## WELCOME

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## ABOUT THE POVERTY ALLIANCE

The Poverty Alliance is a network of community, voluntary, statutory and other organisations whose vision is of a sustainable Scotland based on social and economic justice, with dignity for all, where poverty and inequalities are not tolerated and are challenged.

Our aim is to combat poverty by working with others to empower individuals and communities to affect change in the distribution of power and resources. To do this we:

- Work with people and communities experiencing poverty to empower them to address poverty
- Work with organisations to build a strong anti-poverty network in Scotland
- Support the development of policies which promote social justice and combat poverty
- Raise awareness about poverty and encourage debate

The Poverty Alliance is recognised as a charity by the Inland Revenue. Reference No: SCO19926

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There is little doubt that 2019 was the year when the climate crisis finally moved to the centre of public debate, where it ought to have been for decades. For some people it may seem like this is a new explosion of interest, a sudden change in public consciousness. It certainly does feel that an issue that was once the province of experts and specialist activists is now widely debated and discussed and is something that there is genuine public concern about.

Several recent factors have helped move concern about climate change to the centre of the political debate – and understanding how this move has taken place is of real importance for anti-poverty campaigners. In the last year we have witnessed the extraordinary movement of school strikes led by the activist Greta Thunberg. We’ve also seen Extinction Rebellion use direct action to force debate about the pace of change needed on climate action. Images of wildfires destroying parts of Canada, California, the Amazon and now in Australia have also brought home the impact of climate change and reinforced the need for action. So too have the documentaries of Sir Richard Attenborough, helping to bring to a wider public the impact of human activity on our natural environment.

But behind the recent efforts of Sir Richard, Greta or Extinction Rebellion are decades of research, campaigning and policy action. So, campaigns and concerns that seem to have sprung up have very deep roots. This is important to remember for those of us working to bring about real social change – what can appear like a sudden change in direction in policy or opinion rarely is in reality.

Anti-poverty campaigners need to learn from the experience of climate change activists about how to mobilise and how to change the public perception of an issue. There is much to learn on marshalling the evidence to shift opinion, or the role of mainstream media. However, the key questions for anti-poverty campaigners in relation to the climate crisis go far beyond those of strategy and tactics.

Our key concern needs to be how we better link the concerns of arguments for both social and climate justice. For too long concerns about the natural environment, about the systems that maintain life on earth have been separated from concerns about social justice.

Whilst many campaigners, activists and academics have understood that these issues are inextricably linked, it has been difficult to public support or create political commitments that would address issues of environmental and social justice.

As the articles in this edition of the Scottish Anti-Poverty Review show there is an urgent need to bring both areas of concern together. Both Katherine Trebeck and Elizabeth Leighton show that the best approaches to address climate change are ones that will also deliver the biggest benefits for those living on the lowest incomes. For Trebeck, shifting our priority towards the development of an economy that focuses on wellbeing means that we will change the practices and ways of working that inevitably lead to widening inequality and poverty.

The scale of the challenge on both climate change and poverty eradication can seem overwhelming at times. However, as Rebecca Menzies from Get Glasgow Moving and Suzy Goodsr from Greener Kirkcaldy show there is much that can be done right now to help address climate change and poverty, from transport, to energy and food production. These campaigns and initiatives can all help to make change and also to demonstrate the links between address climate and poverty together.

Actions and campaigns at a local level need to be underpinned by those at a global level. Without effective change internationally, then millions around the world will remain locked in poverty and subject to the impact of climate change. However, those global changes will increasingly need to be driven by demands from local, national and regional campaigns, demands that Francis Stuart at the STUC sees as crucial.

In Scotland we have an important opportunity to demonstrate the importance of linking climate change and poverty reduction. When COP26 comes to Glasgow in November, campaigners need to be ready to make the arguments for climate and social justice, and ensure that those who are most affected by both are heard.
In April of 2019, Scotland’s First Minister declared a “climate emergency” in a keynote address to her own party’s annual conference. Although this declaration was attributed to young climate campaigners who had gone on strike from school the previous month, the Scottish Government has a track record of acknowledging the climate problem. In 2010, the portfolio of the Minister for Environment was extended to embrace climate change, and in 2016 the portfolio of Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform was upgraded from Minister to Cabinet Secretary. The incumbent made a statement to the Scottish Parliament on May 2019, outlining Scotland’s response to the “global climate emergency”.

In 2010, the portfolio of the Minister for Environment was extended to embrace climate change, and in 2016 the portfolio of Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform was upgraded from Minister to Cabinet Secretary. The incumbent made a statement to the Scottish Parliament on May 2019, outlining Scotland’s response to the “global climate emergency”.

By the end of 2019, the majority of Scottish local authorities had declared a climate emergency, with mainstream political parties following the lead of the Green Party in outlining bold plans to shift toward a sustainable green economy in their manifestos for the UK election of 2019, albeit that those with the boldest plans were not elected to govern.

According to the Scottish Household Survey, the proportion of adults in Scotland in agreement that “climate change is an immediate and urgent problem” has risen from under one half (46%) to two thirds (67%) in the last five years.

Note: John is particularly grateful to Conor Nangle, Assistant Statistician, Scottish Government for his assistance in accessing Scottish Household Survey data.

Does climate change matter to the most disadvantaged in Scotland?

There is some evidence to suggest that the most disadvantaged people in Scotland consider that climate change is an urgent and immediate problem (Figure 1). Using the same Scottish Household Survey data as before, it is found that a majority (albeit a very small one) of adults living in Scotland’s most deprived areas think that climate change is now a problem (52%). This majority has been reached because there has been an increase in recent years in the proportion of residents in Scotland’s most deprived areas who think that climate change is a problem (from 39% in 2013 to 52% in 2018) (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Percentage of adults in Scotland perceiving that “climate change is an immediate and urgent problem”, by area deprivation, 2018

Source: Scottish Household Survey 2018 (Figure 10.3)

However, far fewer of those living in Scotland’s least deprived areas think that climate change is an immediate problem, compared to those from the least deprived areas (52%, compared to 75%, respectively).

FOOTNOTES

1. https://www.climateemergency.uk/blog/list-of-councils/
Figure 2: Percentage of adults in Scotland’s Most Deprived Areas, perceiving that “climate change is an immediate and urgent problem”, 2013-2018

Source: Scottish Household Survey 2018 (Figure 10.3)

And, as Figure 2 suggests, the realisation that climate change is a problem has grown more rapidly in the least deprived parts of Scotland (from 52% in 2013 to 75% in 2018). It might be reasonably be concluded that just as Scotland has an attainment gap that it wants to tackle, it also has a climate change awareness gap that is widening and needs to be addressed.

Figure 3: Attitudes toward tackling climate change in Scotland in 2018: comparing responses from within Most Deprived Areas and Least Deprived Areas

Source: Scottish Household Survey 2018, data kindly provided by SHS analysts.

Do the most disadvantaged people in Scotland want to take responsibility for action to tackle climate change?

There is evidence to suggest that Scotland’s most disadvantaged people are concerned for the environment. The black bars in Figure 3 advise that, of those from the most disadvantaged areas in Scotland: (i) two thirds disagree that there is no need for them to worry as climate change will only impact on other countries; (ii) the majority disagree that it is not worthwhile doing things to help their environment if others don’t do they same; (iii) only one in ten don’t understand what actions they should take to tackle climate change; while (iv) twice as many disagree, as agree that their behaviour and everyday lifestyle does not contributes to climate change (45%, compared to 24%).

On the other hand, those people from Scotland’s least deprived areas seem to be relatively less likely to express commitment to tackle climate change. For example, while two thirds of those living in the least deprived parts of Scotland disagree that their behaviour and lifestyle contributes to climate change (67%), less than one half of those from the most deprived parts of Scotland think likewise (45%). In addition to a ‘climate change awareness’ gap, it might be concluded that there is an ‘inclination to take climate action’ gap.

Making sense of the numbers

These data are estimates from the Scottish Household Survey, with (unreported) confidence limits around the reported findings. Furthermore, these data describe results for people living in deprived areas, rather than people experiencing poverty. Nevertheless, with careful and cautious interpretation, they do raise key points for us to consider.

It could be speculated that there is nothing untoward in the differences reported between those living in more deprived and less deprived areas. For example, being less inclined to believe that their own personal behaviour and everyday lifestyle impacts adversely on climate change and being less likely to consider that it is not worth doing things to help their environment if others don’t do the same, may be no more than a robust and sober appraisal on the part of those from more deprived areas.
That is, these ‘gaps’ might simply reflect their belief that those with greater means have a bigger adverse impact on the environment, which could be borne out from evidence of higher levels of consumption from the least deprived. Indeed, this might be more than a rational and robust comment; it may reflect a degree of despair at the inability of the most deprived to impact positively on this global challenge, given the environmentally damaging behaviours of others. On the other hand, the differences might reflect disinterestedness in wider global environmental problems among Scotland’s most deprived; perhaps understandable when concerns with ‘getting by’ and fending off destitution are more pressing.

Clearly, there is a need to engage those with lived experience to find out why these differences exist. The concern to better understand the poverty-environment nexus is more pressing than a matter of passing academic interest. As experience of the years of austerity have demonstrated, it tends to be the most economically insecure who are the most vulnerable in a crisis. If we accept that we are now dealing with a climate emergency, then we should expect that our the most deprived and our poorest will be hardest hit. Dealing with environmental crises should of be more than a passing concern to those who aim to tackle poverty.

For those primarily interested in tackling complex environmental challenges, positive conclusions might be drawn from what people think in Scotland’s most deprived neighbourhoods. Rather than focus on difference and gaps, it might be reassuring to acknowledge that the majority of those living in deprived areas recognise these global environmental challenges and their responsibilities in taking action to address them.

As for the gap between least and most deprived Scotland, it might be worth considering that if deprivation was less disabling and poverty was addressed, then Scotland might have even more energy to invest in tackling the climate emergency that now confronts us.

Figure 2: Percentage of adults in Scotland’s Most Deprived Areas, perceiving that “climate change is an immediate and urgent problem”, 2013-2018

Figure 3: Attitudes toward tackling climate change in Scotland in 2018: comparing responses from within Most Deprived Areas and Least Deprived Areas

Source: Scottish Household Survey 2018, data kindly provided by SHS analysts
The UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Philip Alston, knows a thing or two about poverty.

Earlier this year he lambasted the UK Government’s approach to social security as ‘the systematic immiseration of a significant part of the British population’. He was right of course.

He is also right about poverty and climate change. His authoritative report on the issue was published in June. It warns of a ‘climate apartheid’ scenario where the wealthy pay to escape overheating, hunger, and conflict while the rest of the world is left to suffer.

This scenario is confirmed by the World Health Organisation who estimate that by 2030, climate change will cause 250,000 additional deaths per year, due to malnutrition, malaria, diarrhoea and heat stress. Indigenous people, people of colour, women, and those with the least capacity to respond to natural hazards - such as droughts, landslides, floods and hurricanes - are already being disproportionately affected.

Workers are also on the frontline. This year, hundreds of firefighters have fought and died in fires, floods and landslides in Brazil, Australia, China, India and Kenya. Climate change also threatens people in poverty in the UK. The floods in Yorkshire and Humber in November left hundreds of people homeless, cut of power for thousands and shut roads. While the rich can afford the cost of rebuilding from events like this, others are not so lucky.

So who is responsible?

Well, just 100 companies have been the source of more than 70% of the world’s greenhouse gas emissions since 1988. And while we consume the emissions these corporations produce, we do not consume equally. The world’s richest 10 percent are responsible for around half of all emissions.

Because rich elites and corporations have done so much to capture our politics, the climate policy response is not necessarily pro-poor either. Currently in the UK, much of the funding for renewables and energy efficiency measures comes from a flat levy on fuel bills. This is regressive and disproportionately penalises those on low-incomes.

The revenue raised has also failed to produce good quality, sustainable jobs which allow people to live a live free from poverty. Scotland has one of the largest wind resources in the world but next to no manufacturing jobs in renewables.

The Bifab fabrication yards in Fife and Arnish, have gone from employing 1400 workers two years ago to next to none now. The latest offshore windfarm, EDF’s £2 billion NNG windfarm 10km off the coast of Fife, is set to contract the work to yards in a tax avoidance zone in Indonesia before shipping the work across on diesel burning barges.

Where jobs have been created too often they are poor quality and non-unionised. Migrant workers hired to build SSE’s £2.6bn Beatrice offshore windfarm were found to be paid less than the minimum wage. The Home Office has granted four, six-month, time-limited waivers to the windfarm industry to use non-EEA workers since April 2017, suggesting the industry is using loopholes to exploit migrant workers and pay low wages.

We need a Just Transition to a low carbon economy but that transition will not be just if it is funded through the current approach where workers and consumers foot the bill to subsidise businesses going green without any regard to fair work.

The Gilets Jaunes are much more than a bunch of fuel protestors, with their demands reflecting much wider and deeper economic and social issues. However, Macron’s fuel tax rise at the same time as cutting taxes for the rich, was undoubtedly a trigger.

As Naomi Klein stated, “neoliberal climate action passes the costs to working people, offers them no better...
jobs or services and lets big polluters off the hook. People see it as a class war, because it is.”

So climate change clearly is clearly a class issue. The challenge, however, is that while the well-off might worry about the end of the world, ordinary people worry about the end of the month.

And in that space, the rise of far-right populism isn’t disconnected. Recent years have seen the rise of Modi, Bolsonaro, Orban, Salvini, Netanyahu, Trump and, unfortunately now Boris Johnson.

Some of these strongmen outright deny climate change. Others accept it but use it to argue for a form of environmental nationalism or eco-fascism.

The irony that climate change caused by the rich in the Global North is now causing thousands of environmental migrants and refugees in the Global South doesn’t not prevent the far-right stirring up racist sentiment for their own ends. While their vision is at odds with building an equal society, it does appeal to the defensive instincts and values of some – building walls and fences, sacrificing parts of the world and ‘looking after our own.’

People draw their ethical boundaries around different places and spaces and the left needs to recognise that while offering an alternative vision that appeals to improving the lives of people here and around the world.

So what might that look like? Below is my starter for ten.

- the fight for the commons – reclaiming the right to food, land, energy, and water from corporations;
- universal public services in health, education and housing;
- a global living wage and workers’ rights;
- democratic control over our finance and trade systems;
- the right to move and the right not to move;
- a fair and equitable share of effort to reduce emissions – both around the world and within nation-states.

Clearly this will involve government action. And the problem, as Greta Thunberg has pointed out, is that, beyond a few market mechanisms, our governments aren’t actually doing anything.

Carbon is being added to the atmosphere 100 times faster than at any point in pre-industrial human history. Since the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was established in 1988 more damage has been done than in the whole of history up until that time. And at the same time social progress has stalled and in many cases is going backwards.

I’m writing this article in a café in Madrid, a day after the UNFCCC international climate change talks concluded. Trade unions and civil society partners attending were hoping to see governments agreeing ambitious climate justice policies that responded to the climate emergency threatening our lives, jobs, livelihoods, communities and dignity. What we got was the polar opposite.

Civil society was thrown out – quite literally after a protest – while governments dismantled the Paris Agreement to try and limit global warming. It seems the rich Northern countries, even those that present themselves as ‘climate leaders’, are much more interested in trading emissions and making money from it, than actually reducing them. There is no respect for the science, no respect for human rights, no social justice, no ambition and no commitments to action.

Given the polarisation of politics around the world, a multilateral consensus process involving the USA and Brazil isn’t likely to solve the climate crisis anytime soon. That means change will have to come from below. Policies at city, regional and national level – universal insulation and green heating schemes, free and improved public transport and municipal buses, and a green industrial revolution led through public ownership could help tackle the climate emergency in a way which also addresses poverty.

But such policies will not magically appear. Power has never conceded anything without a demand. Extinction Rebellion may have displayed an absence of class analysis but they, along with the youth climate strikers, have shown that disruption and sacrifice can change the narrative and push those in power into more ambitious positions.

As Cop 26 comes to Glasgow in 2020, trade unions, anti-poverty groups and other actors will need to exert real pressure from below to change the narrative. Be bold, be radical. That’s our best hope.
Greener Kirkcaldy – for a greener and fairer town

Finding more affordable but sustainable ways of meeting people’s energy and food needs is essential in meeting the twin goals of tackling poverty and promoting sustainable development. Suzy Goodsir, Chief Executive of Greener Kirkcaldy, here writes on how her organisation is working alongside local people in the Fife town to do just that.

Greener Kirkcaldy is a community-led charity. We would like to see a future where everyone is able to heat their home affordably, eat well, and tread more lightly on our planet. We deliver projects to meet the needs of local people: tackling fuel poverty and food insecurity, improving health and wellbeing, and bringing the community together. We are part of a movement of similar community organisations across Scotland who are tackling climate change alongside other challenges in their communities.

The organisation formed in 2009 when a group of local people got together with the aim of doing something positive for the community and our environment. We now have 20 staff and over 70 regular volunteers, and we work with thousands of people each year.

Much of our work takes place in Kirkcaldy. Kirkcaldy has many strengths and assets, including a strong sense of place, a vibrant voluntary sector, and a beautiful coastline. It includes affluent neighbourhoods and several areas with high levels of deprivation.

Community food work

Our eight-week ‘Smart Cooking’ courses give people the skills and confidence to make healthy, low-cost, meals and avoid wasting food. One session covers household money management, in partnership with Citizen’s Advice & Rights Fife. The courses are friendly and fun, and our evaluation shows that most participants spend less on food after the course. They also cook at home more and waste less food. That is good news for the climate – food waste is a major contributor to greenhouse gas emissions.

Our Community Fridge also reduces food waste. It redistributes good food that would otherwise have gone to waste; donations come from local shops, cafes and our community gardens. Anyone can take food from the fridge – there are no forms to fill in, and there is no stigma in using it. Similarly, our Community Meals are open to all. They bring people together, and are a dignified approach to tackling food insecurity and reducing food waste.

Energy advice

Another service we offer is home energy advice. Our Cosy Kingdom project has helped over 6,000 households save energy and money, maximise their income and tackle fuel debt, since it started in 2012. It works closely with social landlords and voluntary sector organisations to reach households in fuel poverty. This project is delivered across Fife, in partnership with Citizen’s Advice & Rights Fife and St Andrews Environmental Network.

The energy advisors give people the knowledge and confidence to get their energy use under control - their home visits cover energy-efficiency measures, behaviour changes and tariffs. They also offer benefit checks and debt advice, and referrals to other sources of support. We even provide a handyperson service fitting draught-proofing and other energy-saving measures.

Saving energy means saving money – a win-win for tackling poverty and climate change.

Personal solutions vs structural problems

Government – at all levels – needs to take strong action on climate change and poverty, and the voluntary and community sectors also have valuable roles to play. Our staff and volunteers are trusted locally, and we have strong local knowledge and networks.

Our local approach to tackling climate change reaches many people that national campaigns might miss.
It also sends a clear message to our local and national politicians: our community cares about climate change, and is willing to play our part.

For more information about Greener Kirkcaldy, see www.greenerkirkcaldy.org.uk.

**Bikes for All: A socially inclusive programme to widen cycling access**

*Building an active travel infrastructure is a vital part of building a more environmentally friendly transport system. Yet there can be a danger that a focus on active travel can exclude people living on low incomes. Here, we hear from Nina Borcard about Bikes for All, a Glasgow-based project that is seeking to widen access to cycling to all.*

Transport is one of the main costs borne by people on low incomes. Cycling can be an accessible form of transport provided you learnt when you were a kid and are aware of safe cycle routes, can fix your bike yourself, can store it at home, have a monthly income or if you have at least £100 for a refurbished bike. But it is difficult when you have no regular income or live with £35 a week and need to eat.

A bike share scheme is a brilliant service if you can speak English, have a spare £60 and a bank account, and even if you do there is the fear of getting charged. And you’ll still need to know how to ride a bike and have the confidence to do so.

Those are some of the reasons why the level of cycling in deprived areas of Glasgow are much lower than areas with low levels of deprivation.

**Bikes for All impact**

Since April 2018, more than 500 people have signed up for Nextbike, generating 13,000 journeys; representing 2.3% of all Nextbike journeys in Glasgow.

This programme was delivered thanks to the strong partnerships Bike for Good had developed with more than 15 community organisations across the city, such as the NHS, Central and West Integration Network and MigrantHelp.

Bikes for All works with people on a low-income or underrepresented in cycling. 61% are from the 20% most deprived areas in Scotland, 26% are seeking asylum, 28% are unemployed and 9% are homeless. While 52% never used cycling as a mode of transport before engagement, 47% now use Nextbike to visit friends and family, 33% to access work training or study. Overall, there was a 30% increase in people cycling regularly.

**The health benefits of cycling**

People in poverty are more likely to experience health conditions and while Bikes for All help reduce transport poverty, cycling also improves people’s health and wellbeing. Partnering with the NHS has enabled us to reach those living with long-term mental and physical health conditions. 95% of participants stated the project has had a positive impact on their physical and mental wellbeing. One of our participants said: “Two years ago I had never ridden a bike. I learnt to ride a bike for my health, mental health to help with depression.”

This programme has enabled people further away from cycling to get on a bike. But this project is not only about cycling and active travel but about tackling transport poverty, contributing to social inclusion and health and wellbeing and reducing social isolation. This is why it is crucial to offer cycle training and easy bike access alongside the development of cycle infrastructure to ensure a sustainable and inclusive transport system.

For more information on Bikes for All, see: https://www.bikeforgood.org.uk/projects/bikes-for-all/

**FOOTNOTES**

1. For a list see https://www.scottishcommunitiescan.org.uk/our-members
2. See e.g. www.lovefoodhatewaste.com
some like to say the Scottish government is on the horns of a dilemma. They think that if we shift homes from fossil fuel heat to renewable heat we risk putting more people into fuel poverty but if we don’t decarbonise heat quickly, we won’t be responding to the climate emergency.

the existing homes alliance thinks this is a false dilemma. it isn’t a choice- we need to eradicate fuel poverty AND tackle climate change. Both are imperatives – given the dire consequences of the climate crisis and the fact that a quarter of Scottish households are struggling to keep their houses warm. We think we should grasp the transition to warm and low carbon homes as an opportunity to make sure that low income and vulnerable households share in the benefits of the transition and that no one is left behind with substandard, unhealthy housing.

so how can we do this?

we believe the perceived ‘tensions’ between climate change and fuel poverty policies can be resolved with the right programmes and investment to make our homes highly energy efficient and low carbon. This is a policy that puts the fuel poor first, improves health and well-being, and supports jobs in local communities. It is the right policy in so many ways - leaving households languishing in fuel poverty causes individual tragedies and costs to the national health and welfare budget to address these problems. Housing costs, including the costs of energy, push many people into poverty. And the cost to the NHS of health conditions made worse by poor housing is estimated to be between £48m - £80m per annum for Scotland.

background

the Scottish parliament passed the climate change act in 2019 which includes a target to reach net-zero emissions by 2045, with an interim target of 70% reduction in emissions by 2030.

in the same year the parliament passed a fuel poverty act which set a new statutory target of no more than 5% of households living in fuel poverty by 2040, and no more than 1% living in extreme fuel poverty by 2040¹. the government is committed to removing poor energy performance of the home as one of the drivers of fuel poverty and this is something wholly within devolved powers. It is crucial to note that the other drivers - income, energy costs and how energy is managed in the home – must also be addressed.

the energy efficient scotland programme sets out the government’s objectives for energy efficiency and fuel poverty including energy performance targets. It gives priority to fuel poor homes, and outlines the support programmes to help achieve these goals.

what needs to change?

in our view, the vast majority of homes (where technically feasible) should be brought to a very good standard of EPC band C or above by 2030 and zero carbon by 2045. We start with the principle that every fuel poor household should be supported to upgrade their property to be highly energy efficient and run on renewable heat.
This means grants are provided to fully cover insulation and the upfront capital costs for replacing old boilers with renewable heat, such as heat pumps and heat networks (as a rule public funding should not be used to support fossil fuel heating however there may be some circumstances where a renewable heat solution is not appropriate at the current time). Running costs (including maintenance) should be lower than the system that is being replaced.

**Investment in families, individuals and their homes**

Fuel poverty programmes need to be doubled in scale and funding – aimed at achieving high energy performance ratings in one intervention – rather than having the extra costs and disturbance of repeat visits. The support should be tailored to the household and the property – meeting their needs for warmth and understanding of how to manage energy. It should also be part of efforts to help reduce energy costs and raise incomes. These programmes should take place in both rural and urban areas, off the gas grid and on the gas grid.

Rural homes off the gas grid are an obvious priority for both fuel poverty and climate change.

59% of households in remote rural areas are in fuel poverty and many rely on high carbon fossil fuel heating systems (oil, coal and LPG) - 40% of households on oil heating are in fuel poverty. These systems should be replaced with renewable heating or heat networks alongside energy efficiency and ventilation measures. In some homes, it may be technically difficult to reach the goal of zero carbon, but all homes can make some improvements, saving money on fuel bills, improving health and reducing carbon emissions.

For urban and suburban areas, the bulk of housing is on the gas grid – and here there should be a focus on insulation and heat networks. As we look to a future without gas as the mainstream heating fuel, we should also have a large-scale demonstration programme of hybrid heat pumps (a heat pump alongside a gas boiler) to start the transition away from gas heating in a way that causes least disruption. Fuel poor households would receive grants for the energy efficiency measures and the capital costs of the hybrid heat pumps or support for heat network connections.

In addition to helping fuel poor households, it is important that all homes are fuel poverty and climate proofed – reducing the risk of falling into fuel poverty as well as cutting climate emissions.
Grasping the just transition to zero carbon homes with both hands

This means we need advice, engagement, incentives and loans for those not covered by the fuel poverty programme – expanding the existing Home Energy Scotland offerings.

Investment in local heat and energy efficiency businesses

The supply chain in energy efficiency and heat will need to grow and adapt – in the case of renewable heat – at least doubling installations year on year. Scottish businesses say they are ready to expand if given the right long-term policies and funding to create the demand. It’s estimated that around 6,000 jobs would be created and sustained with a 20-year retrofit programme – with an additional 9000 jobs during the peak of activity. The government needs to support skills development, training programmes and apprenticeships to help businesses the length and breadth of Scotland capture these opportunities – boosting local economies and local incomes. At the same time this support should ensure quality installations that perform well and meet household’s needs.

Grasping the opportunity

We know that energy efficiency is a central pillar of a just transition to a net-zero Scotland. Without it, we will unnecessarily require additional power generation capacity, and larger and more costly heating systems while paying higher energy bills. Fuel poverty would persist, more power plant and grid reinforcement will be needed, there would be greater vulnerability to volatile prices of imports, and we would have to pursue more costly decarbonisation options elsewhere.

A failure to invest in energy efficiency alongside renewable heat will simply drive up the cost of decarbonisation for all households - with those who can least afford it suffering the worst.

We don’t have to suffer from these consequences. We can grasp the opportunity to put fuel poor households first by choosing to invest in healthy, warm, low carbon and affordable to heat homes. This will tackle fuel poverty today, improve the quality of our housing for everyone, and be one of the most cost-effective responses to the climate emergency.


For a more detailed overview of the Existing Home Alliance’s proposed pathway to zero carbon homes, see its report: Pathway to zero carbon homes by 2045: warm, climate friendly and affordable to heat.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Fuel Poverty (Targets, Definition and Strategy) Act sets out a new definition for fuel poverty. It states that a household is in fuel poverty if the household’s fuel costs (necessary to meet the requisite temperature and amount of hours as well as other reasonable fuel needs) are more than 10% of the household’s adjusted net income and after deducting these fuel costs, benefits received for a care need or disability, childcare costs, the household’s remaining income is not enough to maintain an acceptable standard of living.
A new economy for all

The concept of a wellbeing economy is one that has gained increasing salience in recent years, as a means of building an economic system that serves people and the planet. Katherine Trebeck, Knowledge and Policy Lead at the Wellbeing Economy Alliance, writes here on how a wellbeing economy can act as an economic system that serves both people and planet.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) speak to an agenda that is familiar the world over, even though different terms might be used to describe the key ideas: quality of life, flourishing for all people and sustainability for the planet. These ideas are increasingly coalescing around the notion of wellbeing, in all its dimensions.

This shared vision for a better way of doing things can be found across a range of sources. It is embedded in the scripts of many religions. It is contained in the world views of First Nations communities. It can be read in the scholarship of development experts and in research findings about what makes people content. This vision echoes in evidence from psychology about human needs and from neuroscience about what makes our brains react. Perhaps most importantly, it can be heard loud and clear in deliberative conversations with people all over the world about what really matters to them. It is set out in the 17 SDGs, and perhaps is best captured by the overriding mantra of ‘leave no one behind’.

An economy that leaves people behind

This is a call to ensure that everyone is included, that no one is marginalised. ‘Leave no one behind’ implies that it is the system, our collective institutions and their interactions, which does the ‘leaving’ – not that it is those left behind who are to blame. Taking this system-wide viewpoint enables a conversation about the interconnected nature of people’s opportunities and conceptualisations of development, how they interact with the environment, and how shifts in one sphere have consequences in the other. In the worst-case scenario, these interactions can spark spirals that devastate lives, threaten human rights and undermine peace.

The systemic nature of these processes means that it is inadequate to keep plastering over “wounds caused by inequality by building more prisons, hiring more police and prescribing more drugs” (as Danny Dorling puts it in his book Injustice: Why Social Inequality Still Persists). Expenditure on such items is a grave testament to the failure to help people flourish and enjoy quality of life. This tally is even higher when one looks at the expenditure necessitated by environmental breakdown – cleaning up after climate-change-induced flooding or storms, treating asthma exacerbated by toxic particles in the air, and buying bottled water when rivers and streams are polluted.

Of course, such expenditures are the preserve of those fortunate enough to have the resources to spend. Environmental breakdown hits those without such resources the hardest due to their increased vulnerability. People’s ability to escape from sources of toxicity and risk is determined by whether they can command access to uncontaminated, safer land and food sources, or if they are among the great numbers of those who must make do with what is left.
The vulnerability of those who are least to blame reflects the unequal distribution of power, resources and opportunity: economic resources are as unequally shared as the impact resulting from plunder of natural ones.

An unequally shared harvest

One of the best-regarded authorities on economic inequality is the World Inequality Report. The 2018 publication revealed that in recent decades income inequality, measured by the top 10 per cent’s share of income, is getting worse in almost all parts of the world. Statistics compiled by Credit Suisse show that the richest one per cent own as much wealth as the rest of the world. The gap between the real incomes of people in the Global North compared to those in the Global South has expanded by approximately three times since 1960. Taking the broader definition of poverty adopted by Peter Edward’s ‘ethical poverty line’ (identifying the income threshold below which life expectancy rapidly falls, currently $7.40 a day) as many as 4.3 billion people live in poverty.

Those GDP-rich economies that most epitomise the current economic model provide some of the starkest evidence that the prevailing system distributes inadequately. The McKinsey Global Institute reports that 81 per cent of the US population is in an income bracket which experienced flat or declining income over the last decade. The figure is 97 per cent in Italy, 70 per cent in Britain and 63 per cent in France. People living in GDP-rich countries are struggling to get by. In the UK, for example, the use of food banks has risen dramatically in recent years.

Those who reap most of the rewards of this system are also those putting the planet in most danger. On climate change, figures published by Our World In Data show that the richest countries (high and upper-middle income countries) emit 86 per cent of global CO2 emissions. In the UK, emissions are strongly correlated with income, while in the US, the richest 10 per cent have a carbon footprint three times that of people in the poorest 10 per cent of incomes.

Rebuilding the system

It is not unusual to hear people who are concerned about the state of the world pointing to the levels of inequality. They cite the lack of sufficient job quality, bemoan the plunder of the planet and declare that the economic system is ‘broken’.

But if one peers beneath the symptoms, it becomes apparent that the root cause of so much of this is directly due to how the economy is currently and proactively designed. Our economic system does not sufficiently account for nature, is blind to distribution of resources, and elevates measures of progress that encompass perverse incentives (such as short-term profit and GDP at the expense of human wellbeing).

The system is not broken: it is doing what it was set up to do. The roots of inequality and environmental breakdown are found in a heady mix of institutions, processes and power relations that shape allocation of risk and reward. Decisions taken over many years by successive governments have resulted in: inadequate minimum wage levels and inadequate social protection; different rates of tax on income compared to capital; relatively low rates of top income tax (particularly in the UK and US compared to other OECD countries, and compared to previous levels); loopholes inserted in legislation that enabled tax avoidance; undermining of unions’ scope to collectively bargain and fight for workers’ pay and conditions; narrow ownership of many firms; and corporate governance that fixates on short-term profit.

The same system dynamics are seen in the links between inequality and environmental impact.
These links arise through: the pressure to consume status items to maintain the appearance of wealth; the consumption patterns of the richest; the way inequality undermines collective efforts to protect environmental commons; and the break that inequality exerts on pro-environmental policies. These structures are deliberate, even though the side effects may not be. Although they stretch back many decades (centuries even), they can be dismantled and designed differently.

Building a wellbeing economy

The patterns highlighted above suggest that while the vision might be to leave no one behind, today’s reality is that some might be too far ahead – hoarding economic resources and doing much damage to natural ones. This arrangement is a construct that reflects political decisions and choices by enterprises.

A wellbeing economy can be built that would deliver good lives for people from the beginning, rather than requiring so much effort to patch things up, to cope and recover after the damage is done, and to redistribute what is unevenly shared. A wellbeing economy can be achieved by reorienting goals and expectations for business, politics and society.

A wellbeing economy is one that is regenerative, that is cooperative and collaborative, and that is purposeful. It will have equal opportunity at its core: not simply by meekly redistributing as best one can the outcomes from an unequal economic system, but by structuring the economy so that better sharing of resources, wealth and power is built in. For example, it would entail:

- regenerated ecosystems and extended global commons;
- a circular economy serving needs rather than driving consumption from production;
- people feeling safe and healthy in their communities, mitigating the need for vast expenditure on treating, healing and fixing;
- switching to renewables, generated by local communities or public agencies wherever possible;
- democratic economic management (in terms of power, scale and ownership);
- participatory, deliberative democracy with governments responsive to citizens;
- purpose-driven businesses with social and environmental aims in their DNA, using true-cost accounting;
- economic security for all, and wealth, income, time and power fairly distributed, rather than relying on redistribution;
- jobs that deliver meaning and purpose and means for a decent livelihood;
- recognising and valuing care, health and education in the ‘core’ economy outside the market; and
- focusing on measures of progress that reflect real value creation.

A growing movement is forming around the idea of such an economy. It comprises academics laying out the evidence base, businesses harnessing commercial activities to deliver on social and environmental goals, and communities working together not for monetary reward, but following the innate human instincts to be together, to cooperate and collaborate. Such efforts will be made so much easier as pioneering policymakers are emboldened to step away from the constraints imposed by a 20th century vision of ‘development as GDP’. Instead, they must embrace a new agenda for the 21st century – an economy geared up to deliver human and ecological wellbeing. This work bodes well for the creation of a world in which no one is left behind.

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Climate change, poverty and transport

Transport is the biggest cause of greenhouse gas emissions in Scotland. At the same time, our public transport system is too often unaffordable and inaccessible for people living in poverty. Here, Rebecca Menzies of Get Glasgow Moving writes on how public ownership of the transport system in Scotland should be considered a key part of our response to the climate emergency.

Scotland is in a crisis. One is environmental and the other is social. But the two must be considered together if we want to respond to the climate emergency in a just and equal way.

Transport is the biggest emitter in Scotland, accounting for 37% of our total emissions with road transport - particularly car emissions – accounting for the biggest share. This doesn't just damage the environment; it is damaging our health.

Air pollution is killing 2,500 Scots every year. It is especially harmful to children, elderly people and people living in poverty who are already made vulnerable from other health conditions. These deaths are unnecessary and preventable, but only if we have a radical change in both transport policy and planning, and in our attitudes to car ownership.

We have spent years creating a car-reliant culture which prioritises private car ownership through policy and investment, and through presenting car ownership as a symbol of affluence and freedom. In turn, we have neglected our public transport network, leaving communities isolated and our cities overrun with cars and pollution. Public transport plays a pivotal role in connecting local communities.

It enables people to access employment, education, health care and visit friends and family. Buses in particular are key in taking people to local supermarkets where the cost of food is cheaper and to schools, childcare and other services that are vital to people's lives.

However, in Scotland - particularly Glasgow - the bus network is not fit for purpose. Entire communities are being left isolated by services that are reduced or completely cut because they are not profitable. Those who get their route reinstated are being told by private operators to 'use it or lose it'. At the same time, the cost of bus and train fares has risen 80% and 38% respectively in the last 20 years whilst motoring has fallen. This is despite people on low incomes making up the majority of bus users.

In a time of increased inequality where many people are being forced into low paid, precarious work often miles from where they live and at unsociable hours, and others are left in limbo waiting for Universal Credit, it is not good enough that our public transport network pushes people further into poverty.

Cuts to bus services and increase in fares means that people are being forced into car ownership they can't afford. They're forced to pay over £10 a day if they need to switch operators or modes of transport. Others cannot take up employment or training because they can't afford the bus fare, the journey is too long due to lack of connectivity and timetables do not reflect the shifts people actually work.

Our response to the climate emergency must take all of this into account so that no one is left behind or shoulders the brunt of the costs. The move to electric cars is welcome, however they are expensive and the government loans available can potentially push people - who are often already experiencing financial insecurity - further into debt. It also won't significantly reduce the pollution caused by traffic to the levels that are needed.
We need to reduce the number of cars on the road, not replace them with electric ones.

That’s why we need massive investment and a radical change in public transport policy, and in society’s attitude to it. Right now, our transport network is operated mainly by the private market. It was privatised to make it more competitive and this was meant to benefit passengers by driving costs down. The opposite has happened.

Get Glasgow Moving are campaigning for public ownership of our public transport network so that it is affordable, accessible, integrated and accountable to the people who use it, and the staff who are employed by it.

Public transport is a public service and it should never have been run for profit.

The campaign wants to see our bus network re-regulated; this is the first step in creating a transport network that puts passengers first. It would allow us to set the fares at an affordable rate, like Lothian’s council-run buses which are £1.70 for a single rather than £2.50. Having publicly owned buses also means we can create timetables to reflect times people need to travel, and begin to integrate with the rest of the network. If our buses are owned by the council, it means profit can be reinvested into the service, rather than shareholders.

Lothian buses returned £7 million to Edinburgh City Council last year, and we believe every local authority in Scotland should have the same so that they can upgrade their bus fleet to make them cleaner, and run the routes that people really need.

We need to act now to transform our city to one that puts pedestrians and cyclists first. We need to take back public spaces for people so that we can breathe in air that won’t damage our health, and so our city is an enjoyable place to be. It should be accessible for all, ensuring that people with disabilities can access all of our train and subway stations, and bus stops. Our public transport needs massive investment to do this.

Without regulation we’re only going to see fares continue to rise and more and more communities left isolated because their vital services are not profitable.

This isn’t how a just and equal society should be run. Nor is it going to enable us to meet the ambitious and much-needed climate targets that we have set. But we can do better. We can change the way our public transport works, not just for the benefit of the environment, but for the people who use it. Having affordable and reliable public transport can help lift people out of poverty, and at the same time improve our health by reducing the number of cars on the road.

In Dunkirk, they’ve made buses completely free. The city is similar to Glasgow in that it is largely working-class and car-dependent. Since the local authority removed fares, the number of new passengers has increased by 50% with the majority of these new users leaving their cars at home. Dunkirk made buses free in order to tackle inequality, and in doing so it has reduced air pollution and given its citizens the freedom to travel around the city and local neighbourhoods.

We have the power to change our society. New powers in the Transport Bill give councils the power to run their own bus services. Through affordable and reliable public transport, and measures to reduce car use, we can lift people out of poverty, improve the quality of air that we breathe, and begin to implement the urgent changes needed to tackle the climate emergency.
How can we work towards a Just Transition?

The need to transition away from reliance on fossil fuels is clear, but how can this be done in such a way as to protect workers and promote social inclusion? Ryan Morrison, Just Transition Campaigner at Friends of the Earth Scotland, writes here on how we can move towards Just Transition.

We occupy a different space for climate awareness than we did a year ago. Since the UN’s climate scientists Special Report on the devastating impacts of 1.5°C warming, public demand has brought the issue higher up the agenda than ever before, with huge numbers taking to the streets to demand the critical action necessary.

The scale of change needed has been described as “transformative”, “far reaching” and “unprecedented". It is not possible, if it ever was, to find solutions by tinkering around the edges. As a result, proposals citing the need for a Just Transition have seen growing political attention, particularly in the recent General Election, as a means of shifting from fossil fuels to address the climate crisis while ensuring the transition is fair to existing workers. The term Just Transition is not new and has its roots in the trade union movement. Drawing on the brutal experience of previous industrial transition and the resulting impacts that continue to be felt by workers and communities today, it recognises the inherent risk in significant changes to an economy, such as those needed to tackle the climate crisis.

Just Transition ties together the need for policies that will address the climate crisis while also maintaining and improving social inclusion. Action to curb emissions shouldn't follow the callous history of earlier transitions. Ending our dependence on fossil fuels is an opportunity to build a fairer and more equal Scotland. An opportunity to spread the wealth of our economy more fairly, to address poverty by investing in decent work and warmer homes, empowering trade unions and sharing benefits in communities across the country. With rising levels of in-work poverty and precarious work in recent years, compounded by the injustice of over two-thirds of children in poverty in Scotland living in working households, it is clear that a fundamental overhaul is required to meet the scale of the challenges faced.

Just Transition is not just about going from fossil fuels to fossil free, it’s about delivering a more fundamental shift as we transition, towards a system that links together and prioritises environmental sustainability and social inclusion.

In the UK, the big six energy suppliers are deeply unpopular², while a combination of poorly insulated homes and rising costs contribute to high levels of fuel poverty. Much of our emissions reductions so far have been as a result of de-industrialisation. Over the last two decades, Scotland has seen a huge growth in renewables in our energy mix, yet we have badly failed to take advantage of the domestic supply chain that could have delivered decent work while reducing emissions. Despite promises of 130,000 jobs in the low-carbon, renewable energy economy by 2020, this figure is closer to 46,000³. If the transition to a zero carbon economy continues to be left to the market forces responsible for these failings, we risk repeating the devastating social dislocation and high unemployment experienced as a result of de-industrialisation and coal mine closures.
Despite the declarations of climate emergency and the raised profile of Just Transition, we’re yet to see that there is a real intention to make it happen. We have already started on a journey of transition and our experience so far is of serious failure to realise the potential benefits. There have been reactive approaches from the Scottish Government to instances like those at BiFab where workers have had to fight for any of the manufacturing work needed for a windfarm to be built just ten miles off the Fife coast. Even then, the Scottish Government claimed they were unable to do more despite being challenged on this by environmentalists, trade unions and the workers themselves. Government action has been on a case by case basis and in the absence of an overarching plan, there is no clear direction of travel and no attempt to change our approach to deliver these projects ourselves, while prioritising the social benefits of decent work in communities.

To realise a Just Transition away from fossil fuels there are important steps we must take early. Most importantly, we need to begin by reconciling our approach to North Sea oil and gas with our climate ambitions, setting limits for extraction that ensure staying within 1.5°C is possible.

This would represent a major change in policy at a Scottish and UK level, but would offer the necessary clarity for civil society, business and all politicians of the change coming. Once we know this limit, we will have a clear picture of what’s needed and in what timescales for increasing renewable energy supply and delivering projects to reduce demand through home retrofits for example. This level of planning and the scale of change that will be necessary will require a thorough and comprehensive industrial strategy, this is not an effort to be delivered by the Environment department of Governments alone. Throughout the planning and implementation of this strategy, trade unions, impacted workers and communities, and environmentalists must be at the core.

We should put Scotland’s existing Just Transition Commission on a firmer footing in legislation for the duration of our climate targets, empowering the Commission to play a key role in monitoring and providing recommendations for the duration of the transition.

It hasn’t been possible to achieve the scale and pace of change necessary with the improvements to social inclusion through the usual carrot and stick method with private business. To implement the industrial strategy we will need much more Government involvement to either enact or drive the change. This should start with the redirecting of the huge sums of public money currently going towards subsidies for oil and gas companies (who then spit out huge profits to shareholders while shedding jobs at the same time) into publicly owned enterprise that can deliver on objectives beyond shareholder profit⁴. Our energy network provides a critical public good and the privatisation of such a key utility has comprehensively failed to deliver⁵. A publicly owned energy company should have a role through the entire cycle, for example from the manufacturing with the creation of decent work through to supply at a cost that prioritises those most vulnerable over executive pay. Publicly owned companies can take many forms, nationally, regionally or by individual councils and there are great examples to follow.
How can we work towards a Just Transition?

Over 50% of the UKs offshore wind farms are owned by publicly run companies of other countries, yet only 0.07% is owned by UK equivalents\(^6\). The fifth largest offshore wind developer in all of Europe is the city of Munich’s Municipal Energy Company, with a revenue in 2018 of over 8 billion euros\(^7\). There are other public bodies being created in Scotland that could have a key role such as the National Investment Bank and Infrastructure Commission, but they must be empowered with a clear remit to drive a Just Transition if they are to make a difference. Many of these alternatives are not untried proposals, they are used in other countries to the benefit of people and planet.

There is an urgency required here. If we wait too long we leave little time to adequately prepare for the transition with the essential early programmes needed such as retraining and infrastructure building.

Business as usual is effectively a deferred collapse of the fossil fuel industry as worsening climate impacts will force rapid action globally to cut emissions, this will see the UK oil industry collapsing, hitting workers and communities hard.

Our current approach is failing to deliver on either the emissions reductions necessary or the potential benefits socially of a Just Transition.

FOOTNOTES

1. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C
3. STUC Report, Broken Promises and Offshored Jobs
4. Friends of the Earth Scotland, Oil Change International and Platform Report, Sea Change, Chapter
5. Report by Vera Wegmann, Going Public: The failure of energy liberalisation
6. Labour Energy Forum, Who owns the wind, owns the future
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The Poverty Alliance is a national anti-poverty development agency for Scotland, which seeks to combat poverty through collaborative action, bringing together workers and activists drawn from the public sector, voluntary organisations, community groups and other agencies.

The Alliance's wide range of activities provide many opportunities for members to exchange information and expertise, which benefits the anti-poverty movement.

The benefits of membership include regular mailings, Scottish Anti-Poverty Review, opportunities to become involved in working groups and access to a wide range of organisations and activists who have the potential to influence the direction of anti-poverty policy in the future.

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Name and address of organisation: __________________________________________________________

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Please send the completed application form to the address below - thank you.

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