

# Interim Report

## Foreword

Thank you to all who took the time to respond to the 2020 National Policy Forum Consultation.

Your insight has enabled the NPF to provide a set of grounding principles to shape our policy for the challenges and opportunities ahead.

The principles outlined in the report are based on the values that bring us together as a Party and lay the foundations for the work we will do together over the next four years. Labour wins when we offer a vision of the future that is optimistic and gives people hope that things can and will change for the better, and these principles reflect this.

From empowering citizens to fighting the climate emergency, rebalancing Britain to supporting the nation's mental health, the principles demonstrate that our Party is rooted in the values that the public share, and outline the kind of change that we know is so needed in our country.

This report could not have been developed without listening to views from across the Labour movement, from our members to affiliates, all of whom play a vital role in developing our policies. But this engagement doesn't stop here – we now want to hear what all parts of our Party think about these principles.

While the world around us is changing fast, the common bonds between us have been strengthened as a result of the challenges we have undergone. By working together, we can rebuild our country and ensure a fairer Britain for all.

Yours,



**Keir Starmer**  
Leader of the Labour Party

# The next steps for the National Policy Forum (NPF)

Thank you to all members, affiliates and stakeholders who took part in the NPF (National Policy Forum) consultation this year, whether you submitted your ideas through Labour Policy Forum or attended one of the online roundtable events.

Social distancing measures meant that consultation activity looked a little different this year. The Consultation was held solely online, with all eight documents hosted on Labour Policy Forum, and eight member policy roundtable events on Zoom in lieu of our usual roadshow of events. This was an opportunity to trial new methods of engagement, and we hope to be able to continue to do this as the work of the NPF evolves over the next few years.

This work will be laid out in more detail in the following report. While it was not possible for this report to be taken to Annual Conference and debated on Conference floor, we hope that it will be of interest to inform and explain the work of the NPF this year.

The report lays out a set of principles that the policy commissions will build upon over the course of the election cycle looking to 2024.

**We want to hear your views on these principles,  
and welcome you to submit them via Labour Policy Forum:**

**[www.policyforum.labour.org.uk/make-a-submission](http://www.policyforum.labour.org.uk/make-a-submission).**

Your comments will be considered by the policy commission and will inform a fuller report covering two years of NPF activity, which will be taken to Conference in September 2021. If passed by delegates it will form part of our policy platform.

Thank you again for your involvement with the National Policy Forum this year. Your insights will help us to shape our policy platform so we can win again and ensure a fairer Britain for all.

## Membership 2020

### HM Opposition

Kate Green MP\* †  
Emma Hardy MP  
Tulip Siddiq MP  
Wes Streeting MP ‡

### NEC

James Asser\*  
Huda Elmi  
Nick Forbes  
Michael Wheeler

### CLPs and Regions

Grant Aitkin – *Scottish Labour Party*  
George Downs – *North West Region*  
Joy Gough – *South East Region*  
Owen Hooper – *Eastern Region*  
Clare Lally – *Scottish Policy Forum*  
Cameron Matthews – *Eastern Region*  
George Norman – *Yorkshire and Humber Region*  
Elly Owen – *Welsh Labour Party*  
Tom Pearce – *South West Region*  
Brenda Weston – *South West Region*  
Adele Williams – *East Midlands Region*

### Affiliates

Phillipa Marsden – *Unite*  
David McCrossen – *Usdaw*  
June Nelson – *BAME Labour*  
Barbara Plant – *GMB*  
Maggie Ryan – *Unite*

### Elected Representatives

Anntoinette Bramble – *Local Government Association*  
Tim Swift – *Association of Labour Councillors*

\*Co-convenor

† Replaced Rebecca Long-Bailey in June 2020

‡ Replaced Margaret Greenwood in October 2020

## Overview of the work of the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission

This year's Early Years, Education and Skills consultation was undertaken during an unprecedented time for the UK's education system; at a time when schools, childcare settings, colleges and universities were forced to close to the majority of students and transform their way of delivering vital education and other services overnight.

Education institutions rose to the challenge with education staff continuing to play a vital role in the nation's response to Covid-19. From hand-delivering food and printed schoolwork to families, to preparing zoom lessons and delivering online learning, the crisis has shone a spotlight on our education system as a vital public service that is relied upon by so many and integral to the functioning of a fair and just society.

This period has highlighted the best of our education system, but it has also exposed some of the worst inequalities in our society. We have all heard the harrowing stories of children going hungry without their free school meals, or multiple children crowding around a mobile phone to try to do their homework. It is without doubt that Covid-19 has and will continue to have a significant impact on educational attainment and child poverty with potential repercussions for a generation of children and young people. At the same time, this period has shown that innovation in education is possible. For instance, while the Government's flawed algorithm caused many students undue stress, this year's results demonstrated that teacher assessed results are something that could be considered as a possible supplement to exams and we have seen a host of innovative approaches to learning.

The challenges for children and young people highlighted by this pandemic, and the need for bold innovative solutions to them, were therefore the focus of this year's consultation. As the consultation document outlined, the Commission felt it was time to return to the first principles and establish the values on which Labour believes a strong education system should be based.

The Commission asked for submissions considering four areas; lessons learned and subsequent changes from the Covid-19 pandemic, the services needed to support all children to achieve regardless of background, the way in which education institutions are rooted in and accountable to their communities and support provided to those who work in the education system.

To arrive at the principles underpinning Labour's policy development on early years, education and skills the Commission analysed feedback from across the party. The Commission received hundreds of submissions from a range of organisations including

children's and social mobility charities, trade unions and sector representatives, individuals from the education workforce and socialist societies. The Commission also held an online roundtable with Labour Party members to discuss the issues currently facing the education system.

Through this exercise, the Commission is confident the Party has a strong set of values and guiding principles upon which policy development can be based.

## Principles:

1. A world class education system that's innovative and enriching and that meets the needs of learners, employers and wider society is a top priority for Labour
2. The opportunity for everyone to make the most of their learning and reach their full potential, regardless of their background or where they live
3. A renewed focus on tackling the attainment gap at every stage of education
4. A commitment to action to drive down child poverty
5. Ensuring lifelong opportunities for education and skills training which are accessible and fair to all
6. Valuing the education workforce at every stage from early years, school staff and teachers through to college and university lecturers and staff
7. An education system that sits at the heart of local communities
8. Protecting and supporting the most vulnerable children, including those in and around the care system and with special educational needs.
9. Protecting children's mental health and wellbeing
10. Inclusive education that tackles prejudice and discrimination, and enables everyone to learn

## Consultation responses

The Commission heard there are many lessons to learn from the Covid-19 pandemic and that post-Covid, the education system cannot simply return to the status quo. However, many submissions highlighted that as well as providing completely new challenges, Covid-19 has exposed and exacerbated long-standing problems within education. This section examines the key themes emerging from the consultation responses that formulated the key principles outlined above.

### **Covid-19**

The consultation document sought views on the lessons that should be learned from, and changes made to, our education system after the crisis.

There were two overarching themes in the response to the Commission's question: the renewed appreciation of the value of educators and the importance of not returning to the status quo.

A key theme of the submissions was the renewed focus on the importance and value of schools, children's services and the education workforce the pandemic had brought. It was widely felt that the pandemic has demonstrated the vast range of responsibilities and services provided by the education system, beyond simply providing education to the nation's young people. It was suggested that steps should be made to ensure this renewed appreciation continues beyond the current crisis.

"When schools closed their doors to many of their children and young people, it served as a reminder of the many vital responsibilities that schools have in our society – spanning beyond teaching and learning. We were reminded that schools can be a safe place and act to protect children at risk of harm, abuse and neglect. Schools also offer a trusted adult, pastoral support and counselling; opportunities to make friends and socialise; and meals to those who could otherwise go without. After the coronavirus outbreak, we must not forget the critical role that schools play in our society."

**MIND**

There was also a strong sense across the submissions that the education system cannot return to the broken status quo as we establish the 'new normal' post Covid-19. The pandemic forced rapid transformation upon the education system and highlighted some of the errors made by recent reforms to education. For instance, when exams were cancelled this summer it highlighted the extent to which qualifications rely on a small number of 'high stakes' exams, rather than assessment spread across the year and showed that alternatives such as teacher assessments and coursework could be considered as a complement to examinations to give a fairer representation of a pupil's ability. The Commission heard that alternatives to the status quo should be explored and that there should be a willingness to innovate as we come through the pandemic.

"If schools hadn't moved away from teacher assessment to only exams we would not have faced the problems we have over fair assessment of this year's GCSEs so maybe we need to revert to a combination of teacher assessment and slimmed-down examinations."

**Glen, South West**

### **Educational Inequality**

Inequalities in educational outcomes have been a stubbornly persistent fixture of the UK's education system with the poorest children 11 months behind their better-off peers before they even start school. This is a longstanding challenge with incremental improvements made over the last two decades but the Covid-19 pandemic and the closure of schools is expected to have wiped out a decade of that progress according to the Education Endowment Foundation. The Labour Party has already identified it as a national mission to end the deep injustice that a child's future is determined by their postcode, not by their potential. This is even more important in the context of Covid-19.

The Commission received many submissions stressing that children and young people need significant support to ensure their attainment and life chances do not suffer as a result of time away from school, and that particular support should be targeted at children who are already at a disadvantage.

Unequal access to online learning was a key issue highlighted by the submissions, with many voicing concerns that inequality in access would translate into even more pronounced inequality in outcomes for this cohort.



“With the pandemic, and in our technology driven society, it seems more pertinent than ever to ensure all children have the same technological starting point. If there are to be periods of time off school due to an increasingly unpredictable world, it's not fair that the disadvantaged children are unable to home learn.”

**Anna, South East**

A range of submissions called for better provision of digital access for disadvantaged students:

“An important lesson from the crisis has been the scale of the digital divide and the impact that this has on children and young people... As schools prepare for ‘blended learning’ where some pupils learn in-classroom, and some learn at home, online learning looks likely to be a part of education for the foreseeable future. It is vital that all children have access to the resources they need to learn, including devices and a stable internet connection. The government should expand their free laptop and internet scheme to all disadvantaged pupils in need of these devices”

**The Sutton Trust**

“Access to devices in September, it's likely that schools will still have to put in place some level of social distancing measures, and there is a significant risk that a second wave of infections may prompt further school closures. In that event, it's vital that the Government's technology support system is extended, to ensure that those students unable to access online learning at home aren't falling even further behind. We argue all children unable to participate in online learning must be provided laptops or tablets and 4G access immediately. Every day of delay is a day of potential lost learning.”

**Teach First**

The role of hunger and child poverty on educational attainment was also highlighted throughout the submissions. Magic Breakfast cited statistics showing that in 2016, pupils eligible for free school meals (FSM) were on average 19.3 months behind children not eligible for FSM by the time they were sixteen. Marcus Rashford and the Labour Party successfully campaigned for the provision of free school meals over the 2020 summer holiday but it was felt by many submissions that more must be done to tackle childhood hunger and poverty if we are to improve educational attainment.

“Classroom hunger is one of the key drivers of the educational attainment gap. Hungry children struggle to concentrate on lessons and miss out on hours of valuable learning, eventually achieving lower results. Food insecurity has risen significantly during COVID-19 with The Food Foundation estimating that in the first five weeks of lockdown, food insecurity amongst children doubled, affecting 2 million children. This means that classroom hunger will be an even bigger challenge in schools as and when they re-open”

#### **Magic Breakfast**

“The social security system has a huge role to play in protecting against child poverty and consequent educational disadvantage/ inequality which has been exposed during the Covid-19 lockdown.”

#### **Women's Budget Group**

Submissions also highlighted that while it was important to focus on 'catch-up' in this academic year, there must be a holistic view of children's wellbeing, taking into account the mental health impacts of Covid-19.

“On return, priority should be given to pupils' wellbeing. Many will have had a very difficult time and in every class there will be a wide range of different experiences. Children need to feel safe in school and need to re-establish relationships with staff and fellow-pupils.”

#### **Socialist Education Association**

"Too often our education system is centred on academic outcomes. Exam results are a key indicator of success when it comes to school performance. There has also been increasing focus on academic subjects and exams with recent education reforms. The new Ofsted inspection framework is a step in the right direction, but we need much more extensive reforms to the accountability system. Schools should be recognised and rewarded for prioritising mental health, responding to their pupils' needs and valuing welfare and wellbeing."

#### **MIND**

It is clear from the number of submissions received expressing concern and proposing policy solutions regarding attainment, inequality, child poverty, hunger and children's wellbeing that tackling these areas must be principles that guides Labour's education policy.

#### **Tackling prejudice and discrimination in education**

An issue that featured heavily in the submissions was racial inequality in the UK and the education system's role in tackling it. While white working-class boys perform the worst of any group in schools, as early as primary education white British children are 10 per cent more likely to achieve the expected standard in reading, writing and maths and at A-level white British students are more than three times as likely to achieve high grades than black Caribbean students. By the time they reach university, there is a 13% attainment gap between black and white students.

Not only is there an ethnicity attainment gap, many submissions highlighted the need for reform of the curriculum to celebrate Black, Asian and ethnic minority people, teach Black British history, and the UK's role in colonialism and the slave trade.

"One route to addressing the inequities and iniquities in our society and to tackling some of the structural inequalities in the UK, must be through education and the National Curriculum...I would propose that there should be a complete re-examination and revision of the National Curriculum so that Black and South Asian histories are fully integrated across all subject areas from KS1 - KS4, and in the case of subjects such as History, the curriculum should be completely rewritten. At the same time, to support changes to the National Curriculum, teacher training must include anti-racist training and bias recognition."

**Christine, East**

"The current national curriculum in History falls far short of what is needed in enabling children to learn about Britain's history of colonialism and empire, as well as the history of black and Asian peoples in Britain. It needs to be radically changed to put this right."

**Peter, North West**

"Ensure the history of colonialism and slavery in Europe and the UK is included in all national curricula – including for free schools and academies. Also increase the number of women, Black, Asian and ethnic minority figures who are taught about in schools including authors, playwrights, leaders, scientists and artists."

**Women's Budget Group**

'BAME Labour' further highlighted the disproportionate impact school closures and the cancellation of exams could have, citing concerns that on average Black, Asian and minority ethnic students often surpass grades estimated for them by their teacher. Concerns about unconscious bias in the awarding of this year's exam grades were present in a number of submissions.

### **The importance of early year's education and childcare**

As the country began to ease out of lockdown, the importance of good quality early years provision became apparent not just for improved life chances, but for the functioning of our economy. The need for extensive, good quality early years provision and wraparound care featured heavily in the submissions; the importance of this for women in the economy was particularly stressed.

USDAW 's submission called for the Labour Party to develop a comprehensive and revolutionary offer on early years focussed on working parents:

"This will provide practical support for working parents, tackling the often debilitating effect that the high cost of childcare has on household budgets as well as making childcare genuinely available and affordable to those for whom it is currently out of reach. The positive impact this would have on supporting women in work is invaluable and would play a part in tackling other identified issues around the gender pay gap and career progression."

**USDAW**

The Women's Budget Group, whose submission said that the Covid-19 pandemic had shown the Government's lack of understanding of how childcare and education impact women's lives by central government, supported this call. Individual and CLP admissions also called for extended childcare provision, especially for low-income families.

### **Education at the heart of communities**

A number of submissions stressed the need for local oversight and accountability of education settings. UNISON, for example, said that education systems have become fragmented in recent years leading to the removal of a direct role for local authorities and the loss of democratic accountability. A number of submissions called for academies to be brought back into local authority control and to stop any further academisation.

UNISON highlighted some examples on the ground where such fragmentation has had an impact in schools' responses to Covid-19:

"Fragmentation has also resulted in a lack of clarity from central government and education employers around the standard and extent of cleaning needed to facilitate reopening post-COVID-19 restrictions. There has been no national standard for how or if deep cleans of premises should be conducted – i.e. who should be carrying out cleaning, to what level and for how long will this higher standard of cleaning be required?...

... UNISON branches have had problems getting risk assessments from outsourced catering and cleaning services across education providers. In addition, some staff working for private contractors don't have access to contractual sick pay and those who are on the minimum wage are being pressured to go into work without the correct equipment or risk assessment."

### **UNISON**

In addition, Teach First suggested that it was important that the teaching workforce reflects the communities they serve and that talent in any community must not be ignored.

### **Supporting those who work in the education system**

With the classification of teaching and support staff as 'key workers' and parents having to home-school their children, there has been a renewed appreciation of the education workforce. It is vital that those who work in the education system continue to be recognised and valued. As such, the Commission sought views on what can we do to provide greater support to those who work in our education system.

A key theme was the need for education staff to have adequate recognition and remuneration for their work and for insecure contracts to be phased out. We heard there should be an uplift of pay with increased remuneration for all staff, but especially for those on lower pay levels such as teaching assistants, cleaning and catering staff.

"All education staff particularly those providing specialised care need to have adequate recognition and remuneration of their work. Insecure contracts in higher education need to end. Sustainable funding increases are needed to all schools to ensure funding per pupil increases and teachers are not burdened with enormous workloads."

#### **Women's Budget Group**

We know that teacher recruitment and retention is a significant problem, with the Government having missed their targets for seven years in a row. The mental health charity, MIND, told us that many teachers are considering leaving the profession due to the impact on their health and wellbeing and highlighted research from Education Support that over 49% of teachers in secondary school have expressed feeling higher levels of stress and anxiety at the beginning of this summer term than usual.

Teach First welcomed the Government's plan to increase salaries for newly qualified teachers but expressed concern about school's ability to afford pay increases, particularly in disadvantaged areas. They also stressed that 'qualified doesn't mean finished or perfect', and that professional development needed to be improved.

#### **The importance of continued training and higher education**

Education, skills and training will have to play a vital role in the UK's economic recovery from the Covid-19 crisis. Young people, including graduate and school leavers, are facing a triple whammy. They are more likely to lose their jobs given the types of work most exposed to the lockdown, there are less employment opportunities for those seeking work and they have missed months of education potentially affecting their academic and career progression.

According to the Resolution Foundation an estimated additional 640,000 18-24-year-olds could find themselves unemployed this year alone. Opportunities for apprenticeships, skills training and higher education will be vitally important if we are to avoid long-term unemployment, and capture the economic benefit of a highly skilled workforce. Instead of providing support for skills training, through mechanisms known to be successful, the Government has decided to scrap support such as the Union Learning Fund, which provides vital in-work training.

Many submissions outlined the need for more apprenticeships and reforms to the apprenticeship levy, and for increased investment in adult education to give more people the chance to gain qualification beyond school. Both BAME Labour and the Sutton Trust called for consideration of Post Qualifications Applications for university admissions.

The Sutton Trust highlighted the need to ensure apprenticeships fulfil their social mobility potential and called for a review of the system to make sure it works for those who need it most, highlighting that disadvantaged young people are substantially less likely than their better-off peers to take up the best apprenticeships.

## Concluding remarks from the co-convenors, Kate Green MP and James Asser

This year's consultation took place in unusual circumstances, with the focus of the consultation very much on the present crisis. The UK is currently in the midst of a second wave of the virus; the crisis and its impact on young people's education is unfortunately ongoing. However, this impact is not restricted to educational attainment; this virus has laid bare the gross inequality between children and the harsh reality of the lives of the 4.2 million children currently living in poverty.

Children continued to receive free school meals over the summer holidays, thanks to the brilliant campaigning work of people such as Marcus Rashford combined with Labour pressure in the House of Commons. But this success was short-lived. At the time of writing, the Government is refusing to continue funding free school meals over the Christmas and spring school holidays. In defending their decision, many Conservatives are appealing to the ideological dividing lines of the individual versus the state; arguing that providing support to those most in need, 'wrongly hands over responsibility to the state'.

In responding to such rhetoric, the importance of identifying Labour's core principles is clear and the time for fighting for those values is now.

Free school meals is not the only issue to highlight inequality during this crisis, the fact that over a million children do not have access to an electronic device or broadband has been deeply concerning, and provides a real example of the lived experience of children living in poverty and the disadvantage they face.

As the pandemic progresses, there is a real risk that more children and young people will be pushed into poverty, and the situation for those already living in poverty has the potential to worsen. As such, it is important the work of the Commission remains flexible and able to react to the unfolding circumstances over the coming months, based on our core principles.

We received a vast array of policy recommendations, some specific and others more broad. Whilst all suggestions were considered by the Commission, it is important to return to first principles in this year's report, rather than outlining prescriptive policy proposals to ever-changing challenges. This report has therefore pulled out the key themes that emerged from the hundreds of submissions we received, to shape ten key principles.

These key principles will underpin our policy making over the coming months and years, and guide our immediate response to challenges of Covid-19.



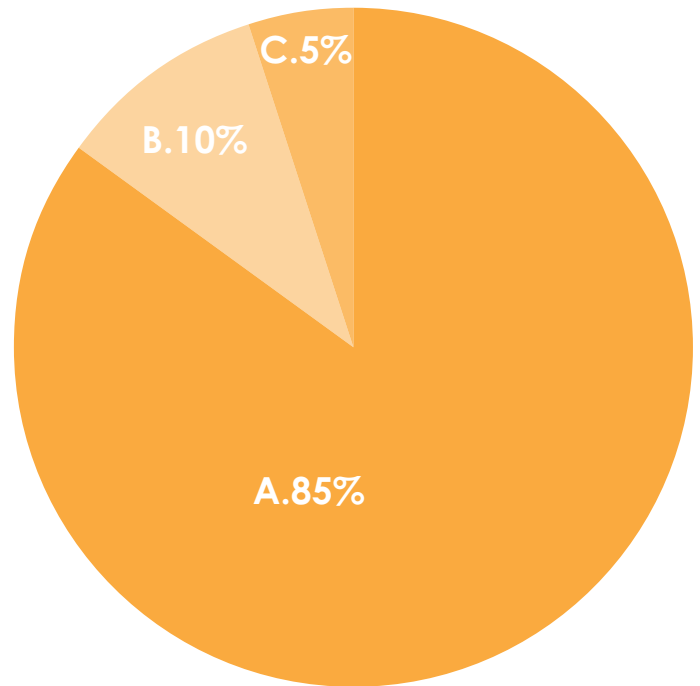
# Submissions

In 2020 the Early Years, Education and Skills Policy Commission received and considered submissions on the following topics:

<p><b>A</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Access to Work</li> <li>Adult education</li> <li>Apprenticeships</li> <li>Armed Forces</li> <li>Art</li> <li>Austerity</li> </ul>	<p><b>E</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Early Years</li> <li>Employees</li> <li>Employers</li> <li>Employment protection</li> <li>England</li> <li>Equality</li> <li>Exams</li> </ul>	<p><b>L</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Legal aid</li> <li>LGBT equality</li> <li>Libraries</li> <li>Local economies</li> <li>Local Government</li> </ul>	<p><b>S</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School systems</li> <li>Scotland</li> <li>Secondary schools</li> <li>Sixth form colleges</li> <li>Social Care</li> <li>Social media</li> <li>Student accommodation</li> <li>Sure Start</li> </ul>
<p><b>B</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>BAME</li> <li>Bereavement support</li> <li>Businesses</li> </ul>	<p><b>F</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Faith schools</li> <li>Food poverty</li> <li>Free schools</li> <li>Funding</li> <li>Further Education</li> </ul>	<p><b>M</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maternity rights</li> <li>Mental health</li> </ul>	<p><b>T</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tax</li> <li>Teacher training</li> <li>Teachers</li> <li>Teaching assistants</li> <li>Technology and science</li> <li>Testing</li> <li>The Constitution</li> <li>The economy</li> <li>Transport</li> <li>Tuition fees</li> </ul>
<p><b>C</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Child poverty</li> <li>Childcare</li> <li>Citizenship</li> <li>Class</li> <li>Class sizes</li> <li>Climate change</li> <li>Community ownership</li> <li>Comprehensive schools</li> <li>Coronavirus</li> <li>Curriculum</li> <li>Cybersecurity</li> </ul>	<p><b>G</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gang Culture</li> <li>Global health</li> <li>Grammar schools</li> </ul>	<p><b>N</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National debt</li> <li>National Education Service</li> <li>National Social Care Service</li> <li>NHS</li> <li>Northern Ireland</li> </ul>	<p><b>U</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Universal basic income</li> <li>Universities</li> </ul>
<p><b>D</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Debt</li> <li>Devolution</li> <li>Digital</li> <li>Disabilities</li> <li>Disability equality</li> <li>Discrimination</li> <li>Diversity</li> <li>Domestic violence</li> </ul>	<p><b>H</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Health and safety</li> <li>Higher Education</li> <li>Housing</li> </ul>	<p><b>O</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ofsted</li> </ul>	<p><b>V</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>VAT</li> </ul>
	<p><b>I</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Immigration</li> <li>Interest rates</li> <li>International development</li> <li>Investment</li> </ul>	<p><b>P</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pensions</li> <li>Poverty</li> <li>Primary schools</li> <li>Private education</li> <li>Privatisation</li> <li>Public schools</li> </ul>	<p><b>W</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wages</li> <li>Wales</li> <li>Women's rights</li> <li>Work experience</li> </ul>
	<p><b>J</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Justice</li> </ul>	<p><b>R</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Race equality</li> <li>Religion</li> </ul>	

## Breakdown of who sent in submissions

- A.** Individuals – 85%
- B.** Local Parties – 10%
- C.** Organisations – 5%



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## Breakdown of how submissions were received

- A.** Labour Policy Forum – 95%
- B.** Email – 5%

