University of York and The Equality Trust
- Professor Allyson Pollock, Queen Mary, University of London
- Professor Roger Seifert, University of Wolverhampton Business School
- Mark Serwotka, PCS
- Professor Prem Sikka, University of Fssex
- Stefan Stern, Cass Business School, Edelman
- Polly Toynbee, The Guardian
- Jon Trickett MP, Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office
- Hilary Wainwright, Red Pepper and New Politics Project
- Mick Whelan, ASLEF
- Professor Richard Wilkinson, The Equality Trust
- Zoe Williams, The Guardian
- Lord Stewart Wood, Shadow Cabinet Member
- Salma Yaqoob
- Gary Younge, The Guardian



# **Events**

During the first year Class held a number of very successful and well attended public events including an economics seminar in May, a Parliamentary launch in October and an event at the London School of Economics in March.

Saturday 26 May 2012, Canary Wharf London.

Class Launch Seminar: Towards 2015 - Strategies for Jobs and Growth

The first event organised by Class was a full-day seminar coordinated with the assistance of Owen Jones and economics Professor Costas Lapavitsas. The event featured presentations from the following speakers and led to three publications released by Class.

Speakers: Len McCluskey (Unite the Union), Prof Malcolm Sawyer (Leeds University Business School), Dr Stephanie Blankenburg (SOAS), Seumas Milne (The Guardian), Duncan Weldon (TUC), Ann Pettifor (PRIME: Policy Research in Macroeconomics), Tim Roache (GMB and Class), Richard Murphy (Tax Research UK), Angela Mason (Fawcett Society), Zoe Williams (The Guardian), Owen Jones, Jon Trickett MP, Steve Hart (Unite and Class).

Monday 10 September 2012, Brighton.

**TUC Congress fringe meeting: Why Inequality Matters** 

The meeting launched the *Why Inequality Matters* publication and featured: Tim Roache (Class & GMB), Mehdi Hasan (Huffington Post), Owen Jones (Class), Len McCluskey (Unite the Union), Katharine Round (Spirit Level Documentary) and Professor Richard Wilkinson (author of the Spirit Level).

Tuesday 2 October 2012, Manchester.

Labour Party Conference fringe meeting: Equality - The Real Alternative

This fringe meeting discussed the important questions raised by the new publication 'Why Inequality Matters' and looked at policies that can be introduced to tackle inequality. Speakers included: Stewart Lansley, Len McCluskey (Unite the Union), Lisa Nandy MP, Frances O'Grady (TUC), Richard Wilkinson (author of "The Spirit Level") and Tim Roache (Class and GMB).

Wednesday 31 October 2012, House of Commons, London.

**Class Parliamentary Launch - Why Inequality Matters** 

The Parliamentary launch of Class was centred on the Why Inequality Matters publication and featured: Emily Thornberry MP, Owen Jones, Jon Trickett MP, Professor Richard Wilkinson, Frances O'Grady.

Wednesday 13 March 2013, LSE, London.

**Achieving a Social State** 

This event was organised in association with the LSE British Politics and Policy blog at the London School of Economics and brought together the experts working on Class's Social State project in a panel discussion on the themes and policy suggestions proposed in this series of work. Speakers included: Dr Robin Archer (LSE), Kate Bell (Child Poverty Action Group), Duncan Bowie (University of Westminster), John Hendy QC (Class and IER), Howard Reed (Landman Economics) and Zoe Williams (The Guardian).



# **Publications and Projects**

Between the launch in May 2012 and the end of March 2013 Class published 9 papers covering the policy areas of the economy, inequality, housing, welfare, progressive taxation and education. This was a considerable achievement given a network of experts and academics had to be established from scratch. Over the course of the first year Class prioritised building this network of experts. The enthusiastic support we have received from contributors and advisers is a testament to the strength of the policy ideas Class is advancing, and the need for the coherence and structure Class can offer to their development and dissemination.

In recognition of the ambition to develop a coherent policy narrative, and the limited capacity available to achieve this, the Management Committee decided to prioritise work into four project areas:

# 1. An Active Government – Strategies for Jobs and Growth

Investment, economic stimulus, policies for growth.

#### 2. Inequality Matters

Economic inequality, social inequality, promoting equality for all races, genders and disabilities, the implications of inequality.

#### 3. A Fairer Economy

Restructuring the economy, reforming the banking sector, trade unions and the economy.

#### 4. A Social State

Welfare state, health, education, housing, unemployment and underemployment.

# Publication Releases May 2012 - March 2013



Rising inequality and financial crises: Why greater equality is essential for recovery, Stewart Lansley (Think Piece) – May 2012

Summary: This Think Piece argued that if the UK is to achieve a sustainable recovery from the current financial crisis, the wage share needs to be restored to post-war levels and the great concentrations of income and wealth broken up.



**Fiscal austerity: The 'cure' which makes the patient worse**, Prof Malcolm Sawyer (Policy paper) – May 2012

Summary: In his paper for Class Prof Malcolm Sawyer explained why the austerity programme is economically irrational, socially irresponsible, and fundamentally lacks credibility in its central goal of reducing the budget deficit. He argued instead that the reduction of the budget deficit can only come from a revival of private demand which is harmed by an austerity programme.





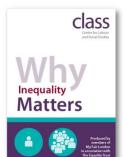
**Towards a new tax consensus: Embracing progressive taxation**, Richard Murphy (Policy paper) – May 2012

Summary: For more than thirty years the politics of the UK has been dominated by an adherence to a single consensus on tax issues. But as this paper shows, there are clear economic and social arguments for progressive taxation. However, the gains for society that progressive taxation can deliver are dependent upon creating a new social consensus.



What would a socially just education system look like? Professor Diane Reay (Think piece) – July 2012

Summary: The current policy status quo is one that prioritises choice whilst rarely recognising that choices come with resources that remain very unequally distributed. Tinkering with an unjust educational system is not going to transform it into a just system. The building blocks of a socially just educational system lie outside in wider society, but before any building can be done the right foundations must be laid.



Why Inequality Matters, My Fair London (Briefing) – September 2012

Summary: With an abundance of evidence, Why Inequality Matters shows that the scourge of inequality has had a real role in the current economic crisis. The pursuit of equality is not just a moral imperative, not just vital for the poor and for the social cohesion and wellbeing of society, it is also necessary for a stable economy. As well as being made widely available online, 10,000 copies of this accessible A5 briefing were distributed to trade unionists, MPs, policy makers and researchers.



Time to Step in: Why It's no good being hands off with housing, James Murray (Think Piece) – October 2012

*Summary*: This paper argues that the market will fail to meet our housing challenges: the government must step in to ensure we build enough new homes, of the right sort, in the right places. The historic record shows that private house-building alone will not produce enough new homes, and furthermore a market free-for-all will not solve the country's complex housing crisis.



Achieving a Social State: What can we learn from Beveridge's Giant Evils? Zoe Williams (Think Piece) – February 2013

This first paper in the Social State series of work looks at what we can learn from Beveridge's analysis of society and explores how his Giant Evils can be redefined for today.





**Tackling Squalor: The pivotal role of social housing**, Duncan Bowie (Policy Paper) – March 2013

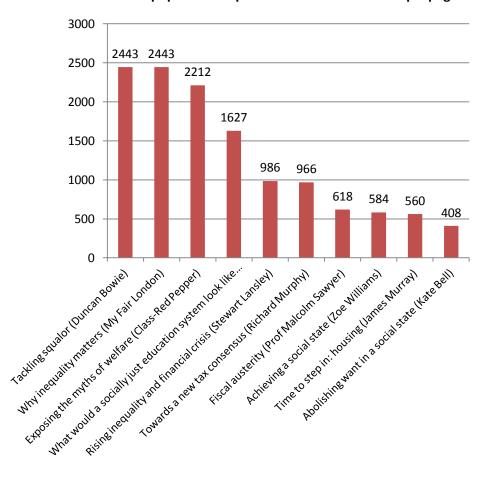
Tackling Squalor' was commissioned as part of the Social State series to address the Giant Evil of 'squalor' and propose new policy priorities for housing in 2015 Britain. This paper argues that the best way to counter the residualisation of social housing and the spatial concentration of social housing tenants is to radically increase the supply of social housing.



Abolishing Want in a Social State, Kate Bell (Policy Paper) – March 2013

Beveridge's 1942 Report was first and foremost a plan for the abolition of want. Yet want, in the form of poverty, has proved far from easy to abolish. This paper attempts to understand why, 70 years after the Beveridge Report, poverty continues to be so prevalent and will attempt to suggest what a renewed attack on want might look like.

#### The ten most popular Class publications in terms of unique page views





# Website and Social Media

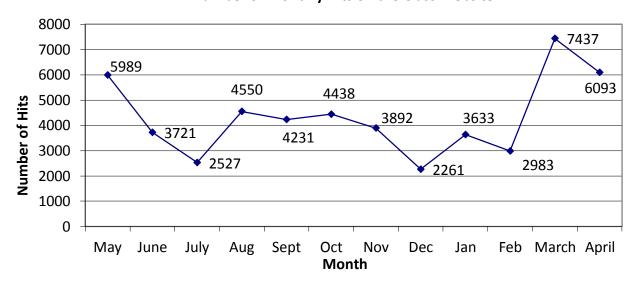


In the first year, Class has focused on creating a strong online presence which is crucial in a climate where digital media are becoming increasingly influential. As most of Class's output is only available in electronic format, it is important that we ensure high traffic through our website for effective dissemination.

An analysis of last year's data shows, perhaps unsurprisingly, that there are distinct correlations between the periods of high or low volume of activity on our social media and our website. Days of Class events, as well as new blog and publication releases trigger a greater number of hits on our website and coincide with periods where we received a higher number of likes on Facebook and significantly more followers on Twitter.

**4,313** – Average number of visitors to the Class website per month **51,755** – Total hits over the year

## **Number of Monthly Hits on the Class Website**





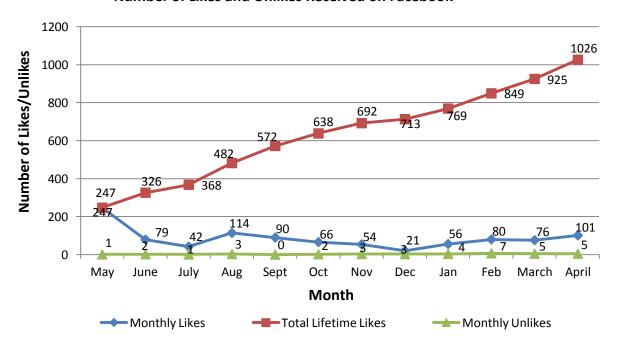
During the first few months Owen Jones wrote a regular blog for the website. His involvement in Class projects and events, and his promotion of the website on Twitter generated a lot of traffic. Additionally, live tweeting from events and coverage on widely read websites and newspapers such as LabourList and the Guardian also significantly increased the traffic to the website.

The welfare mythbuster was the most successful tool in gaining visitors to the website and this was largely due to a successful Twitter and Facebook campaign using infographics produced from the document. Tweeting facts has been found to increase not only interaction on Twitter but also on our website. It is worth noting that peaks in online engagement also occur following our weekly email updates, most notably when we have had more to report in that particular week.

#### **Social Media**

Class received **1,026 likes** on Facebook in our first year and has had steady engagement from our followers although there have been peaks in likes and shares at different points, particularly around our welfare mythbuster and Owen's blog on the role of trade unions, with the latter also generating lengthy debate on our website. Once established, our Twitter followers steadily increased and in the first year we gained **5,869** followers.

#### Number of Likes and Unlikes Received on Facebook



# Digital lessons from the first year

Our online engagement has been analysed in much more detail in the Digital Report but we have noted several areas for improvement and focus over the coming year. It is evident that engagement with our website is at its greatest when:

- Publication releases or events are clustered together as momentum is built around an issue
- We have more information to report to our supporters in our weekly roundup email
- We tweet more often or encourage others to tweet about us particularly infographics & facts.



# **Action: Developing Class**

#### Developing Class as a resource for trade union members and researchers

Class recognises that as well as informing policy makers a key priority must be to offer a valuable resource to trade union members, activists and staff. Class has already introduced a number of targeted resources but over the coming year we will develop these further including:

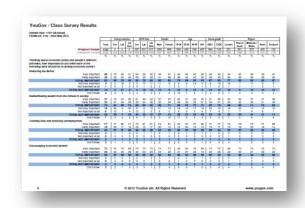
- Briefings and mythbusters a series of short accessible briefings outlining the key policy issues
  with the intention of wide circulation within the trade union movement. During the first year
  Class produced the popular Why inequality matters briefing with Exposing the myths of welfare
  released at the start of the current year.
- <u>Trade Union Policy Library</u> a section of the Class website hosting policy and research documents from the unions that support Class has been built and will be launched in July 2013.
- <u>Monthly email bulletin</u> we already circulate a regular email updating supporters on recent work from Class, but this will be developed into a regular monthly bulletin which also includes reports added to our policy library and information on any upcoming events.
- Regional events During the previous year Class held a number of events in London and a
  number of fringe meetings in other locations. With an increased staff capacity as we go into
  2013 we have prioritised the need to ensure that the voices of working people across Britain are
  well represented Class believes in the importance of holding policy discussions outside of the
  Westminster bubble. Two regional launches targeted at union activists and featuring
  presentations from contributors to Class are already planned for 2013 and we will seek to
  expand this programme throughout the year.
- <u>Discussion resource kit</u> Class are developing a resource kit for members and activists on how
  to organise discussion groups around the materials Class has produced.
- <u>Education resources</u> Class are in the process of producing an education information pack for each policy area detailing key messages and policy issues and providing links to Class literature.
   This will be distributed to the education departments in supporting unions.

#### Articulating the alternative

#### Class YouGov Poll

As part of the launch, Class commissioned a YouGov poll in May 2012 which put very progressive policies to the population and found encouraging levels of support. The poll received publicity on most of the left wing blogs and a piece in the New Statesman.

Some of the proposals to get the economy moving that were tested in the poll were:





- Establishing a publicly-owned bank that will lend to small and medium businesses (74 per cent strongly support or tend to support).
- Providing more financial support for young people from low income families, so they can better
  afford to go to college or university (73 per cent strongly support or tend to support).
- A national programme of building 500,000 extra homes a year, including 150,000 new council houses (64 per cent strongly support or tend to support).

### **Parliamentary Briefings**

In January 2013 Class held a Parliamentary briefing for MPs and Lords featuring a presentation from Stewart Lansley on *How the left can have it both ways: Economic recovery and a more equal society*.

The level of discussion at this event was extremely high and we were encouraged to continue with a further selection of briefings from our National Advisory Panel of experts. This is something we intend to develop further over the coming year.

#### Roundtable

Housing – January 2013 – How do we increase housing supply

Class invited an impressive array of housing experts, representatives of influential housing organisations and academics to discuss this particular area of housing policy and how Class would be able to assist in the development of work in this area. This event was extremely successful in building supportive links with this sector and the meeting has formed the basis of Class's focus on housing for the coming year. The success of this format has encouraged us to organise further roundtables over the next twelve months.



# Press and Media

Class has enjoyed growing publicity over the year including an article on Class in the Guardian, pieces in New Statesman, Huffington Post and Morning Star along with numerous articles on left wing blogs including Left Foot Forward, Labour List and Liberal Conspiracy.

With the employment of a part-time communications officer the level of publicity enjoyed by Class has already increased and will no doubt grow further.

#### Radio

Tim Roache, Class President was a guest on Radio 4 in October talking about the importance of working class representation. Steve Hart, Class Chair was on the World at 1 prior to the Labour Party conference talking about the Labour party—trade union link.

Newspaper, Magazine and Online Coverage

### The British public backs Francois Hollande (Class YouGov polling)

Mehdi Hasan, New Statesman, 25 May 2012

#### An issue of CLASS and the ever-continuing fight for the soul of the Labour party

Rupert Myers, Daily Mail, 29 June 2012

#### Unions back thinktank to remind Labour of roots in working lives

Hélène Mulholland, The Guardian, 16 August 2012

#### This is a crisis for most – but it's still boom time for those at the top

Owen Jones, LabourList, 7 September 2012

#### Why Inequality Matters

Katharine Round, Huffington Post, 7 September 2012

#### For Labour, tackling inequality needs to be at the heart of political agenda

Professor Kate Pickett, Left Foot Forward, 7 September 2012

#### Why Inequality Matters demands narrowing of the wage gap

Anindya Bhattacharyya, Socialist Worker Online, 7 September 2012

### Turning the spotlight

Anneliese Midgley, Morning Star, 9 September 2012

#### Inequality is still the issue

David Wearing, New Left Project, 9 September 2012

#### Equality must be at the centre of a vision for a better society

Steve Hart, New Statesman, Current Account, 11 September 2012



## New publication to push inequality back on agenda

Newswire, Liberal Conspiracy, 13 September 2012

#### All things being equal, it's an idea whose time has come

Steve Hart, Tribune, 25 September 2012

## Thinking that's a Class apart

Carolyn Jones and Rachel Yates, Morning Star, 30 September 2012

## Whatever happened to the Labour Party?

Owen Jones, The Independent, 30 September 2012

## Is class politics still relevant? Well yes and no

James Bloodworth, The Independent, 2 October 2012

## Time to step in to build the homes we need, in the places we need them

James Murray, The Guardian Professional Network, 2 November 2012

#### Let's build more homes – who wouldn't vote for that?

Zoe Williams, The Guardian, 7 March 2013

#### Cameron's days in office may be numbered, but the national agenda is still set by the right

Owen Jones, The Independent, 10 March 2013



# Finance Report 2012-2013

1 May 2012 - 31 March 2013

Income	(£) Actual	(£) Budget
2012 Donations	103,500.00	95,000.00
Unite the Union	30,000*	
GMB	40,000	
PCS	5,000	
CWU	15,000	
UCATT	2,500	
TSSA	5,000	
ASLEF	5,000	
GFTU	1,000	
Commissioned Work	150.00	0.00
Total	103,650.00	95,000.00

\* Unite also seconded a member of staff to Class bringing their total donation to the equivalent of £50,000

Expense	(£) Actual	(£) Budget
Gross Salaries	42,369.39	40,053.72
Promotional (stalls, flyers)	6,847.45	1,000.00
Professional Fees	4,100.00	6,000.00
Events	19,067.90	30,450.00
Printing & Stationery	6,670.49	9,100.00
Website	7,969.20	14,310.00
Bank Charges and Interest	53.61	-
General Expenses	708.00	1500.00
Total	87,786.04	102,413.72

Net Surplus/Deficit:	15,863.96	-7,413.72
Cash in bank:	87,726.62	

In its first year Class has built a solid financial basis from which to move forward. Given this was the first year of the organisation, budgeting was not straightforward. Although we were optimistic, it was not clear until the year was well underway how many unions would contribute to the core running costs of Class.

Initial funding was secured from Unite the Union and GMB prior to the launch of Class. The positive figure for cash in the bank reflects our underlying strength and comprises funding received to enable us to develop a strategic budget for the challenges ahead. Over the

course of the year April 2012-March 2013 Class secured further generous financial support for 2013 from Unite the Union, GMB, PCS, CWU, UCATT, TSSA, ASLEF and GFTU which amounted to £103,650. This enabled us to take on further staff and roll out a series of events.

The first year's budget was set with due concern for the need to be cautious and flexible. There are a number of one-off expenditures involved with establishing a new organisation which are reflected in the accounts. At the start of April 2012 Class employed one part-time member of staff and an ad hoc consultant, by the end of March 2013 Class had employed a further fulltime member of staff and secured a part-time secondment from Unite the Union. It follows then that the largest outgoings for the year were gross wages at £42,369.39, a cost that will increase in the coming year. Further substantial outgoings last year were for events, website, promotional printing and printing of publications, however most costs were significantly lower than budgeted for due to effective cost controlling.

Class goes into 2013 on a secure financial basis with room for expansion. A detailed budget has been developed for the current year based on the lessons we have learnt from our first year. We anticipate staff, event, and printing costs will increase as we seek to provide the resources required by our supporting trade unions and their members. We are encouraged by our growing trade union support and recently received backing from the NUT. We will endeavour to build on this as we go forward.