

Extract

Cordis Briefing General Election Special

July 2024

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Agenda

Today we will be reviewing the election results, and looking ahead at what it will mean for the future of social care in the UK.

1. General Election recap
2. Labour manifesto
3. Policy deep-dives:
 - a. Pay, conditions and the Real Living Wage
 - b. Regulation and CQC
 - c. Immigration
4. What should you be doing?

Extract



2024 General Election recap

Tom Noon

How things have changed

2019

Conservatives: 365

Labour: 202

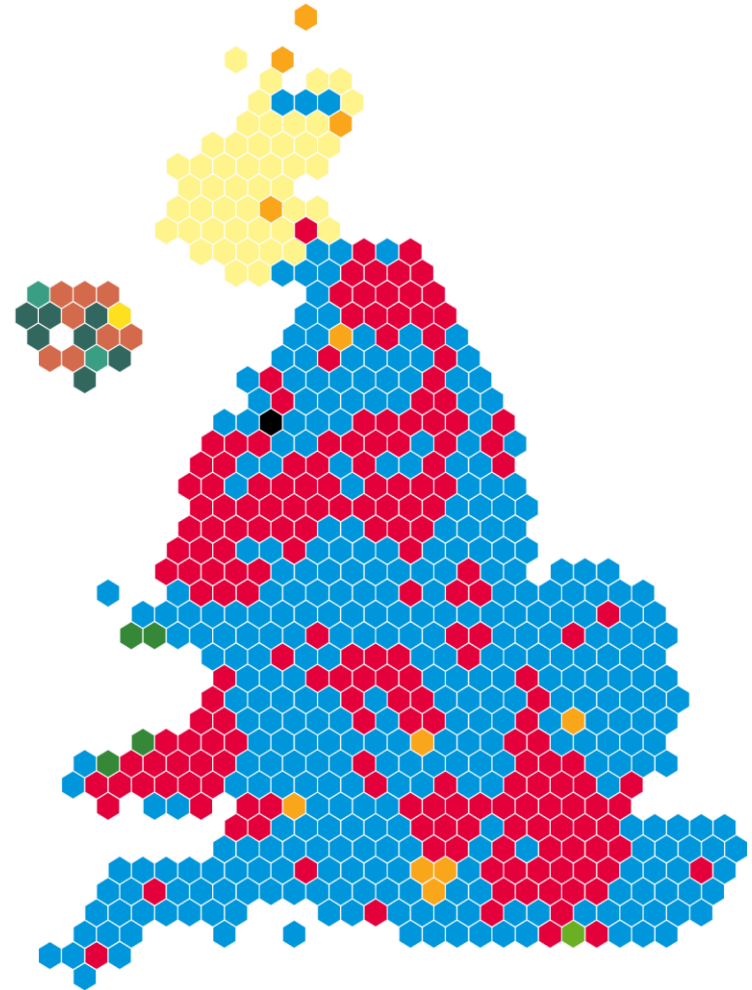
Liberal Democrats: 11

Greens: 1

Brexit Party: 0

SNP: 48

Others: 15



Winners and losers and inbetweeners



...and it is comprehensive

2019

Conservatives: 365

Labour: 202

Liberal Democrats: 11

Greens: 1

Brexit Party: 0

SNP: 48

Others: 26

2024

Conservatives: 121 (-244)

Labour: 411 (+209)

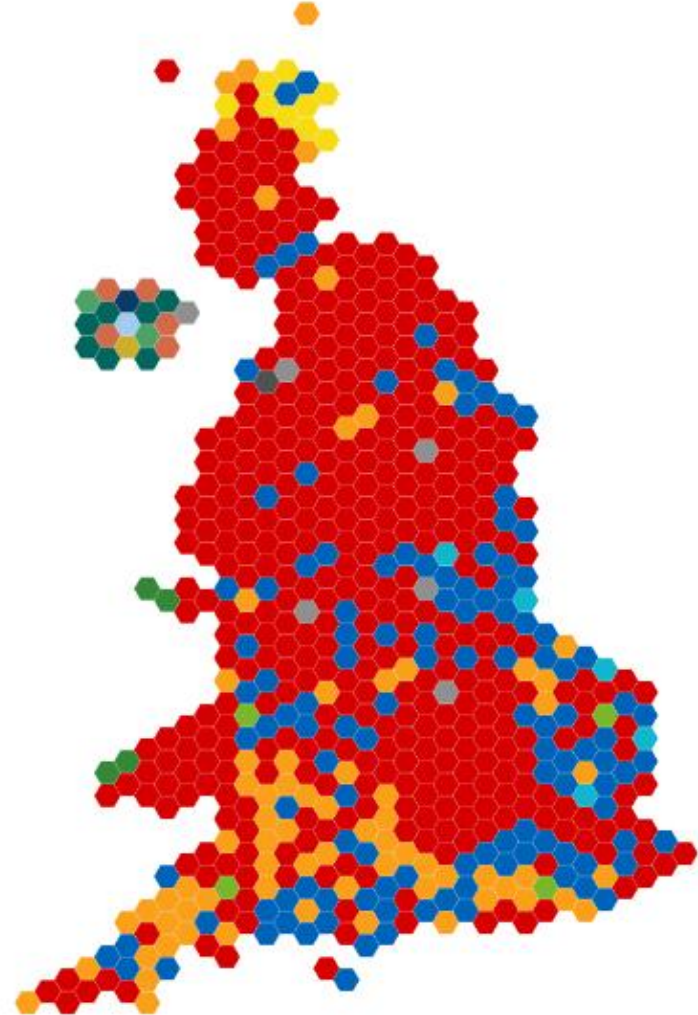
Liberal Democrats: 72 (+61)

Greens: 4 (+3)

Reform: 5 (+5)

SNP: 9 (-39)

Others: 28



Observations about the election results

- A few key takeaways:
 - **For Conservatives:** A disastrous night. They lost votes everywhere, to everyone. No clear way back as they will need to reconcile challenges to their left and right.
 - **For Labour:** A terrific success achieved by playing the rules of the game. There has *never been a majority achieved on such a small share of the vote*. But they've achieved a landslide.
- This result has offered significant stability but also warns of the potential challenges ahead over legitimacy and scale of mandate.
- Scotland's experience of enormous swings in seats based on smaller swings in votes is possibly a vision of our future as a country with multi-party politics under a first-past-the-post electoral system.

Department of Health and Social Care

- Before the election:
 - Wes Streeting – *Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Social Care*
 - Feryal Clark – *Shadow Health Minister*
 - Karin Smyth – *Shadow Health Minister*
 - Andrew Gwynne – *Shadow Minister for Social Care*
 - Abena Oppong-Asare – *Shadow Minister for Women's Health and Mental Health*
 - Preet Gill – *Shadow Minister for Primary Care and Public Health*
 - Baroness Gillian Merron – *Shadow spokesperson – Health and Social Care*
 - Baroness Margaret Wheeler – *Shadow spokesperson - Social Care*

Wes Streeting



- *Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Social Care*
- **Secretary of State for Health and Social Care**
 - **General Election 2015:** Elected MP for Ilford North
 - **Shadow Cabinet Positions:** Post-2020, appointed as Shadow Exchequer Secretary to the Treasury, Shadow Minister for Schools, and later Shadow Secretary of State for Child Poverty.
 - **Health and Social Care Role:** Promoted to Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Social Care in the November 2021 shadow cabinet reshuffle. Shadowing this role for nearly three years.

Extract

Feryal Clark



- *Shadow Health Minister*

Stephen Kinnock



- **Minister of State for Care**
 - **2015 General Election:** Elected as MP for Aberavon.
 - **Parliamentary Roles and Positions:** Appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary (PPS) to the shadow Business, Innovation and Skills team in September 2015. He resigned in June 2016 to support Owen Smith's leadership challenge against Jeremy Corbyn.
 - **Recent Positions:** Appointed as Shadow Asia and Pacific Minister. Later served as Shadow Armed Forces Minister. Feb 2022, became Shadow Immigration Minister.

Karin Smyth



- *Shadow Health Minister*
- **Minister of state for Health**
 - **General Election 2015:** Elected as MP for Bristol South
 - **Parliamentary Roles:** Served as PPS to Keir Starmer from October 2016 to July 2017. Later as Shadow Deputy Leader of the House until December 2018. Appointed as a Shadow Minister in Labour's Northern Ireland team in July 2018. In September 2023, appointed Shadow Minister for Health.
 - **Advocacy:** Co-Chairs the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Choice at the End of Life.

Andrew Gwynne



- *Shadow Minister for Social Care*
- **Parliamentary Under Secretary of State**
 - **General Election 2005:** Elected as MP for Denton and Reddish
 - **Parliamentary Roles:** PPS to various ministers including Home Secretary. Shadow minister for Transport, Community and Local Government,
 - **Recent Positions:** Shadow Minister for Public Health from 2021 and since 2023 Shadow Minister for Social Care

Baroness Gillian Merron



- *Shadow Spokesperson – Health and Social Care*
- **Parliamentary Under Secretary State**
 - MP for Lincoln 1997 – 2010
 - **Parliamentary Roles:** Junior ministerial roles under Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, Treasury, Transport, Cabinet Office, International development and finally Minister of State for Public Health.
 - **December 2021:** Took seat as Life Peer, nominated by Keir Starmer

Abena Oppong-Asare



- *Shadow Minister for Women's Health & Mental Health*

Preet Kaur Gill



- *Shadow Minister for Primary Care & Public Health*

Department of Health and Social Care

- This is a ministerial team in a hurry, led by a highly motivated and very ambitious minister keen to make their mark.
- Civil servants will need to find a new gear to keep pace.
- Expect lots of announcements about fixing the NHS, but most of these will take some time to land.
- There is more NHS experience and less social care expertise in this team.
- Number one priority is resolving dispute with Junior Doctors.
- Change across health and social care is generally slow and you can also expect some frustrations (both inside and outside of government) that things don't suddenly turn around.

Labour's plans for adult social care

Caitlin Hogan-Lloyd

Labour's social care plans

- Labour's manifesto talks about challenges in social care requiring '*deep reform*' including:
 - **Inconsistent standards of care**
 - **Chronic staff shortages**
 - **Integration with the NHS around hospital discharge**
- The central plank of their policy is a new **National Care Service** – the Fabian Society's proposal still is the most comprehensive explanation of what that will look like. We'll recap here.
- We're going to do deep-dives on:
 - Pay and conditions
 - Immigration
 - Regulation and CQC
- This presentation will provide an overview of the key policies and themes from the manifesto.

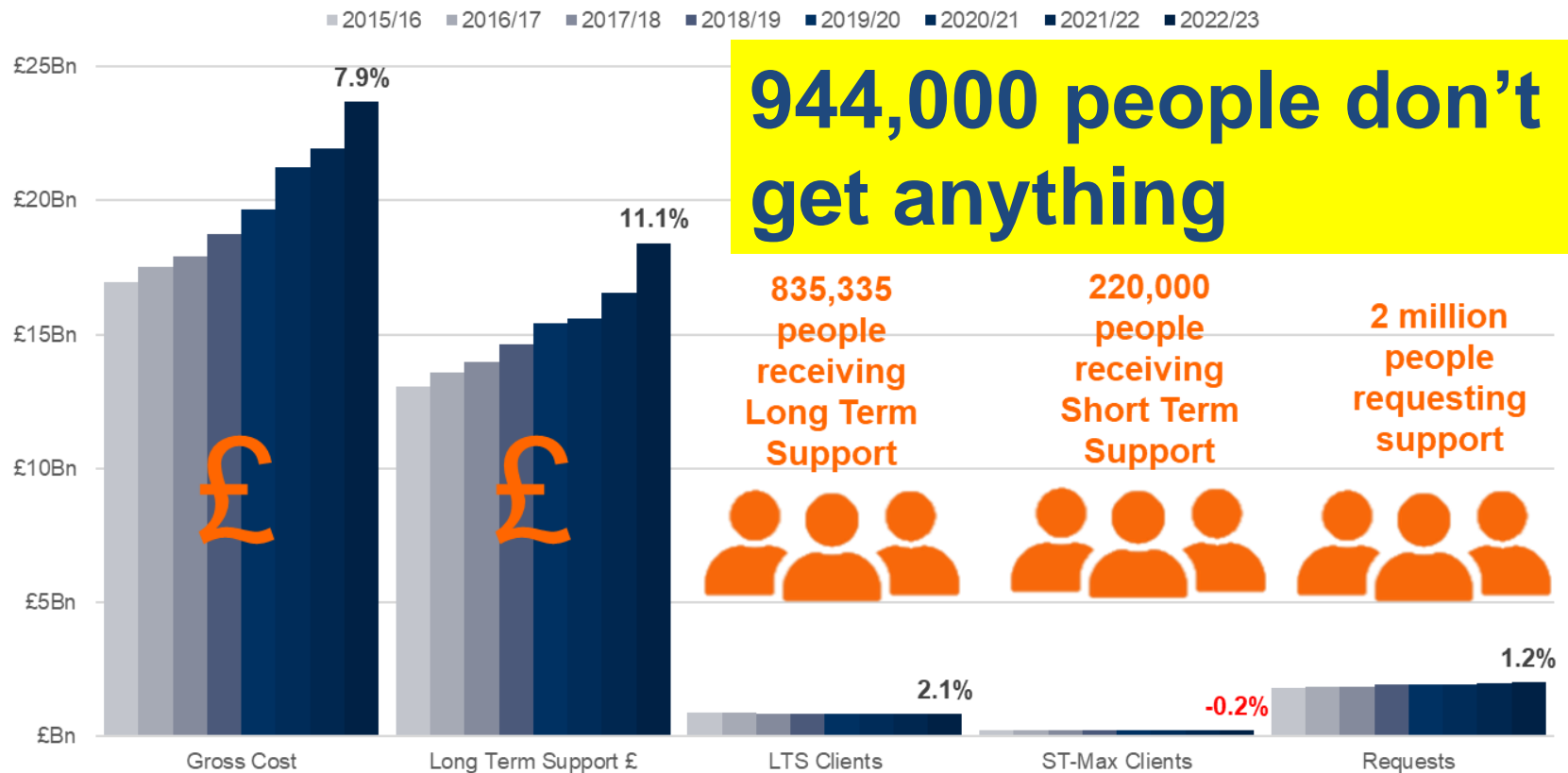
Initial impressions

It is unclear what Labour's scale of ambitions are for social care.

- A National Care Service sounds like a step-change in ambition and vision, but a lack of detail or allocated funding undermines this.
 - Proposals for workers rights, immigration, the NHS and housing could all have enormous impact on social care – but will social care be at the centre of the debate or an afterthought?
- Although we know that Labour wants a National Care Service, it is less clear what it actually wants from social care.
 - Does it want social care to continue to serve a more and more narrow group of people with higher needs, working in partnership with NHS.
 - Would it like to see a return to a service that offers more support to a wider group of people? And if so, what's its plan to get there.

Reminder: where we are currently

Adult social care trends 2015-23



Recap: what is the National Care Service

The centre piece of Labour's social care plans is a proposal for a National Care Service. For a detailed summary of the proposal see the [Fabian's report](#).

The plan set out by the Fabians (which may not fully align with Labour's views), included:

- **Stabilise (24/25 to 25/26):** workforce pay (sector minimum wage), fair provider pricing.
- **Prepare (25/26 to 27/28):** improve eligibility and access, prioritise prevention, build local authority capacity, workforce terms and conditions (Fair Pay Agreement).
Introduce a National Care Service Act.
- **Launch (28/29):** workforce pay (National Care Service pay bands), arrange services for all, initial charging reforms.
- **Embed (29/30 to 30/31):** improve adequacy of support
- **Evolve (29/30 onwards):** further charging reforms.

This isn't nationalisation of care or merger with NHS, but will reshape how care looks and feels.

Standards and regulation

- Labour showing an instinct for regulation – this is a place they tend to feel confident, because they want to intervene but don't have a lot of money.
- Labour is promising new standards to ensure **high-quality care**, **sustainability**, and **responsible action** by providers.
- This is likely to be a key element of the 'national' in their national care service
 - Increased central direction on standards – to ensure more consistency across the country.
 - While responsibility for delivery remains with councils.

Tom is going to look at this in more detail...

Addressing staff shortages

- In the current climate – Labour won't look to more foreign-born workers to address the shortage.
 - Manifesto pledge to 'reduce net migration and dependence on overseas workers'
- Instead – looking at how to make the sector more attractive to Britons.
 - Introducing workforce and training plans for health and social care
- Proposing a **collective bargaining agreement** within the sector to set fair pay, terms and conditions, and enforce training standards.
 - They say they will **consult widely** on the terms for this agreement beforehand, learning from countries where this system operates successfully.
 - But this looks like another way of increasing wages without boosting funding
 - on top of recent national minimum wage rises.
 - Likely to put increased pressure on providers.

Working with the NHS

- Focus still on trying to stop older people and those with complex health needs accessing A&E and remaining in hospital wherever possible.
 - Care seen to have an important role to play in achieving that.
 - But not necessarily a vision based on the importance and need for improvement in the social care sector itself.
- This is part of a wider drive to shift delivery of health and care services ‘closer to home’
 - Shifting towards a ‘*neighbourhood* health service’
 - Achieved by ‘shifting resources to primary care and community services’
 - Plans to trial ‘neighbourhood health centres’ – bring together family doctors, district nurses, care workers, physios, mental health etc. in one place.
- As an agenda, social care still seems to play second fiddle to NHS.

Working with the NHS (cont.)

- Labour is promising to develop local partnerships between the NHS and social care on hospital discharges
 - Using NHS funds to buy beds in care homes
 - Learning from the Leeds teaching hospital models
- This is about unlocking the currently 13,000 beds in England being occupied by patients fit to leave.
- Some criticism about *‘handing already limited NHS resources to private care homes...extracting billions in profits from the social care system’*

Employment support for disabled adults

- Labour is promising to:
 - Introduce full right to equal pay for disabled people.
 - Build on gender pay gap reporting, introducing disability and ethnicity pay gap reporting for large organisations.
 - Improve employment support and access to reasonable adjustments.
 - Reform/ replace the Work Capability Assessment alongside an established plan to supporting disabled people into work.

Supported Housing

- There have been no indications from the Labour Party on their intentions regarding Supported Housing.
- The Supported Housing Act, passed last year, included the requirement to set up the Supported Housing Advisory Panel by 29th June 2024.
- Consultation on the implementation was due to commence earlier this year. The only confirmed measure so far is the plan for the introduction of a licencing scheme for exempt supported housing which would apply to all landlords. No details have been published.
- There is widespread pressure from councils for the introduction of standards, particularly in relation to exempt supported housing

Supported Housing

- The other area where the new government is facing pressure from councils is in the roll-out of the Housing First programme.
- This programme has been piloted in Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool and gives homeless people immediate access to permanent housing with intensive support to address wider issues leading to their homelessness.
- A report on the pilots found that 92% of participants were still living in long term accommodation after a year, with 50% reporting a reduction in mental health needs after 1 year, increasing in subsequent years.
- It is an international model, and Finland credit the effective eradication of street homelessness to it.
- Although the Labour Party has not made any specific commitments, despite pressure from Andy Burnham, it has costed the provision of localised data on at-risk individuals.

What wasn't in the manifesto?

- The cap on care costs and other Dilnot reforms were not mentioned.
- When challenged on it in pre-election period - ministers claimed they remain committing to implementing the cap in line with the Conservative's planned start date of **October 2025**. But **no resources have been allocated** to funding this
- The challenge of Dilnot is not the cap on care costs, this is only ever going to affect a small minority of people who live long enough to reach this level of expenditure.
- The real challenge of Dilnot (if it is applied) is the **change to the means testing income thresholds**. The lower the threshold the more people who will require funding from the state.
- October 2025 is just 16 months away; very little seems to have been prepared.

Conclusions

- Generally, the manifesto is characterised by a lack of detail and a lack of allocated resource for adult social care.
- When reviewing the Labour-commissioned Fabian Society National Care Service report for our July 2023 briefing we said: *‘this report isn’t Labour policy, but we expect at least a watered-down version of this policy in the next manifesto’*
- With only a passing mention of the NCS, no reference to the principles or building blocks outlined in the report, and no timeline or allocated funding – this feels like we might be right, but we will need to wait and see.
- Not really a ‘vision’ for social care, more a list of problems to fix.
- Is this just “Ming Vase” strategy in action or is social care really not a priority?
 - Indication from Wes Streeting that he would have liked the manifesto to be ‘more ambitious’

An unexpected positive?

- The unexpected success of the Lib Dems – winning 72 seats (9 x their previous count of 8) – could be a good news story for social care.
- The Lib Dems put ‘fixing’ social care, and Ed Davey’s lived experience as a carer, front and centre of their campaign.
- This could give Labour confidence that there is public interest in the issue and appetite for change.
 - LDs claim the issue was repeatedly raised by voters during the campaign.
- And the voice of the Lib Dems in parliament could help to ensure social care is not forgotten.
 - They have already called for cross-party talks on a new plan for social care.



Briefing Dates for 2024

- **Thursday 17th October 2024**

Coffee from 10am for a 10.30am start

 Follow @CordisBright for social care news and information



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