



## HUMAN RIGHTS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

WHY LABOUR SHOULD ENSHRINE OUR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND  
CULTURAL RIGHTS IN LAW

June 2020

# HUMAN RIGHTS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

## LCHR's National Policy Forum Submission

Section 1	Introduction and summary	Page 3
Section 2	Conservative austerity as a violation of human rights	Pages 4 to 9
Section 3	Building on Labour's history	Page 10
Section 4	How it could be done in the UK context	Pages 11 to 13
Section 5	Experience and support from elsewhere	Pages 14 to 15
Section 6	Conclusion and recommendations	Page 16
Section 7	LCHR's ESCR campaign	Page 17
Section 8	Further reading	Page 18

## Section 1: Introduction and Summary

Since 2010, the Conservative government has launched a sustained attack on the homes, livelihoods and dignity of Britain's most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, through its brutal and ideological austerity agenda. Many of the Government's policies of the last ten years have been in clear contravention of the UK's international human rights obligations. However, the lack of legal safeguards and remedies in domestic law, in combination with massive legal aid cuts, left communities defenceless. The impact of this was felt long before the arrival of COVID-19, but the pandemic has brought Britain's deep inequalities and vulnerabilities into even starker focus, and has further underlined the need for a rights-based social safety net for all.

The Labour Campaign for Human Rights is calling on the next Labour government to enshrine into domestic law all of the economic, social and cultural rights set out in the international treaties that the UK has ratified, in particular those in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESR). These include the rights to food, housing, health, education, work and social security. Doing so would also follow the recommendations of a wide range of UN bodies, civil society organisations and the UK's Equality and Human Rights Commission, as well as processes already underway in Scotland and Wales. Had these rights been enshrined in law before 2010, the cruelty of benefits cuts and sanctions and the underfunding of public services could have been challenged, mitigated or stopped entirely – and we would have been far better prepared to deal with the challenges of COVID-19.

There is no doubt that Labour is committed to defending the Human Rights Act to protect our civil and political rights, but we should go further to show that the rights to food, housing and health are just as important as the rights to free speech or a fair trial. Enshrining these rights in an Act of Parliament would build on the successes of previous Labour governments and translate into law the great vision for a better and fairer society.

This would provide an enduring legal mechanism to protect the full range of human rights set out in the international treaties that the UK has ratified. It would help to fight poverty and inequality, and transform citizens from service-users to rights-holders and empower individuals and communities to hold Government to account. It would put people at the centre of public life and ensure that our economic, social and cultural rights are always protected, no matter who is in power. Crucially, as Britain is set to navigate years of uncertainty in the post-COVID and post-Brexit world, enshrining rights into law could provide a degree of much needed economic and social security for millions of people.

## Section 2: Conservative austerity as a violation of human rights

*"The bottom line is that much of the glue that has held British society together since the Second World War has been deliberately removed and replaced with a harsh and uncaring ethos.... pursued more as an ideological than an economic agenda."*

Professor Philip Alston, UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights.<sup>1</sup>

*"Social rights are emancipatory, empowering, and transformative. They can help ensure dignity, well-being, and equality. Social rights position us all as rights holders, not clients, service users, or supplicants. As the residents of Grenfell Tower will testify, respect for social rights can literally make the difference between life and death."*

Professor Paul Hunt, former UN Special Rapporteur on the right to health and former member of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.<sup>2</sup>

It is now well-documented how Conservative-imposed austerity policies have attacked the dignity and wellbeing of millions of British citizens, limiting their exercise of core economic and social rights through the underfunding of public services, regressive fiscal policies, and draconian benefits cuts and sanctions. The scale and impact of these policies was summarised by the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Professor Philip Alston, in a scathing report following his visit to the UK:

*"Although the United Kingdom is the world's fifth largest economy, one fifth of its population (14 million people) live in poverty, and 1.5 million of them experienced destitution in 2017. Policies of austerity introduced in 2010 continue largely unabated, despite the tragic social consequences."*

*Close to 40 per cent of children are predicted to be living in poverty by 2021. Food banks have proliferated; homelessness and rough sleeping have increased greatly; tens of thousands of poor*

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Philip Alston, Visit to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, April 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Paul Hunt, Social Rights are Human Rights, but the UK System is Rigged, Centre for Welfare Reform, September 2017.

*families must live in accommodation far from their schools, jobs and community networks; life expectancy is falling for certain groups; and the legal aid system has been decimated.*

*The social safety net has been badly damaged by drastic cuts to local authorities' budgets, which have eliminated many social services, reduced policing services, closed libraries in record numbers, shrunk community and youth centres and sold off public spaces and buildings.”<sup>3</sup>*

This is not just a scandal in terms of social justice. Many of these measures actually contravene the UK's legal obligations to respect and protect people's human rights as outlined in a number of international treaties ratified by the UK.<sup>4</sup> These include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Refugee Convention.

The problem is that, unlike many countries, most of the economic and social rights in these international treaties have not been incorporated into domestic law. As a result, the individuals and communities most affected by austerity have been left defenceless from policies that violate their internationally-recognised rights, such as the rights to food, housing, healthcare, social security and an adequate standard of living.

While the Human Rights Act has served to protect many civil liberties<sup>5</sup>, and the Equalities Act protects against discrimination, there is no equivalent legislation to protect the British public from the violations of their international human rights resulting from austerity.

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, n.1.

<sup>4</sup> In its Concluding Observations on the UK's Sixth Periodic Report in 2016, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights reported that it was “*seriously concerned about the disproportionate, adverse impact that austerity measures introduced in 2010 are having on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights by disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and groups*”.

<sup>5</sup> Some social rights have also been indirectly protected by an expansive interpretation of the Human Rights Act, but not to the extent required by international law.

**Box 1: What are Economic, Social and Cultural Rights?**

Economic, Social and Cultural (ESC) rights are primarily those human rights outlined in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). They are considered as equal to, and indivisible from, the human rights outlined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, these treaties - both ratified by the UK - provide the cornerstone of international human rights law.

Civil and Political Rights	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
<p><b>Civil rights</b> include the right to life; the right to be free from torture and degrading treatment; the rights to personal liberty, privacy, and a fair trial; freedoms of thought, religion, expression, information, and freedom of movement within one’s own country.</p> <p><b>Political rights</b> include freedoms of association and assembly; the rights to vote and participate in public affairs.</p>	<p><b>Economic rights</b> include the rights to decent work and to form and join a trade union; the rights to equal pay for work of equal value, to safe and healthy working conditions, and to a fair wage; and the right to strike.</p> <p><b>Social rights</b> include the rights to an adequate standard of living, adequate housing, and food; the right to the highest attainable standard of health; the rights to education and social security.</p> <p><b>Cultural rights</b> include the right to enjoy one’s own culture and participate in the cultural life of the community.</p>

The rights to **equality** and **non-discrimination** are common to both sets of rights.

Economic, social and cultural rights have not been a key consideration of UK policy-making in recent decades. As a result, social policies have not been bold or progressive enough to effectively protect the most vulnerable in society - such as people with disabilities and children living in poverty. For example, if there was a human right to adequate housing recognised in law, there would have been no place for the type of 'no-fault evictions' that have created instability, insecurity and threatened homelessness for private renters since section 21 of the Housing Act 1988 came into force.

In particular, had such constitutional protections been in place in 2010, many of the more destructive Conservative austerity policies could have been prevented or mitigated. According to a submission by 14 UK NGOs to the Joint Committee on Human Rights in September 2018<sup>6</sup>, if economic, social and cultural rights were enhanced, the Government would have to:

- Restore the link between social security entitlements and costs of living - the freezing of which the Resolution Foundation estimates will cost families £4.4bn in 2019/2020<sup>7</sup>;
- Design and implement a comprehensive child poverty strategy and reinstate the targets and reporting duties on child poverty; and
- Analyse the distributional impact of tax and public spending in terms of income and wealth disparities, and in relation to the protected characteristics under the Equality Act 2010.

Similar recommendations were made by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2016.<sup>8</sup>

Legal incorporation of economic, social and cultural rights could have been used to challenge the punitive benefits sanctions that have driven so many people to use food banks, or the rules preventing asylum seekers from working that has forced many of them into destitution. They could have been relied on to challenge cuts

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<sup>6</sup> Authored by Just Fair, and supported by Women's Budget Group, Inclusion London, Sustain, The Equality Trust, Child Poverty Action Group, Doctors of the World, York Human Rights City Network, Friends Families and Travellers, Generation Rent, Mind, Runnymede Trust, British Institute of Human Rights and Amnesty International UK - 'Submission to the Joint Committee on Human Rights, The Human Rights Act at 20 Inquiry', September 2018

<sup>7</sup> Adam Corlett, "Despite 'the end of austerity', April promises another deep benefit cut", Resolution Foundation, 17 October 2018,

<sup>8</sup> UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Concluding Observations on the UK's Sixth Periodic Report, July 2016

to social security that have disproportionately affected people with disabilities, or the Work Capability Assessments that have forced people with serious health conditions into work.

In regards to health, the legal incorporation of these rights could be used to require the government to adequately fund the health system and tackle the social determinants of health inequalities that has meant that life expectancy has stalled or declined in many parts of the UK<sup>9</sup>, and that people living in the poorest neighbourhoods in England die, on average, seven years earlier than people those living in the richest.<sup>10</sup>

In relation to workers' rights, the European Committee of Social Rights has highlighted many areas in which UK employment law violates the European Social Charter, including in relation to just conditions of work, fair remuneration, and the right to organise and bargain collectively.<sup>11</sup>

In regards to housing, a human rights approach would protect people from forced evictions and promote policies that would seek to limit housing expenditure to 30% of income – something that is needed more than ever as millions of people struggle to pay their rent as the economic impact of COVID-19 bites.

#### **Box 2: Hunger in the UK - failing to meet the human right to food**

In May 2019, Human Rights Watch published an analysis of the impact of austerity policies on the human right to food and concluded that “*the UK government is failing to meet its duty under human rights law to ensure the right to adequate food.*” The organisation highlighted in particular the cut in welfare spending for families and children, the roll-out of Universal Credit, and the lack of adequate government response to the 50-fold growth in foodbank use and sharp increase in school hunger.

HRW underlined the lack of remedies available to those whose rights have been violated, precisely because the UK has not incorporated economic, social and cultural rights into domestic law. For example, in a legal case brought by three single mothers affected by the benefit cap, the UK Supreme Court ruled that the policy breached the UK's international duty to uphold the best interests of children living in the UK, but held

<sup>9</sup> Sir Michael Marmot, The Marmot Review 10 Years On, 27 February 2019.

<sup>10</sup> The Marmot Review, 'Fair Society, Healthy Lives', February 2010.

<sup>11</sup> European Committee of Social Rights, Conclusions XXI-3 (2018) - United Kingdom. March 2019.

that it lacked the power to overturn the policy because the Convention on the Rights of the Child - ratified by the UK in 1991 - had not been incorporated into UK domestic law.<sup>12</sup>

In March 2020, the issue was brought into focus again by Covid-19. As education shut down across the country, many children were at risk of going hungry and so schools and charities had to distribute food directly to low income families since the government-commissioned voucher system had been plagued with problems.<sup>13</sup> Then in May 2020, the government announced it would not be providing free school meal replacements for children during the summer holidays. They were only forced to U turn on this policy after a high-profile campaign.

An obligation for public bodies to involve affected groups in policy making would also help to ensure communities are listened to and seen as key stakeholders, potentially avoiding disastrous programmes like Universal Credit that are blind to the reality of people's lives. The Grenfell Tower tragedy could perhaps have been avoided had residents been treated as rights holders with a legitimate stake in the decisions affecting their lives, rather than simply service-users.

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<sup>12</sup> Human Rights Watch, Nothing Left in the Cupboards: Austerity, Welfare Cuts and the Right to Food in the UK, June 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Human Rights Watch, UK: Children in England Going Hungry with Schools Shut, May 2020.

### Section 3: Building on Labour's history to enshrine economic, social and cultural rights into law

In committing to enshrining economic, social and cultural rights in law, Labour can draw on its own history. It was the Labour government of Clement Attlee that in 1948 voted for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognises rights to health and education as equal to those such as freedom from torture. It was the Labour government of Harold Wilson that signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in 1968 and Jim Callaghan's government that ratified it in 1976.

In taking these bold steps, Labour committed the UK to the principle that human rights are universal and indivisible, and that economic, social and cultural rights are equally as important and binding as the often better-known and better-protected civil and political rights. Indeed, it is these human rights that impact most frequently on most people's daily lives.

Some of Labour's most enduring reforms in recent history were to embed human rights into UK law. The Human Rights Act and the Equalities Act were two of New Labour's greatest legislative achievements and continue to shape public policy and practice long after we lost power in 2010. Yet none of these governments quite finished the job - by enshrining our internationally-recognised economic, social and cultural rights into domestic law.

We are calling on Labour to develop these policies over the next four years ahead of the next general election. The 2017 and 2019 manifestos included important commitments to "*ensure Britain abides by the global Labour standards of the ILO conventions*" on the right to work, to "*give effect to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.*"", and do the same with the Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities. The 2019 manifesto included a welcome commitment to introduce a Right to Food, as part of a commitment to end the scandal of hunger and food banks. But, in other areas, whilst they included many progressive policies to reduce poverty and promote social justice, they did not commit to their legislative recognition as human rights, making them less durable and powerful.

#### Section 4: How it could be done in the UK context

*“The UK Government has an obligation to make socio-economic rights a reality, allocate enough resources to them and guarantee access to justice where those rights are violated. However, many economic and social rights have not been incorporated into law and policy, which means when breaches occur there is no effective remedy available. The UK’s planned withdrawal from the European Union also poses risks to the protection and fulfilment of socio-economic rights... We recommend the UK Government makes socio-economic rights a reality in our domestic legislation.”*

Equality and Human Rights Commission, March 2018.<sup>14</sup>

Recognising economic, social and cultural rights in law could be achieved in a number of ways, and while there are many examples to draw from around the world, it would need to be made specific to the UK’s legal, political and constitutional context. Labour should commit to consulting widely on the best way to achieve this.

Doing so need not - and must not - mean handing over political decisions to the courts, nor giving unconditional entitlements to people. Rather, it would ensure that the Government and public bodies act within a framework of internationally-recognised rights, with safeguards for the most vulnerable, accountability of public bodies, and opportunities for remedies when rights are violated. As Lady Hale, President of the UK Supreme Court, argued:

*“Constitutionally, economic policies are decided by those organs of government which are directly accountable to the people. The courts cannot make those decisions for them. But that does not mean that the courts have no role to play. In a constitution which respects and protects fundamental rights, it is the role of the courts to protect individuals from unjustified discrimination in the enjoyment of those fundamental rights. There are no “no go” areas.”<sup>15</sup>*

In line with international treaties, incorporating economic and social rights into law would require the Government to show that it is using the ‘maximum available resources’ to ‘progressively achieve’ the full

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<sup>14</sup> Equality and Human Rights Commission, Progress on Socio-economic Rights in Great Britain: Update report on Great Britain’s implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, March 2018

<sup>15</sup> Para 133 in *R (on the application of DA and others) v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions*; *R (on the application of DS and others) v Secretary of State for Work and Pensions*.

realisation of such rights, in addition to ensuring 'minimum core standards' for all, as well as preventing regressive measures, guaranteeing non-discrimination, and ensuring the participation of affected groups.

While in times of financial difficulty regressive measures can sometimes be justified, any government would have to demonstrate such measures were - amongst other criteria - temporary, necessary, proportionate, non-discriminatory, protective of minimum standards, taken only after consideration of less restrictive measures, and subjected to meaningful review and accountability.<sup>16</sup> They could not be taken as a result of ideology, or when other options are available.

One possible model currently under consultation was proposed in April 2019 by a group of human rights academics and practitioners.<sup>17</sup> It has proposed a draft - for consultation - of an Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Bill, which recognises the fact that the UK does not have a written constitution, and draws on the example of the Human Rights Act in particular. It also bears similarities to principles for legislation proposed for the Scottish Parliament by the First Minister's Advisory Group on Human Rights Leadership.

Some of the key elements of the draft ESCR Bill would:

- Require all public bodies to respect, protect and fulfil all economic, social and cultural rights consistent with the UK's international obligations and treaties;
- Require the Government to lay out a report, within one month of each session of Parliament, setting out the Government's proposals for the coming session to show how they would realise these rights;
- Ensure pre-legislative scrutiny that would oblige the relevant Minister to assess the impact of any given Bill on economic, social and cultural rights, show how resources are being used to progressively realise these rights, identify potential negative impacts and propose mitigation measures, and highlight which affected groups have been consulted;
- Empower courts to issue a declaration of incompatibility if a piece of legislation does not meet the requirements of the ESCR Act; and

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<sup>16</sup> CESCR, Letter by the Chairperson of the CESCR to States parties to the ICESCR, 12 May 2012. See also CESCR, Public debt, austerity measures and the ICESCR: Statement by the CESCR, 24 June 2016, UN doc: E/C.12/2016/1, para. 4.

<sup>17</sup> The draft Bill is a collective effort from individuals working in a personal capacity from the University of Newcastle, University of Birmingham, Queen Mary University, Amnesty International, Child Poverty Action Group, and One Pump Court. For more information see <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/article22/consultation/>.

- Provide judicial mechanisms for individuals and organisations to initiate legal proceedings to challenge the laws, policies or practices of public bodies that may be incompatible with the UK's ESCR obligations, and provide remedies including compensation and guarantees of non-repetition.

Other models could be examined and looked at, but this initiative provides a useful UK-specific starting point for the Labour Party to draw on. If Labour was to continue with the 2019 manifesto commitment to establish an independent Social Justice Commission with statutory powers, it should also consider the role such a Commission could play in this process.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Labour to put social justice at the heart of everything a Labour government will do with new Social Justice Commission, Press release, 7 June 2019

## Section 5: Experience and support from elsewhere

*“We agree... that a country which does not include social and economic rights in some form in its Bill of Rights is a country which has “given up on aspiration”. We consider that rights to health, education and housing are part of this country’s defining commitments, and including them in a UK Bill of Rights is therefore appropriate, if it can be achieved in a way which overcomes the traditional objections to such inclusion.”*

House of Commons and House of Lords Joint Committee on Human Rights, 2008.<sup>19</sup>

Various UN bodies and experts have long called for the UK to recognise economic, social and cultural rights in law, in line with its ratification of international treaties. Most recently, in May 2019 in a scathing report about the impact of austerity on Britain’s most disadvantaged communities, the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Professor Philip Alston, called on the UK to take the opportunity of its current crises to *“reimagine what this country should represent and how it protects its people”*, adding that *“the legislative recognition of social rights should be a central part of that reimagining.”*<sup>20</sup>

In 2016, the UN body that monitors implementation of the ICESCR urged the UK to *“fully incorporate the Covenant rights into its domestic legal order and ensure that victims of violations of economic, social and cultural rights have full access to effective legal remedies”*.<sup>21</sup>

In the UK, the Equality and Human Rights Commission has repeatedly called on the UK to incorporate economic, social and cultural rights into domestic law, and has described the reforms to social security as *“the most significant threat to the implementation of socio-economic rights in Great Britain”*.<sup>22</sup> The Joint Committee on Human Rights - a cross-party body made up of members from the House of Commons and House of

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<sup>19</sup> House of Commons and House of Lords Joint Committee on Human Rights, A Bill of Rights for the UK?, July 2008.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, n.1.

<sup>21</sup> CESCR, Concluding Observations: UK, July 2016, UN doc: E/C.12/GBR/CO/6.

<sup>22</sup> For example, Equality and Human Rights Commission, Progress on Socio-economic Rights in Great Britain: Update report on Great Britain’s implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, March 2018

Lords - also wrote in 2008 that they were “*persuaded that the case for including economic and social rights... is made out*”, and that traditional objections could be overcome through careful drafting.<sup>23</sup>

Scotland is also moving towards incorporating economic, social and cultural rights into law. In December 2018, the First Minister’s Advisory Group on Human Rights Leadership proposed that the Scottish Government pass an Act of the Scottish Parliament to strengthen human rights protections on devolved issues, including specific incorporation of internationally recognised economic, social and cultural rights.<sup>24</sup> In Wales, Welsh Ministers are legally required to have due regard to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.<sup>25</sup>

The UK would be far from alone in incorporating ESC rights in domestic law. Over 90% of the world’s constitutions recognise at least one economic or social right, and in around 70% of them at least one of these rights is explicitly enforceable in court. Around 25% of the world’s constitutions recognise ten or more ESC rights as judicially enforceable.<sup>26</sup>

In Finland, for example, the constitution presumes parliament will legislate in favour of ESC rights and there is a system of pre-legislative scrutiny via a parliamentary Constitutional Law Committee, as well as the option of judicial review. In South Africa, the constitution establishes certain requirements to respect, protect and fulfil economic and social rights, including protections regarding evictions, non-derogable children’s rights, and the expectation of reasonable measures to progressively realise the rights to housing, health and food.<sup>27</sup> In Spain, the constitution establishes that the constitutional bill of rights must be interpreted in accordance with international human rights law.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> House of Commons and House of Lords Joint Committee on Human Rights, A Bill of Rights for the UK?, July 2008.

<sup>24</sup> First Minister’s Advisory Group on Human Rights Leadership, Recommendations for a new human rights framework to improve people’s lives, December 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Welsh Government, Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure 2011.

<sup>26</sup> Koldo Casla and Peter Roderick, The UK must protect economic and social rights with a new law – here’s what should change, The Conversation, 12 April 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Katie Boyle and Edel Hughes, Identifying routes to remedy for violations of economic, social and cultural rights, International Journal of Human Rights 22:1, 2018, pp. 43-69, at 53-54 and 57.

<sup>28</sup> Koldo Casla, Supreme Court of Spain: UN Treaty Body individual decisions are legally binding, EJIL Talk, August 2018.

## Section 6: Conclusion and recommendations

Incorporating economic, social and cultural rights into law as human rights would be an effective and enduring way for the Labour Party to protect the UK public from regressive social policies, and empower communities to better shape the policies that affect their lives. It would provide a strong benchmark for policymaking for years to come, in the same way that the Human Rights Act and the Equalities Act - past Labour achievements - have done. It would transform the British public from service-users to rights-holders and provide some degree of security as Britain navigates a post-COVID and post-Brexit world.

We therefore recommend that the Labour Party:

1. Includes a commitment in its next election manifesto to incorporate economic, social and cultural rights into domestic law as human rights, and consult widely on the best way to do so.
2. Provides a clear commitment that economic, social and cultural rights should be seen as no less important, and no less binding, than civil and political rights.
3. Establishes a policy commission, involving representation from a range of shadow teams as well as external expertise, to further develop options, and to recommend a detailed model for incorporating economic, social and cultural rights into domestic law as human rights.

## Section 7: LCHR's ESCR Campaign

The Labour Campaign for Human Rights is a campaign within the Labour movement that seeks to ensure that human rights remain at the heart of Labour Party policy and practice.

In the past year, we've launched a campaign on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in which we are calling for the Labour Party to commit to enshrining these rights in domestic law. We are working with a wide range of human rights organisations, charities, non-profits, and human rights experts to come up with a detailed model to bring these rights into law.

For further information please contact us at the below.

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## Section 8: Further Reading

Consultation on an Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Bill for the UK:

<https://research.ncl.ac.uk/article22/consultation/>

The UK must protect economic and social rights with a new law – here's what should change - blog by Koldo Casla and Peter Roderick:

<https://theconversation.com/the-uk-must-protect-economic-and-social-rights-with-a-new-law-heres-what-should-change-114523>

Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights:

<https://undocs.org/A/HRC/41/39/Add.1>

Report of the First Minister's Advisory Group on Human Rights Leadership:

<https://humanrightsladership.scot/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/First-Ministers-Advisory-Group-on-Human-Rights-Leadership-Final-report-for-publication.pdf>

Social Rights are Human Rights, but the UK system is rigged, Paul Hunt (foreword by Paul Mason):

<https://www.centreforwelfareform.org/uploads/attachment/584/social-rights-are-human-rights.pdf>

A submission by 14 British NGOs to the Joint Committee on Human Rights, September 2018:

<http://justfair.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/JF-submission-HRA20-Sept2018-FINAL.pdf>