



## A Labour Government will tackle the Housing Crisis



by Emma Reynolds MP,  
Shadow Housing Minister

banking by giving local authorities the power to levy fines and use proper compulsory purchase powers on those who sit on land with planning permission, so that they have to 'use it or lose it.'

We also want to support more firms to enter into the market and encourage small-scale and self-build so we can make the most of all opportunities to create a thriving housebuilding industry. That is why, earlier this year, alongside Chris Leslie, Labour's Shadow Chief Secretary, I announced the details of Labour's Help to Build policy specifically designed to help SME builders. In the Federation of Master Builders' 2013 House Builder Survey, 60 per cent of members cited access to finance as a major barrier to their ability to increase their output of new homes, more than any other factor. So the next Labour Government will provide government guarantees for banks lending to SME construction firms in a similar way to how the current 'Help to Buy' scheme underwrites mortgages.

By itself, the private sector has never produced the number of homes we need. Therefore, we are also exploring how we can get councils, together with housing associations, back into the business of building again. Labour councils are already blazing a trail. When it comes to getting affordable homes built they are outbuilding their Tory counterparts by 2 to 1.

Given the severity of the shortage, we will need some big scale solutions. New Towns and Garden Cities played an important role in delivering housing in the past. The commission will be looking at how new plans for a new generation of New Towns and Garden Cities can be realised in a way that benefits local communities.

By contrast the Tories and Lib Dems can only offer more of the same. Their initiatives to boost house building have consistently failed to deliver. The government recently announced a new Garden City in Ebbsfleet and the building of 15,000 homes, but this is 5,000 fewer homes than those announced for the same place in 2012.

Their biggest initiative, Help to Buy, is, it is true, helping to boost demand but here the Government hasn't understood basic economics. Boosting demand without boosting supply will simply see prices pushed out of reach of aspiring buyers.

The next Labour government will succeed where this government has failed. Nobody should be in any doubt about our determination to deliver the reforms we need to double house-building, restore the dream of home ownership and to give families the security of a home they can afford.

**T**ACKLING the housing shortage will be one of the next Labour government's top priorities.

That's because for many people the dream of home ownership is slipping out of reach. Under this government, home ownership is at its lowest level since the 1980s. That should be no surprise, when it is presiding over the lowest level of house building in peacetime since the 1920s.

This chronic shortage of housing is having an impact across the country. Young people and families are struggling to get on the property ladder. Those renting privately are now having to pay record sums, on average 41% of their income just to keep a roof over their heads. It's also affecting those who want to upsize to a bigger home but are finding they can't bridge the gap between what they own and where they want to move to. And for those who have just joined a waiting list for a social home, there are 1.7 million families already in the queue.

That's why, last year, Ed Miliband set a target for the next Labour government to build over 200,000 homes a year by 2020.

It's a big ambition. But, Labour is determined to make home ownership a realistic aspiration for the next generation. We know that there is no single solution to tackling the housing shortage. That is why alongside our ambition, Ed Miliband tasked our housing commission, chaired by Sir Michael Lyons, to draw up a roadmap for achieving this step-change in house building.

Labour is determined to tackle the root causes of this crisis. We need to release more land for development. We will ensure that local authorities that want to expand but do not have the land can do so through a right to grow. Alongside this, Labour is determined to reform the land market. We will bring an end to land-

### 一个工党执政的政府必将解决住房危机

作者：住房建设影子大臣，国会议员艾玛·雷诺兹（Emma Reynolds）

解决住房短缺问题必将成为未来执政的工党政府的首要工作之一。

这是因为对于很多人而言，拥有家庭住房的梦想正与他们渐行渐远。在现任政府的治下，英国的房屋拥有率已经降至1980年代以来的最低水平。这并不令人意外，因为自1920年代至今的和平时期里，本届政府主导的住房建设开工率是最低的。

长期住房短缺的影响已经波及全国。年轻一代和他们的家庭正处在为成为有房一族的挣扎之中。租房群体的房租负担已经突破了历史纪录，租房者平均要付出41%的收入才能保住自己的栖身之所。住房短缺也影响了那些有改善性需求的购房者，他们发现即使以旧房置换新房仍负担不起。而对于那些提出申请福利房的人而言，他们不得不排在已申请的170万个家庭的后面。

正因如此，去年时，埃德·米利班德（Ed Miliband）提出了下届工党政府要在2020年前建造超过二十万套房屋的目标。

尽管目标如此宏大，工党下定决心要为下一代改变拥有住房遥不可及的现状。我们知道解决住房短缺需要多管齐下，这就是为什么埃德·米利班德在提出目标的同时，将起草实现住房建设变革方针的任务委派给迈克尔·莱昂斯（Michael Lyons）爵士主持的住房建设委员会。

工党决心从根源入手解决住房危机。我们需要供应更多的土地用于地产开发。对那些希望扩展却没有土地的地方政府，我们将赋予他们获得土地的权利。与此同时，工党还将坚决地改革土地市场。我们要向地方政府授权，对那些取得建筑许可证但不开工的土地予以征收罚款或强制购买，以此来杜绝囤积土地的现象。

我们还要为更多的企业进入房地产市场提供支持，鼓励小开发商建房和自建房，从而利用尽可能多的机会推动房地产行业的繁荣发展。正因如此，今年早些时候，我和工党影子财政大臣克里斯·莱斯利（Chris Leslie）一起公布了工党制定的旨在帮助中小型建筑商的建房援助政策。2013年英国建筑商联合会关于住房建筑商的调查显示，60%的会员表示在所有因素中融资不足是制约他们增加新房供给的主要障碍。所以，下一届工党政府将比照目前购房援助计划为购房者申请贷款提供担保的方式为中小型建筑企业获得银行贷款提供政府担保。

私营企业仅依靠其自身无法建造出我们所需数量的房屋。因此，我们也正在研究怎样让地方政府和住房协会重新回归住房建造业。一些工党主政的地方政府已经开始进行尝试了。在建造购房者能够负担的住房方面，工党的效率是保守党的两倍。

鉴于住房短缺的严重程度，我们需要一些覆盖范围较大的解决方案。建设新城镇和新市镇在解决以往的住房供应时发挥了重要的作用。我们的住房建设委员会将会研究造福地方社区的新一代新城镇和新市镇的实施计划。相比之下，保守党和自民党只能老生常谈。他们增加房屋建造的努力总是半途而废。联合政府最近公布了在艾伯弗里特（Ebbsfleet）营造新市镇并建造15,000间房屋的计划，然而相比2012年时公布的关于这一区域的计划，房屋数量减少了5,000间。

政府时下最大的举措‘购房援助计划’确实有助于提升住房需求，但是这届政府还没有搞清楚最基本的经济原理。仅仅提振需求而不增加供应只会坐视房价被推高到饥渴的购房者难以负担的地步。

未来执政的工党政府将在现任政府失策的地方取得成功。请坚信我们改革的决心，我们一定会让房屋建造数量翻倍，让人民重拾拥有房屋的梦想，让家家户户能够安居乐业。

# The TUC and the China challenge

by Jenny Clegg\*

Unionists, business people and academics met in early April to discuss the TUC's recent report *The Way of the Dragon: What can the UK learn from the rise of China and East Asia?* which makes a call for a robust industrial policy to respond to the opportunities and challenges of China's economic rise.

Panellists argued that Britain's industrial place in the world can only be secured by gaining strategic footholds in Chinese markets. A particular example is Jaguar Land Rover, whose recent investment in a plant in Shanghai has been instrumental in securing the company's overall survival.

The first recommendation made in the report is for a major study of the opportunities for export to China, identifying growth areas whose needs Chinese firms themselves cannot meet but where British companies have relevant skills, technology and experience. The report directs attention towards China's 12th 5 year plan (2011-2015) which lists 7 strategic emerging industries. These are set to increase from 2 or 3 per cent of GDP to 30 per cent by 2020, constituting a sizeable chunk of future global economic growth. As the report says, "British businesses that seek to export to China need, as a first step, only to look at the plans...there are major business opportunities in China that are advertised years in advance and for which UK businesses could plan."

Win-win agreements and partnerships are seen as the way forward. Citing a visit to China's Guangqi Honda Joint-Venture Automobile Company, the TUC puts the case for hybrid public-private partnerships, rather than full-scale nationalisations, with the government taking strategic stakes in selective companies where it is in the long-term national interest.

Of particular concern is the UK's serious deficit in R&D spending. China is pursuing a 'race to the top' which may soon challenge our core competencies. South Korea has been spending five times as much on R&D as most European

countries in order to stay ahead. The TUC calls for an increase in the budget of the Technology Strategy Board as well as the creation of a State Investment Bank.

The TUC of course talks up the value of free trade unions, but actually three-way co-operation between government, business and trade unions is the essence of industrial policy. China's trade unions might act more boldly in the workplace but their links with the government have certain benefits, for example, in terms of support for recruitment: the rabidly anti-union Walmart was compelled to recognise a trade union for the first time ever. And by the way let's not forget that it was British-led forces which sought to extinguish China's nascent trade union movement, shooting down striking workers on several occasions in the 1920s.

China's rise now offers new opportunities for the revival of UK manufacturing - so long as there is investment in skills and innovation. There has to be greater effort at flexibility and understanding too, if partnerships are to work. Here, as panellist Martin Jacques pointed out, we are burdened by a colonial mentality, which assumes that we are a leading nation and that it is up to others to change, not us.

The US, Germany and others are ahead of us as China seeks to fill the gaps in its plans. General talk about the need for industrial policy is just not good enough: we have to get down to specifics. And now is the time to get across a positive message about the value of partnerships with China in creating high quality jobs and economic regeneration.

*The Way of the Dragon: What can the UK learn from the rise of China and East Asia? TUC, Congress House. March 2014.*

\* Dr Jenny Clegg lectures in Asia Pacific Studies at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston; her book *China's Global Strategy: towards a multipolar world* was published by Pluto Press in 2009.



@ashmcgregor

## From the Vice-Chair...

I hope you all had a great summer.

Under David Cameron and Nick Clegg, Britain is in the grip of a desperate housing crisis. House building has fallen to the lowest levels since the 1920s. As a result of the Government's failure buying a house is increasingly out of reach and the cost of renting has spiralled out of control.

In this edition of the Orient Shadow Housing Minister, Emma Reynolds outlines Labour's plans to tackle this crisis. Daniel Wilson Crow writes about problems in the private rental sector, Joe Oldman highlights the need to ensure we take account of an ageing population when we think about housing and Professor Cecilia Wong looks at lessons on housing and planning from China.

Day after day we read in the newspapers about the extremes of the housing market - rabbit hutch properties, 7ft wide houses, beds in sheds, extortionate charges by letting agents. The housing benefit bill is increasing by £4bn per year. Average house prices in England could double in just ten years and quadruple within twenty if current trends continue. More than half of all 20-34 year olds could be living with their parents by 2040, as soaring housing costs caused by the shortage of affordable homes leave more and more people priced out of a home of their own.

At the heart of the housing problem is a lack of supply so a radical programme of house building must be front and centre of Labour's offer to voters at the next election. That's why we welcome Ed Miliband's ambitious target of over 200,000 homes a year by 2020.

Such a complex problem (which encompasses land values, finance, planning and integration with economic development and infrastructure, sustainability as well as making a more plural market) will need the full force of Government behind it. Government, central and local, needs to act on a whole system basis, aligning across departments and acting for joint long-term policy objectives.

We will also need to think creatively. How might we encourage buy-to-rent and a higher rate of staircasing? Should we make it easier for people to progress up the housing ladder by making stamp duty less steep? Could we reduce under-occupancy in the owner-occupied sector? How might we encourage peer-to-peer funding models in housing?

As you may be aware Chinese for Labour has been campaigning in the community over the issue of gambling for several years. We welcome Labour's commitment to give local people and councils more power to guard against the proliferation of betting shops. I was pleased to represent CfL at the Party's National Policy Forum this summer, where I successfully argued that we should go further by reviewing gambling regulation and providing adequate funding for mental health and counselling services for problem gamblers.

We will be hosting a fringe event titled, "One Nation Economy: Lessons and Opportunities from China" at this year's Party Annual Conference in Manchester. It will be held on Monday, 22nd September at 18:00 at Pacific Restaurant, 58-60 George Street, Manchester M1 4HF. Speakers include Rt Hon Liam Byrne MP (Shadow BIS Minister), Paul Nowak (Assistant General Secretary, TUC), Professor Cecilia Wong (Lyons Housing Commission) and Sarah Owen (Hastings & Rye PPC). If you are attending Conference, put this event in your diary and tell your friends and colleagues about it. Also, please do come by our stand at the Socialist Societies Stand to say hello.

A date for your diary - our must-attend Chinese New Year Annual Banquet will be on 25 February 2015. This is a well-attended event by the Shadow Cabinet and Ministers, so come, meet and get to know our future members of Government

Finally congratulations go to two of our members who received honours in the Queen's Birthday Honours List. Our Chair, Sonny Leong is made a CBE for political service and (founding and) Executive member, Lady Katy Tse Blair is made an MBE for services to the community in London.

# Strategic Planning and Housing Crisis: the Sino-British Tales



by Professor Cecilia Wong, Professor of Spatial Planning and Director of Centre for Urban Policy Studies, the University of Manchester

WE have slowly climbed out from the longest and deepest recession since the publication of comparable data in 1955. The dominant news headlines have also returned to the pre-recession favourites - the strong rising house price trends, especially in London and the South East. Figures from the second quarter of 2014 show that the average UK house price is around £186,000, but over £400,000 in London; which represents an 11.5% annual increase for the country and a big leap of over 25% in London. Considering the average starting salary for graduates is around £20,000 and slightly more in London, it is not a surprise that there is major 'housing affordability' crisis in this country. The difference between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' is all about having access to property ownership; as well as having inheritance from family members who accumulated major housing wealth through price inflation.

It is the right time to have a grown up debate of how to tackle the housing crisis that will damage the life chances of our future generations. The reasons for rising house prices are clearly due to demand exceeding supply. The culprits are many, including the stringent planning system, greedy landowners, speculative developers, selfish 'nimbies' and petty political squabbling, though probably a cocktail of all these factors. However, more importantly,

there is a need to seek major funding to deliver quality homes with good infrastructural provision and easy access to employment opportunities and social amenities.

Since our Asian counterparts also experienced a major financial crisis ten years before Europe, it is interesting to see whether there are any transferable lessons or ideas to be learnt. During the Asian financial crisis in the 1990s, a significant sum of foreign direct investment was redirected from elsewhere in Asia to China. The consequence of globalisation and rapid economic growth following the introduction of market forces has triggered the wider process of restructuring in large cities, symbolised by high-rise office buildings, large shopping malls, and more varied housing styles.

Up until the late 1990s, housing units in China were developed by the public sector and state enterprises for allocation to their workers. Due to a lack of resources to realise its urban development vision, the state gradually reduced its share of housing investment and introduced a comprehensive framework of housing market policy in 1998. The commodification of housing has led to extraordinary increases in house prices: newly constructed housing in 35 major cities rose by 240% in real terms between 2000 and 2010.

The triple helix of market reforms, globalisation and the extraordinary rate of urbanisation are seen as the driving forces that motivate key stakeholders to develop regional plans to express their visions of territorial development and to coordinate regional growth patterns in China. In spite of significant efforts to produce strategic urban plans, they failed to provide a strategic horizon to address the socio-economic and environmental pressures brought by globalisation. The way the UK Coalition Government has managed the economic downturn has been to dismantle regional planning and strategic planning in England. But, while we have abolished strategic and regional plans, the state government in China has initiated their preparation, including the well-known regional plans for the Pearl River Delta and the Yangtze River Delta. These regional plans are informal, but they are powerful strategic instruments to coordinate major regional infrastructure systems, industrial development and the use of development resources across planning departments and other related sectors.

In financial terms, it is surprising to know that local government in China enjoys much more autonomy than in Britain. China has a multi-level government structure that shares national tax revenues through financial transfers. Although local government does not have discretionary power to modify taxation, they are allowed to generate non-tax revenue. The profits from land leasing (that is, the sale of land-use rights subject to central government restrictions) constitute 30-50% of municipal revenue. Under China's dual land system, urban

lands are defined as state lands with property rights ascribed to state agencies, whereas rural lands are collective lands with property rights assigned to rural villages. The expropriation of collective-owned land to urban development transforms the value of land, especially for land near cities. Land expropriation of arable land has become a major revenue stream for urban government and led to the phenomenon of planned urban sprawl. The fiscal revenue of many cities has become over-dependent on the profits from land sales, and the gains from using rural land played an important part. In the longer term, the exhaustion of basic farmland is a real possibility.

The discussion shows that there is not any easy solution to resolve a housing crisis and the two countries have very different policy, institutional and cultural traditions. However, the sharp contrast between the British and the Chinese approaches is that the latter still regards planning as a lubricant to oil the growth machinery by coordinating land use and to enhance the circulation of capital, commodities and information. The evidence of the latest regional planning trends in China largely confirms its strategic value as a means to ease resource constraints for urban growth and to get all key stakeholders around the planning table. There is nothing wrong with an open source, local-oriented style of neighbourhood planning in England. However, if we want to tackle the major housing crisis and provide affordable homes and infrastructure, the strategic coordination of spatial development and clear leadership from central government has to be part of the policy package.

# AFRICAN AND CHINESE RELATIONS: A FUTURE VIEW

by Professor Stephen Chan OBE, PhD\*  
Chinese for Labour Ambassador Extraordinary

**T**HERE are always huge difficulties in talking of two vast areas, one of which is a unitary and strong state, and the other a continent of 53 states in various stages of development. Even so, the generalised discussion of Africa and China now in vogue glosses over such discrepancies and essentialises both the complex Chinese and the even more complex Africans. It is also condescending towards Africa – as if every state within the continent was simply an open body awaiting predators.

In fact, the People's Republic of China has had a long involvement with Africa. Even before the independence of sub-Saharan Africa, at the 1955 Bandung Conference of what became the Non-Aligned Movement, Chou En Lai was speaking of a philosophy of solidarity years before a single mineral or drop of petroleum could be exported by an independent African state to anyone. I use the term 'philosophy' advisedly as, in 1974, Deng Xiaoping enunciated to the United Nations the Chinese 'Three World Theory' which proposed two things: firstly that the world did not have to be ruled by two superpowers, a third bloc was possible; and that China was with the third bloc. It was an elegant construction developed, Deng said, after discussions with Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, then (with Julius Nyerere) one of the two celebrated 'philosopher-kings' of Africa.

Well before then, in what were staggering sums in those days, and beginning in 1956 with a US\$4.7 million grant to Egypt, China was donating money to Africa. Between 1970 and 1977, US\$ 2 billion was donated to Africa – half the Chinese aid budget – and, up to the end of the cold war, an averaged-out \$US\$ 100 million for each African country. Much of this was donated to rebel movements, but the Chinese hallmark of huge infrastructural and civil engineering projects was already in evidence with the 550 mile Somali border road and the great Tazara railway. The great alarm in capitals such as Washington of the Chinese 'penetration' of Africa is, in fact, only the second coming of the Chinese, with many of the characteristics of the first: it does not care for Western opinion, it proposes its own model (more economic than philosophic these days), and it has very visible civil engineering artefacts.

However, the notion that the Chinese have vast sums to expend in Africa, and is prepared to expend them, comes with vast caveats. The first is simply that the Chinese do not conjure money from nothing. China is as prone to suffering from the global recession as anyone else and its stimulus package comes with risks. China invests in and trades with the world at large. It needs its markets in countries badly affected by recession. Secondly, the Chinese 'savings mentality' is not always sober. An overheated Chinese stock market can reduce investor confidence rapidly if values fall or are discovered to be bubbles. Thirdly, the huge domestic liquidity reserves, based on sober savings, depend on those savings not being called upon. Financial meltdown in China means meltdown in the Chinese financial posture internationally. To an extent, Chinese largesse to Africa is predicated on a bet. The bet is that China itself will grow at a huge rate, not overheat, and remain fiscally stable.

Within that bet, the 'Shanghai model' of development assistance and investment for preferential terms in resource expropriation has its own triptych of simultaneous characteristics and dangers. The first is that there are massive 'sweeteners' up front and that these should be highly visible sweeteners. The danger here is that the front-loading can often be to secure prospecting rights with nothing guaranteed upstream. The second

is that the highly visible sweeteners, usually by way of civil engineering projects, is accomplished as a go-to-whoa Chinese project with Chinese staff and Chinese procedures. It provides remarkable efficiency and very little 'leakage' by way of corruption, but the danger lies in local enmity by African workers who are not engaged, in the lack of technology and skills transfer, and in local and ecological disruptions. The third is that the Chinese work with regimes and do not question their democratic or other governance credentials. This is greatly valued, as is the associated lack of fiscal conditionality. However, the danger to the Chinese is that their methodology is premised upon policy continuity by their African partners, and does not seem to factor in regime instability and volatility. There is an additional leaf that is visible only when working with more developed countries like South Africa. There, forms of creeping conditionality occur in that the Chinese may demand favoured market entry-points – in the South African case, for Chinese textiles at the expense of local textile industries. Where there is no local industry, such Chinese conditionality is invisible. Where there is visibility, there is also the danger of significant local industrial resentment and ruined livelihoods in Africa's most vulnerable sector: beneficiation and manufactures.

This resentment may be expressed against, not so much the Chinese state, but private Chinese entrepreneurs and migrants. The days of the kung fu movie romance with things Chinese is gone. No more Shaolin pony-tails to excite the local youth. Instead, the high street 'xing-xong' shops can excite hostility for sharp employment practices and for undercutting local retailers.

Even so, the 'Shanghai model' has generated several tentative imitators. Russia has proposed a huge macro-petroleum deal to Nigeria. Mittal Steel, with backing from the Indian Government, has proposed a steel deal with Nigeria. Malaysia and Indonesia are seeking means to vary the model within their own means. It may be that the 'Shanghai model' very soon ceases to be a Chinese problem for the West and its very own, in Africa, rapidly dating model.

And the West has, of course, its very unique problem to do with colonial history. Even now, it does not fully grasp the huge lividness of the scar left by racism – that unearthing concomitant of colonialism. The Chinese can say they colonised nothing, that they themselves were the attempted targets of colonialism and, certainly, imperialism; that they also fought in doomed uprisings; that they liberated themselves only in the 20th century, exactly as Africa did, and only half a decade after their liberation the Chinese were expressing solidarity and philosophical understanding of African revolutionary impulses. Those African countries that responded accordingly have never been forgotten in China. In the days when China was the global pariah, Sudan was the fourth African country to grant it recognition. 5000 International Criminal Courts will not detract the Chinese from recognising Sudan in turn, now that its own government has pariah status. When I was part of the transition to independence machinery, Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, in the first months of 1980, those ZANLA/Mugabe guerrilla officers I worked with would pull chopsticks out of their ratpack webbing and talk of their Chinese military trainers. Mugabe has never forgotten and, in turn, the Chinese remember Mugabe – even though every fiscal forecast in Beijing of the future of Mugabe's Zimbabwe is dire.

But the Chinese work in other countries where historical relations are more vexed. They have overcome supporting the

wrong liberation faction in Angola, and are now used almost as a blanket – certainly in preliminary propaganda terms – by the Angolan authorities in the face of Western pressure to become, if not more democratic, more transparent. Money sometimes has to be allied with good diplomacy and hard work.

Insofar as Africa represents a resource basin for China's future, such investment, diplomacy and work will continue. It is very much for the future. Despite the furore over Chinese purchase of most of Sudanese oil production, very little right now is used in China. Much is sold on the Amsterdam spot market. Moreover, as the Chinese future develops, it will raise the nature and quality of its product and export commodity profile. It won't always be 'xing xong' products. Already, in the UK high street, this is felt. H&M might source its extremely affordable (and largely one-season tatty) clothes from China, but so does, at a higher quality level, Armani Exchange. The developed market will become more important than the developing market. This means Chinese investment in Africa will continue and perhaps rise, but this will not necessarily be the case in trade. Europe and the US will become more important in trade terms than Africa can for a long generation hope to be.

There are possible exceptions in the automobile industry. Brilliant Automotive in China is developing a Western-level limousine range and may look to South Africa and its assembly capacity (already used by BMW to huge effect, as well as by General Motors and Toyota), not to mention its catalytic converter capacity (and, hopefully, if the South Africans can move swiftly enough, successor capacity in particulate filters), for a more equal,

inter-dependent partnership. If this happens, it will mean a first step for China in assisting African manufacture and beneficiation of raw materials. But this is fraught with difficulties. Africa cannot be developed by the Chinese to become a rival of China.

The further exception would be if China outsourced cheaper manufactures to Africa – while mainland China itself upscaled to a higher quality global market demand. This would be very good for Africa, with the huge caveat that, as with the recent beginnings of acquisition of arable lands to grow crops for China (a new trend exploited also by other nations), new local resistances could grow unless clear benefits are returned to the local communities. China's huge oil giant, Sinopec, faces the same challenges in the Niger Delta as Western companies. This could be multiplied across an entire range of industrial and agricultural projects. Basically, the Chinese future in Africa depends upon how Sino-African, how mixed, the inputs are allowed to become. The more mixed, the brighter the Chinese future. The more unilaterally Chinese, no matter how many 'sweeteners', the more brittle (if initially attractive) the Chinese posture will be. Africa is growing up. Few want to lie down anymore – not before the West and, perhaps surprisingly for the Chinese in, say, ten years' time, not before the Chinese either.

\* Professor of World Politics, School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London

This article first appeared in SOAS World, Issue 36, 2010, and reproduced here with kind permission



## Why does older people housing matter for all of us?

by Joe Oldman, Housing Policy Adviser, AgeUK

Age UK has recently published its 'Housing in Later Life' report looking at some of the key issues affecting the housing choices available to all of us as we get older. This coincides with a number of important policy developments including the announcement of a new accessibility standard for all newly built homes, an increased focus on the deployment of adaptations services to help older people live independently, the Care Act 2014 placing greater emphasis on the role of housing in the delivery of health and social care, and calls for a dramatic increase in the supply of retirement housing to extend the options available to older people.

There are four and half million households containing at least one person with a mobility problem, aged over 60. This figure is likely to increase as the population rises. Over the next two decades it's estimated that the number of older households will rise to 13 million. There will be 20 million older people over 60 in the UK by 2030. Yet the majority of us live in inflexible housing that can be difficult to adapt as our needs change. It is estimated that only 3.4% of all homes have the four basic accessibility features that would allow someone with a mobility problem to simply visit.

As part of releasing its new report, Age UK reviewed some of the costs of failing to offer suitable housing to an ageing population. From NHS statistics we discovered that patients had to stay in hospital, on average, an additional 27 days due to a lack of home adaptations and unsuitable housing conditions. This is more than 40,000 days over the year – costing an estimated £11.2 million. Falls at home, resulting in a hip fracture costs the NHS £12,300 for each operation. Yet basic measures to reduce the risk of falls, such as installing a grab rail, costs around £40.

There is overwhelming evidence to show that damp, cold housing, in a state of disrepair, can result in a range of medical problems including respiratory problems, arthritis, heart disease and stroke. The expert housing agency, the Building Research Establishment (BRE), estimated the cost of poor housing to the NHS as £600m a year. Given this, it must make sense to invest in preventative measures that help older people avoid these problems and allows them to remain active and independent.

The role of housing for the health and wellbeing of older people is now clearly recognised in guidance to the Care Act 2014. This makes the case for incorporating housing support into health and social care services. However, this is problematic for places that lack basic housing support services, such as a home improvement agency, or have seen services cut.

An essential source of help for vulnerable older people is Disabled Facilities Grant. But payments can be delayed and some older people are forced to wait months or years to obtain help. There is huge pressure on local authorities to deal with acute social care needs rather than invest in preventative adaptations – which can offer substantial savings over the longer term. The average cost of a Disabled Facilities Grant is £6,800. This is a small amount in comparison with the cost of staying in hospital or being forced to move into residential care, which can cost over £26,000 a year.

As well as improving adaptations and other housing support services Age UK is arguing for improvements in the design of all new homes. We believe new houses should comply with basic accessibility standards – known as the lifetime homes standard – which makes it less costly to adapt a home – if required. The lifetime homes standard is a set of 16 criteria which cover things such as the potential for a downstairs bedroom, shower or WC, the ability to install a stair lift, sufficient turning space for a wheelchair, and inclusive controls, handles and levers that work for everyone. The average cost of providing these features is £1,500, a small amount when compared with the savings achieved by reducing demand on health and social care resources.

It's vital we improve the standards in ordinary housing for older people, as well as specialist retirement housing. Why? Because the vast majority of us will end up living in mainstream housing, not retirement housing, as we get older.

Age UK argues that we need a greater range of housing options that meet a diversity of different needs as we age. Age UK is particularly interested in specialist housing that can provide an alternative to residential care. 'Extra care' housing is one of these alternatives which can offer residents stronger housing rights as tenants and give them more control over how their care is provided – if they need it.

As well as presenting housing options, we need to offer older people greater help with independent information and advice, so they can make informed choices. There is an increasing need for specialist forms of advice that combine help with housing, care and finance. A number of local Age UKs are delivering specialist housing advice through the First Stop advice initiative, funded by DCLG. This programme is funded until March 2015, but we hope it will be extended.

Older people's housing is not an obscure or marginal issue and it's something which is going to affect all of us – so we need to act now and take a longer term view.

# Executive Committee Members 2013/2014

## Chair - Sonny Leong CBE

Sonny Leong is the Chair of Chinese for Labour and a member of the Development Board of Labour Party 1000 Club, and also sits on the Executive Committee of BAME labour. He is Executive Chairman of the Academy for Parliamentary & Policy Studies and Civil Service College, both providing tailored made training solutions to the public and private sectors. He is Deputy Chairman of FutureFirst, a social enterprise company working to increase social mobility by building alumni communities around state schools to inspire and inform young people about their futures. He is also a director of Left Foot Forward, a political blog for progressives, providing evidence-based analysis on British politics, policy, and current affairs.

## Vice Chair (Policy) - Ashton McGregor

Ash is a Vice-Chair of Chinese for Labour who hails from Stockton-on-Tees in the North East. A member of the GMB, Fabian Society and Cooperative Party, he is also a former Chair of Chinese for Labour and is the youngest ever Chinese Labour councillor. In 2010 he was the Parliamentary agent to a Labour MP in one of the few English Tory target seats where there was a swing to Labour. Much travelled across the public sector Ash currently works in policing. He has previously advised the Home Office's Policing Bureaucracy Taskforce and has advised the Department of Health's Diabetes and Cancer Tsars on health inequalities. He represents Chinese for Labour at Labour Party's National Policy Forum.

## Vice Chair - Vicki Kan

Vicki is the other Vice Chair of Chinese for Labour. A long-time Labour supporter and Labour party member, Vicki has worked on several election campaigns since 2006. In 2011, Vicki was elected as a Community Councillor onto the Great Ashby Community Council where she currently resides. She has been successful in her career in the Pharmaceutical industry in the past eleven years while also being a small business owner in Manchester, where she is originally from. She therefore has a keen interest in business related matters and creating more equality and inclusion for Chinese people in both the social and political environment.

## Secretary & Membership Secretary - Chris Ng

Chris has been a party member since 2005. Since moving to London in 2010, he has been involved in 2012 London Mayoral Election as a

campaign intern for Lewisham and being an intern at Labour Finance & Industry Group. He has further community engagement experience as a field researcher and project assistant at The Campaign Company. Currently, he is the Commercial Services Manager at Civil Service College.

## Press Officer (Chinese Media) - Dr Stephen Lui Nam Ng MBE

Stephen is Press & Media Officer, also a founder of Chinese for Labour. He is a long serving member of Islington Chinese Association, and has given a lot of his time and effort to these organisations. He is one of the key members of Chinese for Labour and is currently its Media Officer. He is a dedicated Trustee of Islington Chinese Association and the Great Wall Society Home for Elderly Chinese People. He works tirelessly for the Chinese community in various capacities. Stephen was joint winner of the Outstanding Contribution to Community Volunteering Award in 2005.

## Press Officer (Non-Chinese Media) - Joyce Wong

Joyce is a Hong Kong native and an adopted Londoner. She works in public policy communications and education. With a background in local government, she supported Battersea CLP's successful community engagement pilot in 2011-2012 under the guidance of Ed Miliband's adviser Arnie Graf.

## Women's Officer - Lady (Katy Tse) Blair MBE

Katy co-founded the Islington Chinese Association in 1986, the only Chinese voluntary organisation in England that has received the Queen's Award for Voluntary Services. Katy is committed in helping her community to integrate into mainstream society through engaging in local and national politics and taking an active role in public life. She is also one of the founders of Chinese for Labour to promote interest of Chinese people in the Labour Party. Amongst her voluntary roles, Katy served as a Trustee in different organisations including the MuLan Theatre Group, the Middlesex University Chinese Medicine Programme Bursary Committee, Chinese in Britain Forum, London Chinese Community Network, London Chinese Healthy Living Centre as well as being a Non-Executive Director with the Islington Primary Care Trust. Katy was awarded one of the ten "Chinese Women of Achievement" award in 2006 as a result of her contribution in community services.

## Committee Member - Dr Selina Chen

Selina Chen has been a Labour Party member for nearly 15 years. She

has worked for and been involved with a number of think-tank's of the left, including the Fabian Society, the SMF, Compass as well as being on the editorial board of the progressive journal Renewal. A political philosopher by training, Selina obtained her doctorate from the University of Oxford and went on to hold positions within the Civil Service and academia.

## Committee Member - Paul Courtenay Hyu

Paul is an actor writer and cabaret performer. He has written comedy for TV and stage and his one man show, The King from Beijing, debuted at the 2008 Edinburgh festival, where he appeared on the front page of the Scotsman. Paul takes his politics seriously. He is on the Ethnic Minority Group of Equity (the Actors' Union), and has been championing the cause for fairer representation of British East Asian Actors in mainstream theatre and the media. He has appeared on numerous tv and radio news shows representing the British Chinese point of view. He is an active Labour Party member and is considering a career in politics.

## Committee Member - Bhavna Joshi

Bhavna is an Executive Committee Member of Chinese for Labour. She has been a member of the Labour Party since 1997. Elected as a local Councillor in London from 2002 to 2006, stood for Parliament in 2010 and was a regional representative on the National Policy Forum. Currently, she is a Labour European Candidate in the Eastern Region, a school governor, a trustee of Stevenage Community Trust and vice-chair of Great Ashby Community Council. Bhavna works for a pharmaceutical company, partnering with the NHS to improve patient pathways and access to medicines. More political engagement of BAME groups is a particular aim and her work with Chinese for Labour reflects this.

## Committee Member - Councillor Cecilia Love

Cecilia Love is a Chinese British international adoptee is one of the Labour Cardiff councillors. She is currently undertaking a doctoral study on international and domestic trans-racial adoption at Cardiff University. She is very pleased to be the first Chinese elected representative in Wales and will work hard to ensure the voice of the Chinese community and all of the members of the diverse ward she represents are listened to and involved in the policy making process. Cecilia was helped as a young working, single mother by Labour's family, education, work and women's policies and fully understands some of the challenges families are now facing under the coalition. Cecilia will bring her life and professional experience to her work as a local councillor and to her contribution in returning a Labour Government in 2015.

## Committee Member - Dr Mee Ling Ng OBE

Mee Ling Ng, was one of the founders of Chinese for Labour. She was a Labour councillor for Lewisham for 16 years, chairing major committees and was Deputy Leader. She was a Non-Executive Director on the Board of several public bodies including Her Majesty's Courts Service Board, two NHS Mental Health Trusts and was Chair of the Board of Southwark Primary Care Trust. She is currently a Trustee of MuLan Foundation Network. She received an OBE in 2007 for services to the Chinese community. She is an Honorary Fellow of the 48 Group Club and received an Honorary Fellowship from University of London, Goldsmith's College in 2005. She received an Honorary Doctorate of Science in 2010 from London South Bank University for services to healthcare. She is currently an Independent Governor on the Board of London South Bank University and a Non-Executive Board member of Habinteg Housing Association.

## Committee Member - Sarah Owen

Sarah Owen was born and raised in Hastings and Rye. She is the Labour Parliamentary Candidate for Hastings & Rye for the General Election in 2015. She worked in Brighton and Hove Council, London Fire Brigade and provided frontline care at the Conquest Hospital and in the community as well as the Labour Party. She is currently Political Adviser to Lord Sugar – and working on Labour's national small business policy.

## Committee Member- Lauren Pang

Lauren Pang is an active member of the Labour Party and regularly campaigns with the local CLP. After graduating with an MA in Economics from Cambridge University she was headhunted by the Department for Trade and Industry and is currently working as a local government researcher. She has spent five years in this role and is dedicated to raising awareness about East London's most vulnerable children and families through her research and in her role as an advisor to the Children's Trust board. She hopes to bring her passion for baking and blogging to local Labour campaigning in her home town of Southend, Essex.

## Committee Member - Peter Wong

Peter Wong has been a member of the Labour Party for 26 years. He was agent for Jenny Rathbone's successful Welsh Assembly campaign in Cardiff Central in 2011, and is currently Chair of Cardiff Central CLP. He is a member of PCS, and has been a civil servant for the last 11 years, working for the Department for Work and Pensions and the Valuation Office Agency to deliver effective public services.

# Come on, join us

Chinese for Labour membership supports and promotes the values and principles of the Labour Party in order to improve the quality of life of the Chinese community in Britain.

The Labour Party is a democratic socialist party. It believes that by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone, so as to create for each of us the means to realise our true potential and for all of us a community in which power, wealth and opportunities are in the hands of the many not the few, where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe, and where we live together, freely, in a spirit of solidarity, tolerance and respect.

## 工党的理想

工党是個民主社會主義政黨,它致力於為全體人民創造一個新社會,在這新社會裏,權力,財富和機遇是掌握在大眾手裏而不是被一小撮人所操縱;人們在享有權利的同時也承擔與其所享權利相符的義務;人們以團結,忍讓和互相尊重的精神自由地共同生活,與此同時它亦致力於為社會的每一份子創造條件以便發揮其真正潛能,為了實現理想,它堅信若以團體力量共同奮鬥所取得的成就將遠勝於由個人去單獨爭取。



## Membership Application Form

**Yes.** I wish to join Chinese for Labour

### Personal details

Title	Surname
-------	---------

Forenames	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
-----------	--

Address:

Postcode: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Home Tel No: \_\_\_\_\_ Mobile No: \_\_\_\_\_

Trade Union (optional): \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Email address: \_\_\_\_\_

### Type of Membership & Fees

<input type="checkbox"/> Individual	<input type="checkbox"/> Organisation
Individual Membership £10.00	Name of organisation (if applicable) _____
Unemployed/student/ over 60 years £5.00	Organisation £30.00

### Methods of Payment

By Cheque: Please make cheque payable to **Chinese for Labour**.

By Standing Order: Please complete the Form on the next page.

**Declaration:** I/My Organisation am/is (delete as appropriate) not a member of any other Political Party or Political Organisation.

**Signed:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

Please send the completed Application Form to:

**PO Box 277, Didcot, Oxfordshire OX11 1DR.**

**www.chineseforlabour.org.uk**

**info@chineseforlabour.org.uk**

4

## Chinese for Labour seeks to:

- Increase the recruitment of Chinese people to the Labour Party
- Increase the involvement and representation of Chinese people within the Labour Party
- Increase Chinese support for the Labour Party at elections

## Membership benefits:

- Receive regular information on all issues affecting the Chinese community
- Financial assistance may be available to potential candidates offering themselves for election to local, regional, national and European elections
- Participate in formal or informal events with MPs and Ministers

## New Standing Order Mandate/Authority

To: \_\_\_\_\_ Bank Plc

Branch: \_\_\_\_\_

Account Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Account No: \_\_\_\_\_

Sort Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Please accept this as my/our instruction to pay to the following account:

Payee: **Chinese for Labour**

Bank: The Co-Operative Bank, Plc  
Customer Services  
PO Box 250  
Skelmersdale  
WN8 6WT

Account: 65049637

Sort Code: 08-92-99

The sum of (Please tick one only)

<input type="checkbox"/> £5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> £10	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> £30	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------------

ANNUALLY commencing on the \_\_\_\_\_ 2014

and please continue such payments annually until further notice.

Customer(s) Signature(s): \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ 2014

Contact Telephone No: \_\_\_\_\_