

Debate Pack

Number CDP 2022/0058

By Dr Elena Ares,

Rachael Harker,

Nikki Sutherland

16 March 2022

Debate on an e-petition relating to badger culling

1	Summary	2
	Badger cull statistics	3
	Incidence and prevalence of bovine Tuberculosis (bTB)	4
2	PQs	7
3	Press releases and blog posts	15
4	News articles	16

A debate will be held on an e-petition relating to badger culling in Westminster Hall at 4.30pm on Monday 21 March 2022. The debate will be opened by Nick Fletcher MP. The subject has been nominated by the Petitions Committee.

1

Summary

A [petition to ban the shooting of badgers immediately](#) has received 106,108 signatures and is due for debate in the House of Commons on 21 March 2022:

Shooting of Badgers is licensed by Natural England as part of the DEFRA Badger cull. 24,000+ Badgers were shot in 2019.

Shooting is poorly monitored and Wild Justice believes it has never met the animal welfare standards recommended by a 2014 Independent Expert Panel, whose recommendations were accepted by DEFRA. This method of culling is inhumane and should be banned immediately.

The petition was presented in September 2020 and refers to [Wild Justice](#), a wildlife campaign group working to challenge wildlife legislation through the courts.

The UK Government is of the view badger culling should play a role in the control of bovine Tuberculosis (bTB). Control of bTB, including badger culling as a bTB policy measure, is devolved. In England, the Government has implemented a badger culling policy since 2011, firstly by conducting pilots and then as a part of the long-term [Strategy for achieving Officially Bovine Tuberculosis Free status for England](#), which was published in April 2014.

Natural England is responsible for licencing culling of badgers to prevent TB in cattle. [Guidance from the Government to Natural England on licencing](#) states that licences can only be issued for two culling methods: cage trapping of badgers followed by shooting, or controlled shooting of free ranging badgers. Anyone authorised to cull badgers must demonstrate the appropriate level of competence.

Natural England must also monitor compliance with licence conditions and agreements in place for culling and vaccination. Natural England publishes [annual reports on its compliance monitoring](#). The latest available is for 2020. Natural England also publishes a [best practice guide](#) for licence holders, last updated in April 2021.

Wild Justice presented a case for [permission for a judicial review of Natural England's licensing of badger shooting](#), on the basis that Natural England was failing to properly monitor whether badger shooting was being carried out in an effective and humane manner. [This was refused in 2020](#), after which Wild Justice decided to appeal the decision but this was also [refused in June 2021](#).

The [Government response to the petition](#) was published in October 2020. It provides some background on the badger culling policy in England. It also Government's position on shooting as follows:

Natural England (NE) carries out compliance monitoring which includes observations of controlled shooting in the field, and the results are published each year on GOV.UK. All applications that are received are carefully assessed by NE to ensure that each cull company has suitable arrangements and plans in place to carry out an operation that is safe, effective and humane.

NE's Chief Scientist advised that marksmen continued to show high levels of discipline and compliance with the Best Practice Guide in 2019. The level of accuracy of controlled shooting continued to compare favourably with the range of outcomes when other control activities, currently accepted by society, have been assessed.

The response also refers to the [Government commissioned Godfrey Review](#). It was commissioned to examine the 25 year plan for eradicating TB in cattle by 2038. Following its publication in 2018 Government announced it would be phasing out culling by the late 2020's. The intention is to replace it with badger and cattle TB vaccination.

Badger cull statistics

The current badger cull began in 2014 in two designated areas in Somerset and Gloucestershire. In total since then, 54 areas have been designated for culling, although the most that have been in operation at one time was 44 in 2020.

Since 2014 (and up to the end of 2020), 138,200 badgers have been removed. In around two thirds of cases, the removal was by controlled shooting and in the remainder, it was by cage trapping followed by shooting. The proportion of badgers removed by controlled shooting has increased year on year since 2015. In 2020 around four in every five badgers were removed by controlled shooting.

Summary of badger control operations in England						
Annual						
	Number of culling areas operational	Total badgers removed	Of which, removed by:			
			Controlled shooting		Cage trapping	
			number	%	number	%
2014	2	615	313	51%	302	49%
2015	3	1,467	743	51%	724	49%
2016	10	10,886	5,666	52%	5,219	48%
2017	19	19,274	11,638	60%	7,636	40%
2018	30	32,601	20,637	63%	11,964	37%
2019	40	34,717	24,397	70%	10,320	30%
2020	44	38,642	29,884	77%	8,758	23%
Total	54	138,202	93,278	67%	44,923	33%

Source: Defra, [Bovine TB: summary of badger control monitoring, 2014 to 2020](#)

Incidence and prevalence of bovine Tuberculosis (bTB)

The Animal and Plant Health Agency (APHA) monitors bovine TB in herds across Great Britain and publishes statistics on a monthly and quarterly basis. There are several different ways of measuring the presence and the extent of TB among cattle. In general, epidemiologists measure two different aspects of a disease, which in the context of bovine TB are as follows:

Incidence: the number of newly-infected herds in a given period of time.

Prevalence: the number of herds without ‘officially TB-free’ status at a given time.

Broadly speaking, incidence measures how much the disease is spreading and prevalence measures the overall scale of the epidemic.

The available statistics show the level of infection among English herds. They do not provide information on the level of TB in badgers, nor do they provide information about the impact of badger culling on the incidence in cattle.

The latest quarterly figures for England – where the badger cull has been in operation – show that, as of the end of December 2021:

- The overall **incidence** of bovine TB in England was lower than it was when culling was introduced (an incidence rate of 8.8 per 100 herd years at risk of infection in 2021 compared with around 9.3 at the end of 2011).
- This was following a period between 2014 and 2017 when the incidence rate in England rose, despite the cull being in operation.
- The **prevalence** of TB in English herds has been declining since 2018. December 2021 rate of 4.6% of herds being without ‘officially TB-free’ status was lower than the 2011 rate of 5.5%.

There are wide geographical variations in the incidence and prevalence of bTB across England. This is reflected in the division of the country into three different epidemiological areas, with different disease control strategies and herd testing regimes applied in each of them:

- In the High Risk Area of the West Midlands and South West of England, the incidence and prevalence of infected cattle have increased steadily to relatively high levels. Testing is carried out every 6 months.
- In the Low Risk Area of the North, East and South East of England, the incidence of bTB is very low and stable and most cattle herds are routinely tested every four years.

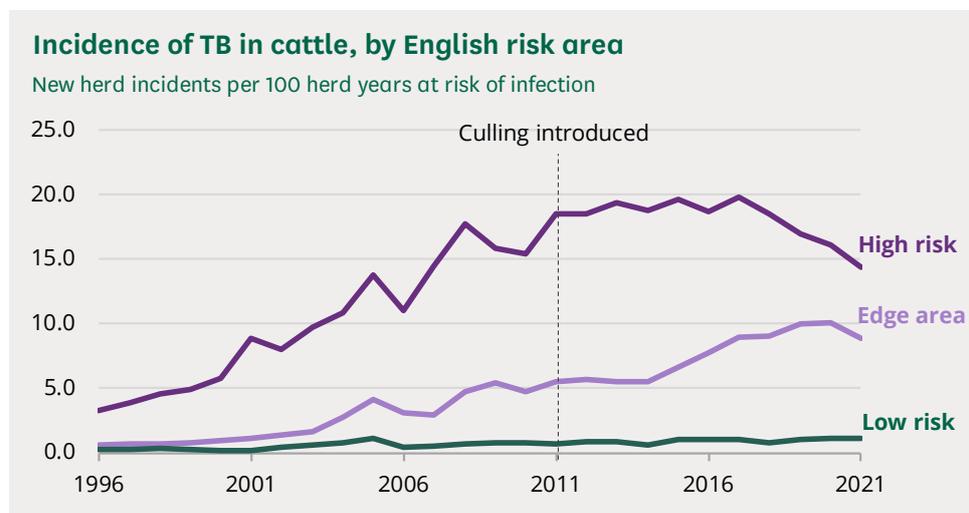
- In the Edge Area, the herd incidence is higher than in the Low Risk Area, although this varies from county to county. Testing is carried out at either 6 or 12 months dependent upon incidence trends.

A map of risk areas can be found on APHA's online [TB Hub](#)

The 2021 incidence rate in high-risk areas, which were the original cull areas, was at its lowest since 2010, having been in consistent decline since 2018.

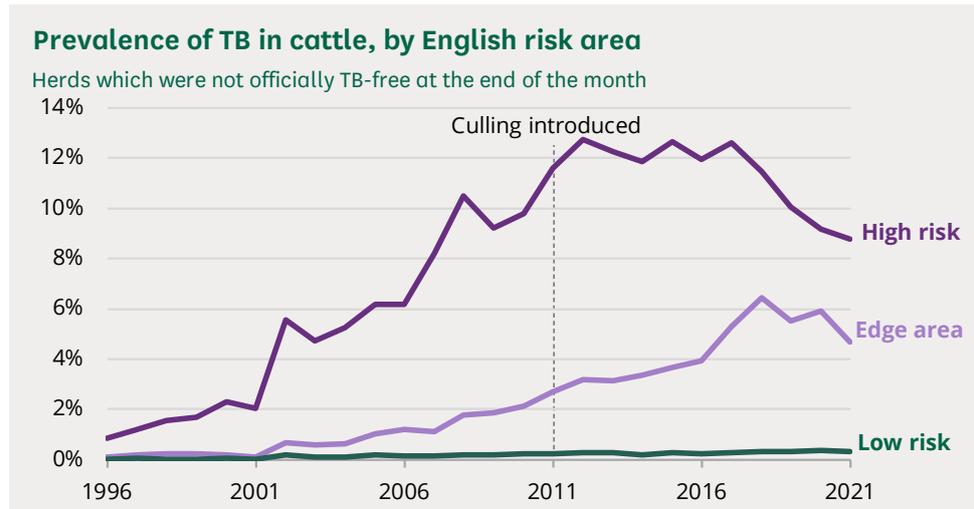
The incidence rate rose in areas on the edge of the culling zone between 2014 and 2020. However, the rate fell slightly in 2021, down to 8.9 per 100 herd years at risk of infection, but remained above the 2011 rate of 5.5.

Incidence rates by risk areas in England are shown in the chart below.



Source: Defra/ APHA, [Tuberculosis \(TB\) in cattle in Great Britain 2021](#): headline statistical dataset

In terms of prevalence, High risk areas saw an overall declining trend in prevalence, from 11.6% of herds without 'officially TB-free' status when culling was introduced to 8.8% at the end of 2021. In Edge areas, prevalence showed year on year increases between 2002 and 2018. However, the last few years suggest this trend may have begun to reverse.



Source: Defra/ APHA, [Tuberculosis \(TB\) in cattle in Great Britain 2021](#): headline statistical dataset

2

PQs

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control](#)

Asked by: Zeichner, Daniel

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what assessment his Department has made of the effectiveness of the badger control policy at (a) culling badgers infected with Bovine TB, (b) not culling badgers that have been vaccinated against Bovine TB and (c) not culling badgers which are not infected with Bovine TB.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

A proactive, controlled cull of badgers has the potential to reduce bovine TB in cattle by reducing the number of infected badgers. There is a recognised reservoir of infection in badgers across the High Risk and Edge Area. The badger cull operations remove at least 70% of the badger population regardless of infection status due to the endemicity of these areas. Where badger vaccination is taking place in the Edge Area, vaccination licence holders can apply for a no-cull zone around qualifying areas of badger vaccination. No-cull zones provide an opportunity to manage the delivery of vaccination and culling on adjoining land in the Edge Area. This aims to strike a balance between reducing the risk of culling vaccinated badgers and ensuring that culling can proceed to ensure that progress is made towards disease eradication.

Badger control operations are assessed annually by the Chief Veterinary Officer and Natural England's Chief Scientific Advisor. Their advice is that industry-led licensed badger culling continues to deliver the level of effectiveness required by the policy to be confident of achieving disease control benefits. This has been further substantiated by an independent study by Downs et al 2019 which demonstrated that the cull has resulted in significant reductions in the spread of the disease to cattle, showing reductions of 66% and 37% in the first two licensed cull areas.

HC Deb 14 March 2022 | PQ 137337

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control](#)

Asked by: Zeichner, Daniel

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, how many badgers have been culled in each year since 2013.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

The number of badgers culled to control the spread of bovine TB is published annually on gov.uk at <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/bovine-tb-controlling-the-risk-of-bovine-tb-from-badgers#monitoring-and-evaluation>.

Data for 2021 is currently being compiled and will be published in due course.

Number of badgers culled	
2013	1,869
2014	615
2015	1,467
2016	10,886
2017	19,537
2018	32,934
2019	35,034
2020	38,642

HC Deb 14 March 2022 | PQ 137335

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control](#)

Asked by: Brown, Mr Nicholas

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what estimate his Department makes of how many (a) badgers and (b) cattle have been vaccinated against Bovine TB since the Government announced the phased end of badger culling in May 2021.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

The Government announced the next phase of its strategy to combat bovine tuberculosis in England, including the phasing out of badger culling, on 27 May 2021. Since then, 1,410 badgers have been vaccinated across England. Further details on the numbers of badgers vaccinated will be published on gov.uk in due course.

To date, vaccination of cattle in the UK against bovine TB has been carried out only as part of research studies. The candidate cattle vaccine and skin test to detect infected animals among vaccinated animals (normally referred to as a DIVA test) are the subject of field trials led by the Animal and Plant Health Agency, which started in June 2021. These trials are aimed at securing UK marketing authorisations for the candidate cattle vaccine and DIVA skin test.

HC Deb 25 February 2022 | PQ 127312

Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control

Asked by: Brown, Mr Nicholas

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, how many badger culling licences his Department has issued since the announcement by the Government of the phased end of culling in May 2021.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

All badger culling operations are licenced by Natural England. In June 2021 11 new supplementary badger culling licences were issued by Natural England. Details can be found at

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/bovine-tb-authorisation-for-supplementary-badger-control-in-2021>.

In September 2021 seven new intensive badger culling licences were issued by Natural England. Details can be found at

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/bovine-tb-authorisation-for-badger-control-in-2021>.

No new intensive badger culling licences will be issued after 2022. Supplementary badger culling licences will be restricted to a maximum of two years. Culling will remain an option, and be licensed by Natural England, where epidemiological assessment indicates that it is needed.

HC Deb 25 February 2022 | PQ 127311

Bovine Tuberculosis: Vaccination

Asked by: Amesbury, Mike

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what steps he is taking to accelerate the implementation of a badger vaccination strategy alongside improved cattle testing, the roll out of a cattle vaccine and stricter movement of cattle.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

As set out in the Government response to Professor Sir Charles Godfray's review of the Government's strategy for achieving Officially Bovine Tuberculosis Free status for England, the next phase of the strategy focuses on developing a deployable cattle vaccine, wider rollout of badger vaccination and improvements to TB testing.

Badger culling will not be halted immediately – as set out in the Government's response to the January 2021 consultation^[1], no new intensive cull licences

will be issued after 2022 and new supplementary badger culling licences have been limited to a maximum of two years. Culling would remain an option where epidemiological assessment indicates that it is needed.

We have awarded funding for a five-year badger vaccination programme in East Sussex. The scheme, which will see vaccination deployed by the farming community, will help refine future delivery models for deploying large-scale farmer-led vaccination schemes. We are also undertaking Government-funded badger vaccination in an area where four-year intensive badger culling has ended. We are continuing to bolster our capability to deploy even more badger vaccination in post-cull areas from 2022.

Developing a deployable cattle TB vaccine, with the objective of introduction within the next five years, is one of the Government's priorities. In 2021, world-leading bovine TB cattle vaccination trials began in England and Wales.

A change from annual to six-monthly routine surveillance testing of cattle herds was introduced in the High Risk Area (HRA) counties of Shropshire and Staffordshire in September 2020 and was extended to the rest of the HRA from July 2021. Herds in the HRA that meet certain risk criteria can remain on annual surveillance testing. In addition, in July 2021 criteria for mandatory use of the more sensitive, supplementary interferon gamma blood test were changed in order to include new breakdown herds in the HRA with lesion and/or culture positive animals that were officially TB free (OTF) for less than eighteen months, following a previous breakdown with lesion and/or culture positive animals. A number of other options for improving the effectiveness of cattle testing, including pre- and post-movement testing, are currently being considered.

[1] <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/bovine-tuberculosis-proposals-to-help-eradicate-disease-in-england>

HC Deb 29 November 2021 | PQ 78498

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Vaccination](#)

Asked by: Sheerman, Mr Barry

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what assessment he has made of the potential merits of vaccinating the UK's badger population to reduce the spread of bovine tuberculosis in England.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

In its response to the Godfray Review[1], the Government set out its ambition to move from widespread badger culling to wider deployment of vaccination, with epidemiology-driven culling remaining as an option where epidemiological assessment indicates that it is needed.

We have clear evidence that badger vaccination reduces disease burden in the badger population. Logically, as badgers cause a proportion of cattle breakdowns, badger vaccination would very likely result in a reduction in cattle incidence where badgers are infecting cattle[2].

Modelling of the potential badger control options for post-cull areas was carried out by APHA[3]. Vaccination was found to reduce the number of infected badgers per social group and was comparable with continued culling, indicating that vaccination could be used as an exit strategy from culling to maintain reductions in cattle bTB incidence.

[1] <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-strategy-for-achieving-bovine-tuberculosis-free-status-for-england-2018-review-government-response>

[2] https://tbhub.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/TB_hub_badger_vaccination_powerpoint_Sept_2021.pdf

[3] Smith, G. C., & Budgey, R. (2021). Simulating the next steps in badger control for bovine tuberculosis in England. PloSone, 16(3), e0248426. <https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0248426>

HC Deb 25 November 2021 | PQ 76586

Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control

Asked by: Rosindell, Andrew

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what estimate his Department has made of the cost of the public purse of the badger cull programme; and whether his Department has conducted a cost-benefit analysis of the badger cull.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

Badger culling costs are published annually on Gov.uk and can be found at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/bovine-tb-government-badger-control-costs>. Costs for the 2021 operations will be published in due course.

A value for money analysis is published annually on Gov.uk and can be found at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/bovine-tb-badger-control-policy-value-for-money-analysis>.

HC Deb 24 November 2021 | PQ 75830

Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control

Asked by: Moran, Layla

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, pursuant to the Answer of 1 November 2021 to Question 59130, on Nature Conservation, when badger culls will be included in the Government's bovine tuberculosis eradication strategy in the event that epidemiological evidence points to a reservoir of disease in badgers.

Answering member: Jo Churchill | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

We are still developing our future policy of badger culling where epidemiological evidence points to a reservoir of disease in badgers. Once the policy has been developed further, we intend to consult on the proposals.

HC Deb 09 November 2021 | PQ 69685

Nature Conservation

Asked by: Moran, Layla

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, when his Department plans to publish an updated wildlife control policy in terms of (a) epidemiological-led culling and (b) wildlife monitoring.

Answering member: Rebecca Pow | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

There are no current plans to publish an updated bovine TB policy in terms of epidemiological-led culling of wildlife or wildlife monitoring. Our response in March 2020 to Professor Sir Charles Godfray's review of government's bovine tuberculosis eradication strategy set out plans to evolve badger control policy with increased support for badger vaccination, following the wide-scale deployment of effective, industry-led intensive badger culling.

We are now developing measures to make badger vaccination, combined with biosecurity, the focus of addressing risks from wildlife as an exit strategy from intensive culling. Our aim is to allow future badger culls only where the epidemiological evidence points to a reservoir of disease in badgers.

There is little evidence to suggest tuberculosis in other wildlife species is a significant problem that is driving the epidemic in cattle in England. There are no plans, therefore, to control other wildlife species.

HC Deb 01 November 2021 | PQ 59130

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control](#)

Asked by: Huq, Dr Rupa

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what steps he is taking to speed up the transition from culling badgers to vaccinating cattle to reduce the spread of bovine tuberculosis in England.

Answering member: Victoria Prentis | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

As set out in the Government response to Professor Sir Charles Godfray's review of the Government's strategy for achieving Officially Bovine Tuberculosis Free status for England, the next phase of the strategy focuses on developing a deployable cattle vaccine, wider rollout of badger vaccination and improvements to TB testing.

Badger culling will not be halted immediately – as set out in the Government's response to the January 2021 consultation^[1], no new intensive cull licences will be issued after 2022 and new supplementary badger culling licences have been limited to a maximum of two years. Culling would remain an option where epidemiological assessment indicates that it is needed.

We have awarded funding for a five-year badger vaccination programme in East Sussex. The scheme, which will see vaccination deployed by the farming community, will help refine future delivery models for deploying large-scale farmer-led vaccination schemes. We are also undertaking Government-funded badger vaccination in an area where four-year intensive badger culling has ended. We are continuing to bolster our capability to deploy even more badger vaccination in post-cull areas from 2022.

Developing a deployable cattle TB vaccine, with the objective of introduction within the next five years, is one of the Government's top priorities. In 2021, world-leading bTB cattle vaccination trials began in England and Wales.

[1] <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/bovine-tuberculosis-proposals-to-help-eradicate-disease-in-england>

HC Deb 28 October 2021 | PQ 62790

[Bovine Tuberculosis: Disease Control](#)

Asked by: Sobel, Alex

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what assessment he has made for the implications of his policies on badger culling of its review of the government's 25 Year Bovine TB Strategy.

Answering member: Victoria Prentis | Department: Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

Intensive badger culls were only ever envisaged as a phase of the TB eradication strategy. As set out in the Government response to Professor Sir Charles Godfray's review of the strategy[1] [2], the next phase of the strategy focuses on developing a deployable cattle vaccine, wider rollout of badger vaccination and improvements to TB testing. The Government will retain the ability to introduce culling where local epidemiological evidence points to an ongoing role of badgers in the disease.

Badger culling will not be halted immediately – as set out in the Government's response to the January 2021 consultation[3], no new intensive cull licences will be issued after 2022 and supplementary badger culling will end in 2025.

Routine and targeted TB testing of cattle herds, movement restrictions on infected herds, and rapid detection and removal of cattle testing positive, remain the foundations of the Government's strategy, supported by statutory pre- and post-movement testing of cattle and slaughterhouse surveillance.

As part of our move towards wider badger vaccination, we are introducing several schemes and initiatives. Training courses have been streamlined to make these less time-consuming, more accessible and affordable. A new 'Train the Trainer' (TtT) scheme, which allows experienced cage-trappers and lay vaccinators to qualify as trainers and form their own local training hubs, will enable more people to be trained as vaccinators than ever before. In East Sussex, we are funding a five-year vaccination scheme, where deployment of large-scale vaccination delivered by the local farming community commenced in August. The scheme will help refine delivery models and approaches, ensuring future badger vaccination is deployable at scale.

We are continuing to bolster government capability to deploy badger vaccination in areas where intensive culling has ended, building on those gains achieved through culling to create resilience to future infection. As well as financially supporting vaccination in the edge area through the Badger Edge Vaccination Scheme (BEVS), we are exploring new ways and opportunities to incentivise more targeted approaches to vaccinate badgers to deliver greater disease control benefits. We are also reviewing the licensing system, taking steps to make it more straightforward and less administratively burdensome for those who are suitably trained to vaccinate badgers.

[1] <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-strategy-for-achieving-bovine-tuberculosis-free-status-for-england-2018-review>

[2] <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/a-strategy-for-achieving-bovine-tuberculosis-free-status-for-england-2018-review-government-response>

[3] <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/bovine-tuberculosis-proposals-to-help-eradicate-disease-in-england>

HC Deb 25 October 2021 | PQ 56603

3

Press releases and blog posts

Badger Trust

23 February 2022

[National survey of awareness of badger issues released](#)

DEFRA press release

27 May 2021

[Government sets out next phase of strategy to combat bovine tuberculosis in England](#)

DEFRA press release

22 July 2020

[Green light for ground-breaking bovine TB vaccine field trials](#)

DEFRA blog

6 March 2020

[Bovine TB and Government response to the Godfray review](#)

ZSL blog

14 November 2018

[What does the Godfray Review mean for badgers?](#)

DEFRA press release

13 November 2018

[Review of government's bovine TB strategy published](#)

4

News articles

Independent

16 February 2022

[Badger cull areas 'expanded by stealth and without consultation' last year](#)

National Geographic

8 February 2022

[Badger culls are dividing England's rural communities](#)

Farming Life

19 September 2021

[Badger Trust opposed to a new badger cull in NI](#)

BBC News Online

8 September 2021

[Badger cull: New control areas despite cull phase-out](#)

Farmers' Weekly

5 September 2021

[Opinion: Bank the benefits of badger culling before it goes](#)

Farmers' Weekly

21 June 2021

[Welsh first minister says no to badger culling](#)

Independent

17 May 2021

[Lessons learned from Covid-19 must spell the end of the badger cull](#)

Guardian

27 January 2021

[New mass badger culls to be banned after 2022, says minister](#)

Nature

11 October 2019

[Assessing effects from four years of industry-led badger culling in England on the incidence of bovine tuberculosis in cattle, 2013–2017](#)

Disclaimer

The Commons Library does not intend the information in our research publications and briefings to address the specific circumstances of any particular individual. We have published it to support the work of MPs. You should not rely upon it as legal or professional advice, or as a substitute for it. We do not accept any liability whatsoever for any errors, omissions or misstatements contained herein. You should consult a suitably qualified professional if you require specific advice or information. Read our briefing '[Legal help: where to go and how to pay](#)' for further information about sources of legal advice and help. This information is provided subject to the conditions of the Open Parliament Licence.

Feedback

Every effort is made to ensure that the information contained in these publicly available briefings is correct at the time of publication. Readers should be aware however that briefings are not necessarily updated to reflect subsequent changes.

If you have any comments on our briefings please email papers@parliament.uk. Please note that authors are not always able to engage in discussions with members of the public who express opinions about the content of our research, although we will carefully consider and correct any factual errors.

You can read our feedback and complaints policy and our editorial policy at commonslibrary.parliament.uk. If you have general questions about the work of the House of Commons email hcenquiries@parliament.uk.

The House of Commons Library is a research and information service based in the UK Parliament. Our impartial analysis, statistical research and resources help MPs and their staff scrutinise legislation, develop policy, and support constituents.

Our published material is available to everyone on commonslibrary.parliament.uk.

Get our latest research delivered straight to your inbox. Subscribe at commonslibrary.parliament.uk/subscribe or scan the code below:



 commonslibrary.parliament.uk

 [@commonslibrary](https://twitter.com/commonslibrary)