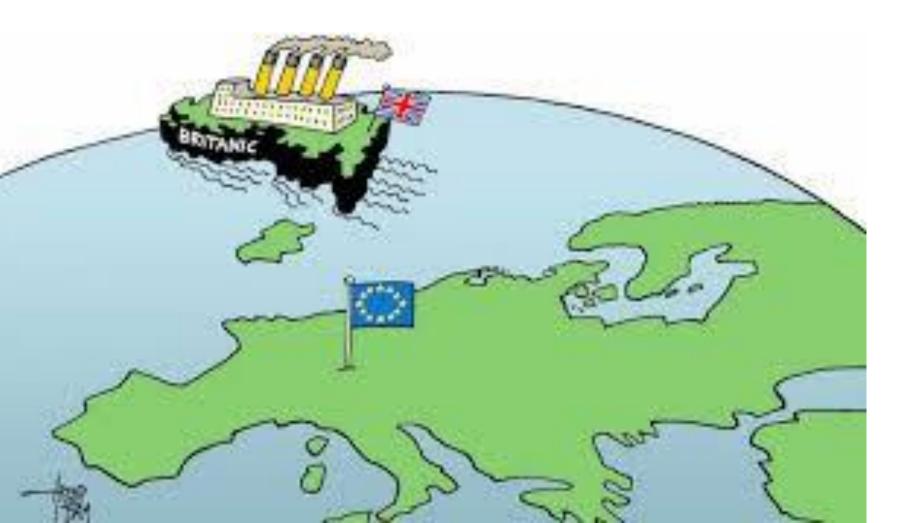
Does Brexit blur a low carbon future?

Professor Linda Clarke
University of Westminster
Vancouver 26 November 2016



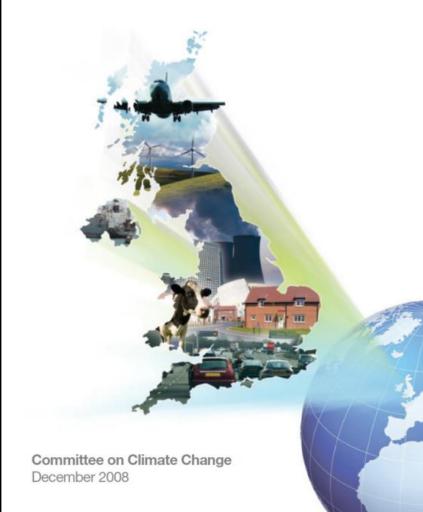
Brexit options

- Bad/Hard Brexit: adversarial divorce proceedings
 - cut from Parliament/ECJ jurisdiction, research funding etc.
 - coming under WTO rules = export tariffs
 - □ no free movement of labour/employment rights
- **Not so bad**: (Norway = EEA or Switzerland = EFTA)
 - some curtailment freedom of movement
 - mostly transpose all new SEM legislation/employment rights
 - no political say
 - No Brexit = no triggering Article 50
 - representative not direct democracy
 - □ free movement of labour across EU
- UNIVERSITY freedom of trade across EU

'No change' on combatting climate change?

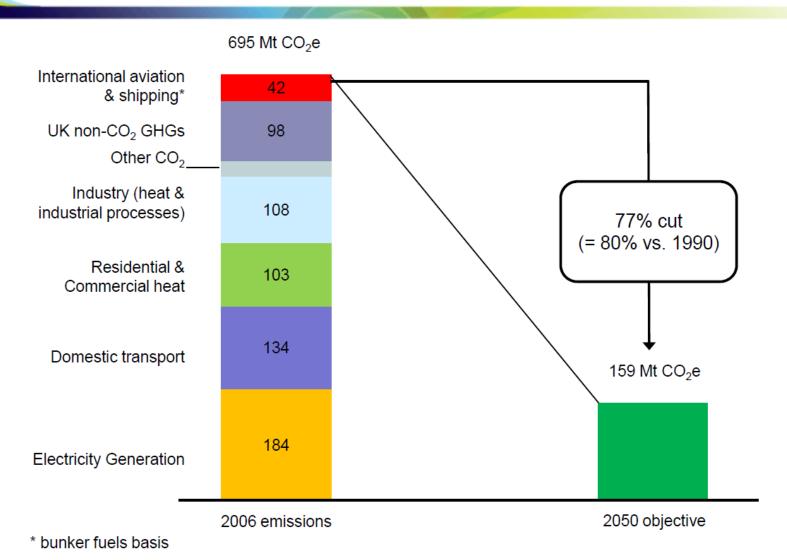
- Broad cross-party support for action to tackle climate change
- □ Government agreement with Committee's carbon budget recommendation means first Labour, then Conservative-Liberal Democrat, and now Conservative Governments have backed the framework created by the Climate Change Act 2008
- Department of Energy and Climate Change to be merged into new Department of Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy

Building a low-carbon economy – the UK's contribution to tackling climate change



(ii) Appropriate UK contribution (cont.): the scale of the challenge

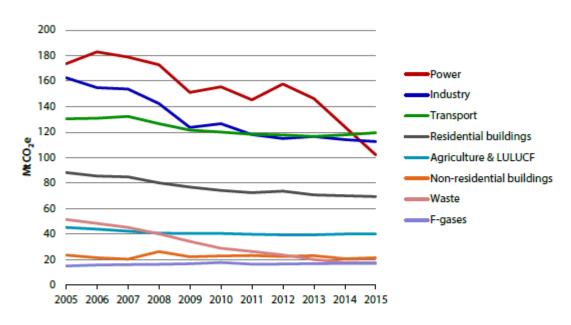




Independent advice to Government on building a low-carbon economy

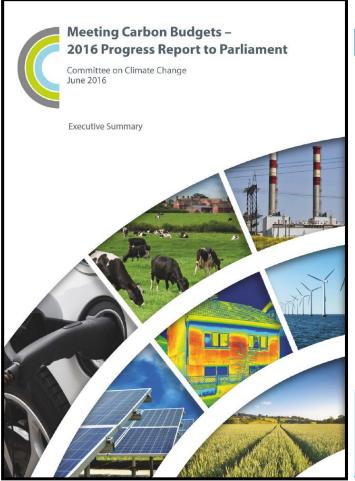
The present UK climate mitigation context

Figure 1. Progress reducing emissions since 2012 has been almost entirely due to the power sector



Source: DECC (2016) Provisional GHG statistics for 2015; DECC (2016) Final GHG statistics for 1990-2014; CCC analysis.

Notes: Chart shows temperature-adjusted emissions in power, residential and non-residential buildings. This smooths out the large changes in heating emissions between years with mild and cold winters to give a clearer impression of genuine progress.



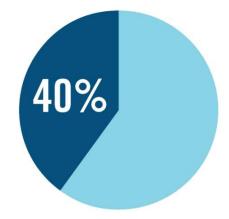


The Fifth Carbon Budget

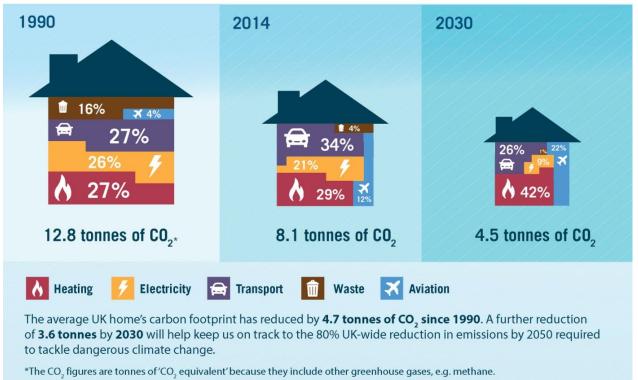
How every household can help reduce the UK's carbon footprint

40% of UK emissions come from households.

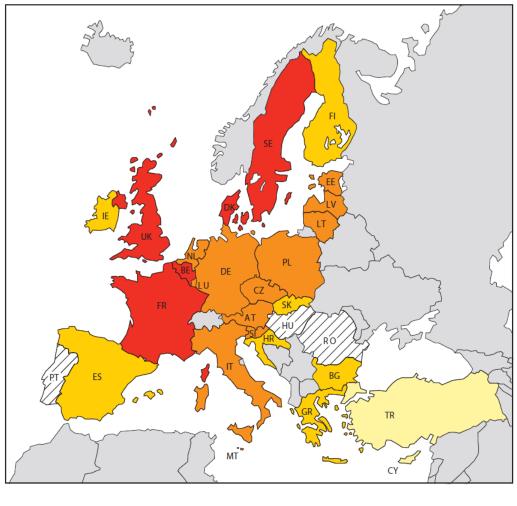
This means our homes have an important part to play in meeting the 2030 emissions reductions in the Fifth Carbon Budget.

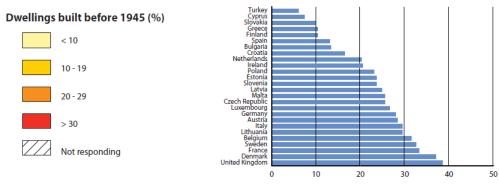


The path from 1990 to 2030



EU dwellings built before 1945 generally "Hard to Heat"





Not responding: Hungary Portugal Romania

Source: GEODE 2005, http://www.ceps.lu/pdf/6/art1143.pdf

Transition pathways to low carbon economy (Hampton 2015)

- Market-based: e.g. carbon-pricing, assumptions that skill shortages met by increased demand, labour as commodity, high control and specialisation, lengthy value chain → more of same
- Ecological modernization: e.g. retraining, assumptions of proactive investment, 'just transition', labour as restricted agent → possible with local authority/ trade union involvement and political will
- Radical transformation: integrated and regulated energy supply, built on labour potential, broad occupational capacity, high qualifications, labour/trade unions as active west agents → needs change in political approach/system

An example of what can be done – is this possible still with Brexit?

Social housing (91) scheme combining:

- Green technologies & traditional building techniques
- Direct labour and all different trades working together
- o Apprentice training at Leeds College
- Own (90 strong) repair and maintenance team
- Trade union initiative and involvement (UCATT)









The need for radical transformation if Wakefield to be general model

- Decline in construction apprenticeships in England completions 16,890 2009/10 → 8,030 2013/4
- Increase in full-time college construction training though overall entrants declining: 47,188 2005 → 14,121 2015
- Emphasis on bolt-on skills/short training courses, fragmentation of certification & awarding bodies + private training providers
- Fragmentation of construction employment (nearly half selfemployed and/or agency labour) and firms (94% under 14 employees)
- Reliance on migrant workers, poaching other country VET systems
- Employer disengagement though employer-based system
- Collapse Green Deal due to non-compliance with Code of Practice of c350 firms, lack of progress, market-based short-term nature of training and narrow qualifications



The way forward: is it impeded by Brexit?

- □ Labour and trade unions key to transforming VET and labour process (strengthened by European trade union dialogue and collaboration)
- Less extensive subcontracting chain and direct employment essential for integrated teamworking (requires EU employment rights/trade union dialogue/CDM regs)
- Well qualified workforce essential for meeting targets (depends on free movement of labour)
- Extensive initial and continuing VET programme needed to enhance knowledge and know-how for energy literacy, overcome serious skill shortages, and improve productivity (assisted by European social dialogue, VET cooperation, and Europe-wide research)
- Transition to low carbon through largescale retrofit forward regressitives (needs European collaboration)

Challenges with Brexit

- □ European research & innovation support —immediate impact on consortium building, absence of clear UK support model
- □ Industrial policy politically very weakly articulated pendulum between non-intervention and top down 'grand projects'
- □ Policy capacity for sustainability and green economy reduced by austerity cities
- □ Brexit long term diversion from other policy concerns
- Governing party divided over sustainability and climate change future trajectory uncertain
- Climate/business relationship vulnerable Economy and Industrial Strategy Committee does not mention climate change
- Unlikely to offer interesting opportunities for relevant UK national policy innovation
- Threat to employment rights, health and safety, trade union intersimal and collaboration