



# HOW TO RESET

Policies to deliver on the public desire  
for a fairer, greener Britain after Covid

A report by the All Party  
Parliamentary Group  
on the Green New Deal

**RESET**

# About RESET

## About Reset

Reset is an inquiry by the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Green New Deal, which set out to work with the public to shape the future of Britain. Through surveys, workshops, discussion groups, evidence sessions and other online events exploring how life in the UK could change after the coronavirus crisis, Reset hoped to engage as many different voices as possible, deliberately reaching out to those communities which are often overlooked. It went beyond consultation and aimed to start the process of putting power back into communities, using people's experience and expertise to decide next steps and create the connections and structures that will underpin a better future.

## The All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on the Green New Deal

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on the Green New Deal exists to provide a cross-party platform for the development of a transformative Green New Deal for the UK. Its members are: Caroline Lucas MP, co-chair (Green Party); Clive Lewis MP, co-chair (Labour); Lord Randall, vice-chair, (Conservative); Liz Saville Roberts MP, vice-chair (Plaid Cymru); Debbie Abrahams MP, vice-chair (Labour); Claire Hanna MP, vice-chair (SDLP); Stephen Farry MP, Treasurer (Alliance Party); Wera Hobhouse MP (Liberal Democrat); Alan Brown MP (SNP); Nadia Whittome MP (Labour); Baroness Bennett (Green Party); Baroness Lister (Labour); Baroness Jones (Green Party); Lloyd Russell-Moyle MP (Labour); Feryal Clark MP (Labour); Sam Tarry MP (Labour); James Murray MP (Labour Co-operative); Alex Sobel MP (Labour Co-operative); Wes Streeting MP (Labour); Rachel Maskell MP (York Central); Beth Winter MP (Labour).

## Time to Reset – the first report of the Reset inquiry

Time to Reset, the first report of the Reset inquiry was published on 17 September 2020 and set out the findings of the workshops and polls. It found a public overwhelmingly united behind a desire for a fairer, greener, kinder Britain after Covid and the belief that the Government should take bold action to make that happen. The full report is available at: [www.reset-uk.org](http://www.reset-uk.org)

## How to Reset – the second report of the Reset inquiry

This report presents some of the policies that could deliver the kind of Britain the public told us they wanted to build. It draws on evidence from almost 40 civil society organisations, from the NFU to Nesta, and the evidence of 17 expert witnesses who presented their evidence to us in four online evidence sessions.

### **The Advisory Group for the APPG on the Green New Deal**

The Advisory Group on the Green New Deal helped to shape the Reset Inquiry. They are: Professor Kevin Anderson, Tyndall Centre; Fernanda Balata, New Economics Foundation; Adrienne Buller, Common Wealth; Mel Evans, Senior Climate Campaigner, Greenpeace UK; Tony Greenham, South West Mutual; Professor Andy Gouldson, University of Leeds, Place Based Climate Action Network; Colin Hines, Convenor, Green New Deal Group; Fatima Ibrahim, Co-Executive Director, Green New Deal UK; Professor Richard Murphy, Corporate Accountability Network; Ann Pettifor, Prime Economics; Asad Rehman, Executive Director, War on Want; Professor Nick Robins, LSE/Grantham Institute; Andrew Simms, Rapid Transition Alliance; Professor Lorraine Whitmarsh, Director of the Centre for Climate Change and Social Transformations; Professor Rebecca Willis, Lancaster University.

### **The Reset Research Team**

We brought together a specialist research team to deliver the Reset inquiry, each of whom has specific expertise in engaging different groups and all of whom gave their time to the project for free. We are very grateful to Nadya Powell, co-founder of Utopia; Steven Lacey, ethnographic researcher and founder of the Outsiders; Fern Miller, a senior qualitative researcher; Shazia Ali, a senior qualitative researcher; Will Oshiro De Groot, a cultural insights practitioner and founder at MEND and Dr. Leili Sreberny-Mohammadi, a Digital Ethnographer. Additional research support was provided by Annayah Prosser, a PhD candidate at the University of Bath, and Martin Preston, a PhD candidate at the University of Bristol through the South West Doctoral Training partnership. Adam Chmielowski of Starling analysed the Bulbshare data. Ruth Potts, a researcher for the Green New Deal Group, managed the Reset project for the APPG.

### **Reset Opinion Polling and Surveys**

We used a combination of opinion polls and surveys for Reset. The support of a number of organisations made that possible.

**The insight agency, Opinium,** hosted our public survey and conducted three opinion polls of 2,000 adults for the project in July, September and October 2020. We recruited a nationally representative sample of people for our public workshops through Opinium, increasing the proportion of people of colour, and working-class people, to account for imbalances in conventional polling. We worked with specialist recruitment agencies in London and Manchester, financed by the Outsiders, to make sure our sample was diverse. A small grant from ECF allowed us to pay members of the public for their time to help increase inclusivity.

**The online campaign group, 38 degrees**, sent a shortened version of our survey to their email list and received just over 50,000 responses. While not a representative group, this nonetheless gave us responses from significant numbers of people in every constituency in the country.

### **The written evidence we received**

In all we received evidence from almost 40 organisations and individuals: Adblock; Alan Simpson; C40 Cities; CAFOD; Campaign for Better Transport; Chris Roffley; The Climate Coalition; Crisis; Duncan Nimmo; The East End Trades Guilds; Empowering Places (Co-ops UK, CLES, the New Economics Foundation); The Federation of Small Businesses; Finance for the Future; The Food and Farming Commission; Green Alliance; Green New Deal UK; Green Party Councillors; Greenpeace; The Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR); Local Government Association; Localis; National Farmers Union; Nesta; New Economics Foundation; Positive Money; Quakers in Britain; Rapid Transition Alliance; The Soil Association; Sustain; Tax Justice UK; Tipping Point North South; Tony Greenham and Frances Northrop; Transition Economics; Tyndall Centre Manchester; Wellbeing Economy Alliance; Wildlife and Countryside Link; Women's Budget Group and Women's Environmental Network.

### **The evidence we heard**

We heard expert evidence from 17 witnesses in four online evidence sessions. The expert witnesses we heard from were (in the order that they gave evidence): Nigel Topping, High Level Climate Action Champion, COP26; Professor Sir Michael Marmot; Dr Rita Issa, Bromley by Bow Centre; Hilary Cottam OBE, social entrepreneur; Brian O'Callaghan, the Smith School, Oxford University; Emily Shukburgh, Director, Cambridge Zero; Mika Minio-Paluelo, Transition Economics; Chaitanya Kumar, The New Economics Foundation; Professor Susan Himmelweit, The Women's Budget Group; Frances Northrop, Associate fellow, The New Economics Foundation; Tony Greenham, South West Mutual; Nick Robins, Grantham Institute; Jesse Griffiths, Finance Lab; Stewart Wallis, Wellbeing Economies Alliance; Kate Raworth, Economist and author of 'Doughnut Economics'; Jason Hickel, economic anthropologist and author, and Jayati Ghosh, Professor of Economics.

### **The Reset Delivery Team**

A range of people made the Reset project possible, all of whom gave their time to the project for free. We are very grateful to Ian Fooks, Simon Wellings, Pete Lewis and David Flindall at Curious Ways who created the identity for the project, designed and built the website, designed and laid out both reports, and to Tanya Squires who managed the recruitment process for the workshops.

**Editing:** This report was edited by Joanna Jones.

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# Foreword

As we move into a second wave of the Covid pandemic, it is clear that the virus will be with us for some time to come. At least 47,000 people have tragically lost their lives from coronavirus, and we are facing a growing jobs crisis in the UK with almost 700,000 people falling off UK payrolls between March and August, and unemployment projected to rise to as high as 12 per cent over the winter<sup>1</sup>. That's more than one in 10 of the working age population of the UK.

Looking back now, early assertions that the pandemic was some kind of leveller, affecting Prime Ministers and princes as much as plumbers and plasterers seem almost callous. What is clear is that the Covid pandemic has emphasised and exacerbated shocking levels of inequality. It exposed the harsh impacts of 10 years of austerity on public services and local authorities, and the corrosive impact of marketisation on many of our essential services. As Sir Michael Marmot told the Reset inquiry: "I'm looking at the evidence, and my evidence in 2020 was that we lost a decade."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the climate crisis is intensifying. In the summer wildfires in the US burned so intensely that they were visible from space, just this month scientists have found evidence that frozen methane deposits in the Arctic Ocean – known as the "sleeping giants of the carbon cycle" – have started to be released, and the United Nations warned that the world has failed to meet a single target to stem the destruction of wildlife over the past decade.

In the midst of the second wave of the pandemic, we are clearly not through yet, but the measures we implement now can stave off the worst economic impacts and begin to deliver a future that is greener and fairer. So, how do we seize this moment in history, and rebuild life in the UK in ways that not only enable us to move past this pandemic, but learn from it and build back better?

In the summer of 2020, as he announced what he framed as a significant new investment package, the Prime Minister chose to evoke the spirit of the American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In his inaugural address to the nation, in the midst of the Great Depression, the American President famously stated that: "we have nothing to fear but fear itself." Significantly, however, Roosevelt didn't shy away from the harsh conditions the nation faced: "a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return."

Recognising the scale of the unemployment crisis, the President set out his plans for a New Deal: “Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.”<sup>3</sup> Almost 100 years later, with unemployment rising in response to a very different crisis, Government investment in urgently needed projects could reset life in the UK if Ministers recognise, as Roosevelt did, the overwhelming need for far-reaching and transformative government action.

The nation is willing. Our first Reset report showed that this Government has a far greater popular mandate for much bolder action to achieve fairness and sustainability than it imagines. There is widespread support in all nations and regions of the UK for ambitious change – this report shows some of the changes that could deliver the kind of Britain people told the Reset inquiry they wanted to see.

From the small businesses that adapted their business models quickly to the new reality of life with Covid, to the manufacturers that rapidly repurposed to produce hand sanitiser or ventilators, to the extensive mutual aid networks that sprung up across the country, it is clear that a dynamic reset of life in Britain is possible by working with the skills, talent and potential of the people who live here.

The task of Government, then, is to unleash those skills, and allow the creativity and the untapped potential of people across the country to flourish. We urge Ministers and our fellow parliamentarians to take note of this report, and to work with the people of Britain on a Green New Deal that can deliver a greener, fairer, more resilient Britain.

**Caroline Lucas MP, Clive Lewis MP, Lord Randall, Liz Saville Roberts MP,  
Wera Hobhouse MP, Debbie Abrahams MP, Claire Hanna MP  
and Stephen Farry MP.**

**The Officers of the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Green New Deal.**

# Key recommendations at a glance: A policy package to Reset Britain



MPs and peers from the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Green New Deal, who spent the summer engaging with people across the country on what a post-Covid society and economy should look like, have now presented a package of policy measures to deliver the kind of changes the public said that they wanted.

The APPG's first report, *Time to Reset*, revealed that the public are way ahead of ministers in the boldness, scope and scale of change they want to see. Participants in nationally representative workshops and surveys had ambitious ideas about the future of work, public services, community, nature and local life. Two thirds of respondents wanted the Government to intervene to make society fairer and the same proportion believe that health and wellbeing should be prioritised over GDP growth. This popular mandate goes beyond investment in green energy, endorsing a deep-rooted transformation to the way the nations of the UK live and work – laying the foundations for a fairer, greener Britain after Covid.

Developing a society that nurtures the aspects of life people value has implications for every branch of government: national, devolved, regional and local and for every aspect of civil society. It calls for a politics where many more people are actively engaged, and decision making and resources are devolved to the local level, reducing crippling inequalities in power and enabling many more people to contribute to their communities. It requires a welfare system fit for twenty first century challenges, with a National Care Service at its heart, and where everyone is guaranteed an income that enables them to live with dignity.

An economy designed to meet people's needs and enhance the health and wellbeing of people and the ecosystem we depend on, rather than accrue yet more profits for the wealthy, would be one based on principles of fairness, compassion and community. It calls for a shift away from the political status quo based on competition, self-interest and individualism to a politics that is based on collaboration, collective-interest and mutualism.

Drawing on evidence from almost 40 organisations ranging from the National Farmers Union to Nesta, and expert evidence from 17 witnesses, the APPG's report, *How to Reset*, sets out the kind of changes needed to deliver the kind of post-Covid society and economy the public told the inquiry they would like to see.

Delivering on this public mandate would create a job-rich recovery, radically transforming the landscape of the UK and delivering on the Government's promise to 'level-up' the nation. The pandemic is far from over, but it is vital that the Government sets its sights on the future, harnessing this moment to build back better, while protecting people from the economic impacts of Covid.

**Protect incomes with some form of universal basic income:**

Too many people are still falling through the gaps in government provision. A minimum income guarantee, as proposed by the New Economics Foundation, or some form of universal basic income – a pilot of which was recently backed by more than 500 UK politicians<sup>4</sup> - would ensure that no-one is made destitute by the pandemic<sup>5</sup>.

**Ensure jobs for everyone with a good jobs guarantee:**

Two thirds of the public support a jobs guarantee where the Government creates the opportunity for everyone to access a fairly paid job, with wide support across political affiliation, region and class<sup>6</sup>. This would make sure that enough fairly paid jobs are available for everyone in work that is socially useful, organised around community need. Jobs created under the scheme would pay at least a national living wage, be voluntary and not replace existing welfare. As the economics anthropologist Jason Hickel pointed out in evidence, this may be vital to support the wider economic changes needed to set us on course for emissions reductions consistent with 1.5 or 2 degrees.

**Embark on a green infrastructure transformation:**

With unemployment set to rise into the winter, there is a clear case for government investment in the physical and social infrastructure that will make life in Britain greener and fairer. Installing green energy, transforming food and farming, planting trees and rewilding spaces, insulating homes and buildings, building new transport infrastructure and creating a National Care Service will require the creation of many new jobs, and in some cases new skills: providing employment and training opportunities for significant numbers of people across the UK. There is clear consensus that the investment needed to transform the UK economy and infrastructure to meet the UK's emissions targets and reduce inequality could create over a million well-paid jobs offsetting many of the jobs lost as a result of the economic shock of Covid. Transition Economics propose, for example, that investment of £85 billion in a range of social and environmental infrastructure could create over a million jobs over the next two years<sup>7</sup>.

**Create a National Nature Service:**

Proposed by Wildlife and Countryside Link and supported by a coalition of over 50 organisations, a National Nature Service would employ and train thousands of people in environmental work across the UK, from habitat creation to controlling invasive species<sup>8</sup>. As well as restoring ecosystems, addressing climate change and increasing access to nature, the new service would provide employment, particularly for young people and disadvantaged communities in both urban and rural areas, and provide new practical skills and training opportunities. There are particular benefits from investment in nature, where according to the Smith School jobs can be created quickly and respect social distancing.<sup>9</sup>

**Invest in a National Care Service:**

The Women's Budget Group propose a National Care Service to significantly increase the number of people working in the care sector. Reaching 10% of the population employed in the combined care sectors (roughly the proportions in Denmark and Sweden) would need a 4.3 % increase in the numbers of people currently employed.<sup>10</sup>

**Support a worker-led transition to a zero-carbon economy:**

When industries need to change and convert to a new purpose, some of the most innovative and effective ideas can come from the communities and work forces affected. The Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) have mapped out a framework for a worker-led just transition, while Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth Scotland and Platform are planning to work with oil workers to develop policy.<sup>11</sup>

As well as addressing the need to respond to rising unemployment while transforming the infrastructure of the UK to better meet future challenges, a green and fair recovery could also deliver on Government promises to level up the nation, reducing inequalities in power and resources.

**Devolve power and resources to the local level:**

Local councils have developed support hubs for care homes, while volunteer groups, existing charities and council staff have worked together in rapidly established new partnerships. These distributed responses, and the unparalleled knowledge local people have about their own area, were both quicker and more effective than Westminster Government in many areas. As the Local Government Association argue: "Councils should have a lead role in post-Covid recovery plans. The economic, social and environmental recovery our communities need will look different in different areas of the country and only a locally coordinated response will be effective."<sup>12</sup>

**Enable 15-minute neighbourhoods and a new right to green space:**

Reform of the planning system, already underway, should be used to empower local authorities to develop 15-minute neighbourhoods designed to ensure that people's needs for shops, entertainment, education, healthcare and green spaces can all be met within a short walk or cycle of their home – supporting the strong public desire for a more localised, greener economy. Changes to planning law should also include an obligation to incorporate green spaces, play space and nature into new housing developments.<sup>13</sup> Taken together with investment in nature-rich green space, these changes would ensure that everyone in the UK can access a good quality green space within a short walk of their home.

### **Support a new local banking infrastructure:**

Many small businesses experienced difficulties accessing government schemes, in part because the UK no longer has a local banking service able to meet local needs. Banking expert Tony Greenham and community development expert Frances Northrop propose remedying this by supporting and strengthening the Community Development Finance (CDFI) sector, establishing new community venture funds to link local capital to local projects and establishing a capitalisation fund for regional mutual banks using dormant assets to match fund regional private, social and public investment.<sup>14</sup>

### **Create a National Investment Bank:**

A number of the organisations who submitted evidence to the Reset inquiry propose some kind of National Investment Bank to channel resources effectively into the recovery. A public investment bank would be able to leverage and de-risk more green investment, with the application of strict criteria such as ruling out fossil fuels in their entirety.

As we show in this report, there are a range of ways that the Government could finance the investment needed to prevent unemployment rising to catastrophic levels while transforming the economy to meet future challenges.

### **Government should investment in a downturn:**

At a time of economic downturn or great danger such as a pandemic, the national government remains the only institution that is large enough to lead a programme of economic transformation. By borrowing to invest in the economy at a time of high unemployment and low interest rates, Government can create jobs, stimulate economic activity and restore business confidence – particularly when there is work that needs to be done to decarbonise the economy.

### **‘Crowd in’ private investment:**

Using public investment to create jobs can reduce business uncertainty, crowd-in private investment and support the private sector in generating high quality jobs. As the Grantham Institute point out, many investors are already committed to the idea of a ‘just transition’; a green recovery would give a new structure, and a new certainty, to those investments.<sup>15</sup>

### **Redirect existing spending:**

There are a range of existing allocations of funding that could be redirected towards a job-rich zero carbon transformation of the UK’s infrastructure. For example, the Reset poll found very little support for government investment in road building, with fewer than one in seven people backing it, and three times as many supporting investments in cycle networks and local buses.<sup>16</sup>

We are at a critical juncture, and the decisions that this Government makes in the coming months will lock us into one of two alternative routes. Ministers can either rebuild the existing system with a small amount of green gloss, locking in unacceptable levels of inequality and setting us on a collision course with climate catastrophe, or they can use this moment to lay the foundations for a greener, fairer Britain and set the economy on a path to a modern, post-carbon future. If they are to do the latter, new measures of progress will be needed to set out this new way forward.

**Chart a new course with new measures of progress:**

There is growing public support for a different basis to economic policy making. Two thirds of people think that the Government should prioritise health and wellbeing above economic growth, while just one in five think that the Government should prioritise GDP growth<sup>17</sup>. Government should replace GDP growth with a broader set of human and ecological health and wellbeing objectives and use them as benchmarks for success, including for current recovery plans.

Taken together with the findings of the UK Climate Assembly, Reset shows that this Government has a popular mandate to use this moment to transform Britain that should be acted on before it is too late.

# Introduction

**“If politicians and others involved in planning for the future sought a wide range of people’s opinions it would benefit everyone.**

Reset workshop participant <sup>18</sup>

At the end of June 2020, the All Party Parliamentary Group on the Green New Deal set out to create space for a public conversation about what people in the United Kingdom were experiencing during the national lockdown that began on 23 March 2020. We wanted to find out what, if anything, people were learning from the experience, and how they might want life in the UK to change in the context of pursuing a greener, fairer, future.

Through surveys, online workshops, digital ethnographic surveys, snap polls, special parliamentary evidence sessions and by inviting people and organisations to send responses to questions, we hoped to engage as many different voices as possible and worked particularly hard to involve people who don’t normally engage in these processes. We aimed, in the words of the entrepreneur Margaret Heffernan: “to start thinking proactively instead of defensively about the future” and to do it together because in Margaret’s words “it is a better way to think.” <sup>19</sup>

Our first report, published on 17 September 2020, detailed how people told the Reset inquiry they would like life in Britain to change, and demonstrated the surprisingly high level of common ground across political and regional divides. It revealed a clear mandate for the Government to be far more bold, ambitious and creative about plans for post-Covid Britain than they have been to date.

While other research focused on how very real divisions and differences have been exacerbated by the pandemic <sup>20</sup>, our approach, which sought to identify outcomes people wanted to see looking ahead, found significant commonality. People wanted a Britain that is greener, fairer and kinder and they wanted to be more involved in shaping it.

This, our second report, shows how this Government could begin to deliver on the public mandate set out in our first report. Drawing on evidence submitted to the inquiry from almost 40 organisations and individuals, together with expert evidence from 17 witnesses, we set out how the Government could begin to build back the kind of United Kingdom people told the Reset inquiry that they wanted.

We have grouped our findings around key areas of everyday life and the ways people want them to change, the themes that emerged from the evidence from the public and civil society organisations, and the broader policy changes that would be needed to deliver the kind of life in the UK that people aspire to.

Taken together, the priorities set out in the public consultation phase of Reset and the policy proposals submitted to the inquiry show what elements of a comprehensive Green New Deal for the UK could look like – a national action plan to tackle climate breakdown and nature depletion in a way that improves people’s lives and builds a fairer, more democratic society and economy. This vision goes far beyond a narrow focus on energy, encompassing a more far-reaching transformation of life in the UK.

The volume of detailed evidence we received across a range of policy areas means that this report focuses on headline policy changes. More detail on many of the broad proposals can be found in the evidence submitted to us, available on the Reset website at: [www.reset-uk.org](http://www.reset-uk.org).

# Summary of the changes the public told us they want

The APPG on the Green New Deal spent the summer of 2020 engaging with people across the country on what a post-Covid society and economy should look like. In total we heard from over 57,000 people, including two nationally representative polls of 2,000 people<sup>21</sup>, in-depth workshops with 108 people, and interviews with people who are digitally excluded.

In a challenge to the perception of population of the UK as riven, we found common aspirations in all of the communities with whom we engaged, marked by an overwhelming public appetite for a fairer, greener, kinder Britain after Covid.

We found that the public are way ahead of ministers in the boldness, scope and scale of change they want, with ambitious ideas about the future of work, public services, community, nature and local life. The Government has a stronger popular mandate than it imagines to use this moment to transform Britain into a fairer, greener and kinder country.

In the first Reset report, we found:

**Fairness** is a top priority for the public, with two thirds of people saying government should intervene to make society fairer wherever possible, with those living in the North most likely to agree (71%).<sup>22</sup>

**Housing** is a key area where people want government intervention to make society fairer. We found strong support for rent controls, investment in social housing, and ending homelessness.<sup>23</sup> 68% of people think that government should introduce a rent cap to make housing more affordable and 81% of people think that landlords should be regulated to make sure that rental properties are good quality. Only 18% of people think that current housing policy is adequate.<sup>24</sup>

**Better pay and conditions** for NHS staff and care workers, supermarket staff and delivery drivers were strongly supported.<sup>25</sup> This was the case regardless of political affiliation or preference, and across the country.



**Guaranteed employment and a universal basic income** also received strong support. Two thirds of people are in favour of a jobs guarantee, with only 9% completely opposed. 57% support some form of monthly guaranteed income.<sup>26</sup>

**Working life** should be reshaped, with more flexible working patterns, greater flexibility to work from home where that's safe and possible, and a broader definition of work adopted, so that domestic and other caring work and volunteering are equally valued.

**Time to give back** - people want to be more involved in their communities and identified time as the main barrier. With more time, most would volunteer or contribute to their local community in some way, as 79% of the population did during lockdown according to the Reset poll.<sup>27 28</sup>

**Health and wellbeing** should be a higher government priority than GDP growth, according to two thirds of UK adults. Only one in five people think that GDP growth should continue to be prioritised as the Government's main economic goal.<sup>29</sup>

**Environment and nature** featured strongly in many of the changes that people want, including more green spaces and food grown closer to home. Whilst lockdown revealed a nation of nature lovers, action is needed to create more green spaces, especially in areas where access is poor.

**Less traffic** was a recurring theme for improving people's quality of life, with people noticing reduced traffic and cleaner air during the lockdown and wanting them to be permanent.<sup>30</sup>

**Relocalising Britain** - people want changes that make their local high streets more varied and welcoming, such as car-free zones and mixed high streets with green spaces, community hubs, residential spaces and cultural venues alongside shops.<sup>31</sup>

## Part 1:

# NEW

# FOUNDATIONS

# Fairness, connection and resilience

**“Don’t forget FAIRNESS in everything.**

Reset workshop participant <sup>32</sup>

A clear public consensus emerged through the first stage of the Reset Inquiry: the desire for a fairer, kinder, greener future for Britain. A future where people, their communities and the environment are put first. When asked to imagine their ideal community, almost every participant in the workshop on Homes and Community cited greater equality as the best feature of their new community. “Everyone is treated as equal” was the hope of both a retired man from the South East and a Caribbean waitress working in London. A Latin American woman living in the South East wanted to see a community where people “support one another, noticing someone needs help.” <sup>33</sup>

79% of people took part in some form of community activity during the initial national lockdown <sup>34</sup>, and in the Reset workshops people expressed a strong desire to be able to contribute to a society that they feel part of. As one participant put it: “if you give us time, a lot of people would give back.” <sup>35</sup> In all of the workshops for the Reset Inquiry people expressed an increased sense of connection with, and concern for, other people, society and nature. They showed a great deal of empathy too, wanting to share their own lived experience, to better understand the lived experience of others and wanting more opportunities for conversations that allowed them to do so.

Having seen the Government intervene in unprecedented ways – from guaranteeing incomes to building emergency hospitals – a majority of the population seem to have a renewed understanding that the Government is able to intervene to shape our everyday lives in the public interest and want a government that will do so. In the September Reset survey, two thirds of people said that they thought government should intervene to make life in Britain fairer. <sup>36</sup> Support for government intervention was higher among people living in the North of England (71%) than people living in London (61%) and higher among people who intend to vote for opposition parties than prospective Conservative voters (49%). <sup>37</sup>

In the Reset workshops people expressed understanding that problems are complex and interlocking. As one participant in the Reset workshop on food explained: “it’s not just about this, it’s about everything [...] it touches on large cross-sections of politics, doesn’t it? From import and export right through to

schools. It's complex.”<sup>38</sup> People understand that there aren't single solutions to adequate provision of housing or providing healthy affordable food for everyone – and see that many of the challenges we face are part of a broader economic system in which the state needs to intervene. The public also saw signs that a more distributed, networked approach to policy implementation is more dynamic, responsive and better able to meet local needs. Our workshop participants noted the speed with which small businesses adapted to the Covid crisis or changes were implemented by local authorities, all of which has profound implications for democracy in the UK.<sup>39</sup>

# A new kind of politics

**“In the communities I work with, the people are the experts: the neighbours, the citizens.**

Hilary Cottam OBE, Evidence to the Rest Inquiry <sup>40</sup>

With the Reset Inquiry, the APPG on the Green New Deal hoped to take a small step towards doing politics differently, remaking the broken connection between people and politicians. People from all walks of life and from all parts of the UK took part in the Reset workshops and were eager to hear what other people’s experience had been and to share their views and experiences. Workshop participants didn’t agree on everything, but they were willing to listen and keen to express empathy. As one workshop participant put it, echoing the sentiment of others, they wanted to: “know how other people are doing with lockdown, learn from their experiences and contribute my bit.” <sup>41</sup>

The Reset process demonstrated a more deliberative form of politics, where people were given time to reflect and their opinions were valued. This created a much more nuanced picture of the hopes and dreams of the public than a traditional focus group where discussion focuses on what already exists, rather than the future people would like to see.

## Participation and the value of local decision-making

Reflecting on the lessons of the pandemic in evidence to the inquiry, Hilary Cottam, the social entrepreneur and advocate of public service reform, pointed to the way that the pandemic had revealed the weaknesses of centralised systems and the value of participation: “what strikes me is the inadequacy and limitations of top down centralised social, political and economic systems [...] while very networked, horizontal open systems have been able to react very fast and provide different help.” She went on to explain: “The big challenges we have today mean working alongside people, they mean participation, whether it’s the climate emergency or chronic health conditions. All the systems we have are designed to hold us at arm’s length and to fix us rather than work with us.” <sup>42</sup> She believes the community spirit and participation of the initial national lockdown will have a lasting impact: “we’ve had this profound experience of participation and getting to know each other which in many localities is changing what people think is possible.”

In the Reset workshops people said they wanted to be more involved in their communities – from supporting the vulnerable to shopping locally – and identified a lack of time as the main barrier. As one participant in our workshop put it, they want “the time to be good.” <sup>43</sup> No matter who they were,

or where they lived in the UK, our poll revealed people from every section of society participating in their communities.<sup>44</sup> The Rapid Transition Alliance point out that it is through this kind of community activism that many of the public goods we take for granted exist today: “Without this community activism we would have no universal state education, no NHS, and no collective social security systems.”<sup>45</sup>

This community-level participation was mirrored by the activities of local businesses across the country, and in new partnerships between community groups, local businesses and local authorities. The mutual aid groups that sprung up across the country in response to the initial national lockdown as neighbours organised at street and local level to support one another were faster to come together than the Government’s national volunteering scheme. Restaurants converted to cater for meals for people in need and for NHS staff. Local councils developed support hubs for care homes, and volunteer groups, existing charities and council staff have worked together in rapidly established new partnerships. These distributed responses, and the unparalleled knowledge local people have about their own area, were both quicker and more effective than national government responses in many places.

The Government now acknowledges that test and trace systems are best organised locally, but not before billions were spent on an ineffective, centralised, privately-run system. Just as the centralisation of power in Whitehall undermined Government’s ability to develop an effective test and trace system, there are wider implications of centralised control that should be addressed if the recovery from the pandemic is to succeed across the country. This will also be critical for an administration that has promised to ‘level-up’ the nation.<sup>46</sup>

### **A more flexible, dynamic and collaborative approach to policy-making**

The Tyndall Centre’s evidence emphasised the importance of an approach to policy responses to socio-environmental problems that is flexible, able to adapt to specific local circumstances and that engages a range of stakeholders.<sup>47</sup> Recognising that this is “complex and challenging” for policymakers, the Tyndall evidence draws on research which shows that flexible approaches offer a more sustainable pathway than the “one size fits all approach often adopted today.”<sup>48</sup> Tyndall evidence noted the wider benefits of flexible participatory policy making for fairness and for innovation as it: “enables policy making to incorporate social and justice implications alongside technical responses, and to avoid the common prioritisation of financial concerns that can stifle innovation.”<sup>49</sup>

The Tyndall Centre’s evidence recommends moving policy making out of silos and recognising the interconnected nature of many policy decisions: “good decision-making requires reflexivity to manage complexity and uncertainty, as well as awareness of the extent to which policy- and decision-making within

one area can impact other areas which can help to mitigate and manage unintended consequences of those decisions. To support a step-change in sustainability, governance must find space for continuous and transdisciplinary reflection.”<sup>50</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance noted the limitations of the political system in the UK: “When contrasted with the German model, where the ideal is to achieve support from across the political spectrum for a policy that brings in the best ideas from all parties and representatives, the UK system is exposed as woefully inadequate.” They observe that: “In Germany, trade unions can be asked to offer advice on socially distanced workplaces, Greens can be consulted about building back better to address the climate emergency, Conservatives can design schemes to support small businesses: everybody can offer their best to a shared and widely supported national policy.”<sup>51</sup>

The first phase of the Reset Inquiry revealed a nation ready to listen and to learn and, having experienced change, wanting more. Having seen the Government intervene in unprecedented ways – from guaranteeing incomes during lockdown to building emergency hospitals – people seemed to have a renewed understanding that the Government is able to intervene to shape the context in which we live our lives, levelling up and creating an enabling framework within which we all have more choices. People want a government that will intervene nationally, while supporting action and engagement locally – levelling up the nation in the process.

## Part 2:

# HOW TO RESET



# How to Reset

## “There has to be a fair and resilient recovery

Nigel Topping, UK High Level Climate Action Champion COP26 <sup>52</sup>

### Investing in jobs for everyone

With unemployment set to rise through the winter and into 2021, there is a clear case for government investment in the physical and social infrastructure that will make life in Britain greener and fairer. Making that possible will take a lot of work and provide jobs for significant numbers of people all around the UK. For the foreseeable future there is more work that needs to be done than there are people to do it, which means that no-one should be without the possibility of meaningful, well remunerated, quality work.

To build new energy infrastructure, transform and invest in food and farming in the UK, plant trees and rewild spaces, insulate homes and buildings, and install green energy will require the creation of over a million new jobs, and in some cases new skills.

We also need to better reward the people who care for us when we are sick, keep our supermarket shelves stacked, grow the food we eat and deliver goods around the country. The people who provided for us during the pandemic not only need to be recognised but also rewarded with improved pay and conditions, while more jobs in health, care and education will pay social dividends as well as delivering a high return on investment for the Government.

Evidence submitted to the Reset inquiry from organisations including the Smith School of Enterprise at the Environment at Oxford University, New Economics Foundation, the Institute for Public Policy Research, Transition Economics, the TUC, the Local Government Association, Nesta, the Food and Farming Commission, Greenpeace, the Women’s Budget Group, Women’s Environmental Network, Positive Money and the East End Trade’s Guild set out how government investment in a jobs-rich recovery could also help reduce inequality, restore and enhance nature and enable the UK to meet its emissions targets.

All of those who submitted evidence make clear that the need to invest in economic recovery after Covid was an opportunity rebuild the economy so that it is fit for twenty-first century challenges. This will require clear political leadership and the involvement of all sections of society. The evidence we heard from the public indicated widespread public support for a recovery that makes Britain significantly greener and fairer. What has been lacking to date is

a coherent government plan for action.

Comparing green stimulus with traditional stimulus policies, a report by Oxford University's Smith School from a team that included Nobel Prize winner, Professor Joseph Stiglitz and climate economist Professor Lord Nicholas Stern found that: "there is strong evidence that green stimulus policies are economically advantageous when compared with traditional fiscal stimuli."<sup>53</sup> Drawing on a global survey of senior central bank and finance ministry officials, as well as learnings from the 2008 financial crisis, the research team catalogued more than 700 stimulus policies into 25 broad groups, and conducted a global survey of 231 professional experts.

On average, respondents saw a 'green route' out of the crisis as also being highly economically effective, concluding that green projects create more jobs, deliver higher short-term returns and lead to increased long-term cost savings compared to traditional fiscal stimulus. The report finds that alongside investment in clean energy infrastructure: "Fast-acting climate-friendly policies include residential and commercial energy efficiency retrofits, as well as natural capital spending (afforestation, expanding parkland, enhancing rural ecosystems)."<sup>54</sup> The Smith School review draws out three key insights for policy makers: recovery policies can deliver both economic and climate goals, the wider benefits of investment can be identified, and that policy design is important – noting that, in response to the financial crisis of 2008-09, opportunities to deliver long-term benefits and climate impact were missed.<sup>55</sup>

### **Recommendation 1: Invest in jobs that create new green infrastructure**

A range of projections map out the job creation potential of different kinds of public investment. While calculations vary according to the criteria used and assumptions made, there is clear consensus that investment in the transformation of the UK economy and infrastructure needed to meet the UK's emissions targets would create over a million well-paid jobs, offsetting many of the jobs lost as a result of the economic shock of Covid.

The think-tank Transition Economics propose a two-year clean infrastructure stimulus which they calculate would replace the projected jobs lost from Covid and are designed to benefit the people and sectors hit hardest by its economic impacts.<sup>56</sup> Using 10 World Bank-derived criteria including long-term job creation, resilience and sustainability, they recommend 19 infrastructure projects totalling an £85 billion public investment that would deliver structural transformation and create 1.2 million jobs over the next two years, comprising:

- **735,000 jobs in housing construction and energy efficiency retrofits;**
- **289,000 jobs in transport upgrades;**
- **98,000 jobs in energy, waste, and manufacturing infrastructures;**
- **81,000 jobs in land, forestry, and agriculture improvements;**
- **42,000 jobs in broadband upgrades.**

IPPR propose greater investment in a green recovery and clean, low-carbon jobs – including a nationwide drive to insulate homes and prepare for new low-carbon heating which they calculate could create 1.6 million new jobs over the next decade.<sup>57</sup> Research from the LGA, conducted before the pandemic and submitted to Reset in evidence, suggests that nearly 700,000 jobs could be created in England's low-carbon and renewable energy economy by 2030, rising to more than 1 million by 2050.<sup>58</sup>

### **Recommendation 2: Invest in a National Nature Service**

A National Nature Service, proposed by Wildlife and Countryside Link and supported by a coalition of over 50 organisations, draws inspiration from the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps and the UK's Manpower Services Commission.<sup>59</sup> The National Nature Service would employ and train thousands of people in environmental work across the UK, from habitat creation to controlling invasive species. As well as restoring ecosystems, addressing climate change and increasing access to nature, the new service would provide employment, particularly for young people and disadvantaged communities in both urban and rural areas, and provide new practical skills and training opportunities.

### **Recommendation 3: Invest in a National Care Service**

IPPR, the Rapid Transition Alliance, the Women's Budget Group and Green New Deal UK point to the need to invest in social infrastructure as well as green infrastructure. They propose investment in adult social care as an essential public service and a growing part of the UK's economy, and investment in the National Health Service which the Covid crisis has already exposed as being under significant strain.<sup>60</sup>

The Women's Budget Group propose a National Care Service to significantly increase the number of people working in the care sector.<sup>61</sup> To reach 10% of the population employed in the combined care sectors (roughly the proportions in Denmark and Sweden) would need a 4.3 % increase in the numbers of people currently employed. Modelling submitted to the Inquiry in evidence shows the economic and environmental benefits of investing in care to aid recovery:

- Investment of 2.8% of GDP in a combination of child and social care would create nearly 2 million jobs, 2.7 times as many jobs as an equivalent investment in construction, 6.3 times as many jobs for women and 1.1 times as many for men.
- This would increase the employment rate by 4.8% and reduce the gender employment gap by 4%.

According to the Women's Budget Group's calculations, direct and indirect taxation on income and consumption has the potential to recoup between 76% and 72% of this annual investment leaving a net funding figure of between £9 billion and £16 billion.

#### **Recommendation 4: Implement a good jobs guarantee**

Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enshrines the right to work for all, the right to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. A jobs guarantee would not only offer each person access to a job that allows them to live with dignity, it would dramatically increase our collective capability to meet the many pressing social and environmental challenges we currently face.

Two thirds of the public support a jobs guarantee, and the Government creating the opportunity for everyone to access a fairly paid job, with wide support across political affiliation, region and class.<sup>62</sup> Only 9% of people oppose this policy. Public support for a scheme tailored to young people who are likely to be the hardest hit by job losses, is even higher. 71% of people supported a jobs guarantee for young people, that included 6-12 months of training linked to a guaranteed job, and only 4% of people opposed it.<sup>63</sup> Such a scheme would need to be funded nationally, but designed and delivered locally, with local authorities working with a range of local partners to identify jobs gaps in local communities.

While the Government has announced new job training schemes for young people as part of the 'Kickstart' programme, there is public support for further action, by guaranteeing younger people jobs at the end of their training. Any jobs guarantee should ensure that sufficient fairly paid jobs are available for everyone in socially useful work and be permanent but voluntary. Jobs under the programme should pay at least a national living wage and should not replace existing welfare measures.

The TUC proposes a jobs guarantee that would provide a minimum six month job with accredited training, paid at least at the real living wage, or the union negotiated rate for the job. It should prioritise workers who face long term unemployment and should be funded by national government but delivered locally. The TUC has also proposed a Corona Reconstruction and Recovery panel in each region to ensure that jobs are additional; providing a community and public benefit and/or helping to decarbonise the economy;

and consider local needs and the promotion of equality.<sup>64</sup>

The economic anthropologist Jason Hickel pointed out in evidence that a jobs guarantee may be vital if emissions reductions consistent with carbon budgets for 1.5 or 2 degrees are to be achieved, pointing out that policy measures that would ensure employment including a shorter working week and a jobs guarantee: “make sure that you have high or full employment with good living wages. At the same time, you have to redistribute existing income more fairly, and expand universal public goods so that people can access the goods they need to live flourishing lives without needing ever-increasing incomes to do so.”<sup>65</sup>

### **Recommendation 5: Invest in a comprehensive reskilling programme**

The Local Government Association (LGA) proposes a multi-agency approach to reskilling that could be led by councils and combined authorities. The LGA suggests this should be based on Local Labour Market Agreements. Significant national investment would be needed in all training and back-to-work support, and Local Labour Market Intelligence-based careers advice and guidance would help prioritise increased levels of funding focusing on targeted support for specific groups vulnerable to Covid related job loss, but also people in low skilled jobs or who were unemployed before Covid.<sup>66</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance warn against ‘performative’ or quick fix solutions – “For younger workers we would advocate training based around one-to-one relationships with older, skilled workers and a genuine apprenticeship system on the German model, rather than the current makeshift schemes that can appear to be little more than cheap labour. We must not make the mistakes of the 1980s where programmes badged as training were a ruse to divert workers off the unemployment register – and seen as such.”<sup>67</sup>

### **Recommendation 6: Introduce a universal basic income**

Support for some form of universal basic income (available to everyone) or a minimum income guarantee (means tested) that would enable a permanent rather than temporary exit from poverty and social exclusion is growing. In the September Reset poll, 57% of people said that they would support some form of guaranteed basic income.<sup>68</sup> Both approaches aim to provide greater financial security and independence and reduce poverty and unemployment, better supporting people who are unable to work and encouraging flexible working patterns (across forms of paid, unpaid, voluntary and domestic work). A number of MPs and peers have argued for a Universal Basic Income, calling for trials of the scheme as the Government’s furlough scheme came to an end.<sup>69</sup>

The New Economics Foundation propose a Minimum Income Guarantee in response to the Covid crisis, available through the existing social security system to those who need it<sup>70</sup> while the IPPR advocate reform of Universal Credit as an immediate priority to ensure a minimum income is guaranteed for those currently on low incomes.<sup>71</sup> A range of approaches which may be complementary, from basic incomes to minimum income guarantees and the provision of universal basic services, should be explored to determine the best way to underpin livelihoods.

### **Recommendation 7: Move towards a shorter working week**

The Reset polls found that 52% of the UK population supported a shorter working week so that available work can be shared more fairly.<sup>72</sup> In the face of economic downturn, a shorter working week on the German Kurzarbeit model would not only give people more time to invest in their communities but would also allow available work to be shared more equitably while maintaining wages, reducing the impacts of unemployment nationally.<sup>73</sup>

A number of the groups who submitted evidence to the Reset Inquiry pointed to the significant social, economic, environmental and health benefits of a shorter working week, and the benefits of sharing available work more equitably during a recession.<sup>74</sup> The Rapid Transition Alliance note: “four-day weeks have huge benefits for employers as well as employees. At the time of the 2008 financial crisis, the US state of Utah found its trial of a four-day week saved money, boosted staff morale, cut carbon emissions and led to around a third of the public saying services improved.”<sup>75</sup>

The Women’s Environmental Network note that unpaid care roles are taken on disproportionately by women, and that this could be evened out through reductions in the working week. They suggest that it is vital moving forward to “Implement a 30-hour paid work week in recognition of unavoidable unpaid work” and to “increase the minimum wage significantly to enable people to reduce their work hours.”<sup>76</sup> A shorter working week, coupled with more flexible working and increased minimum wage, could address unemployment, and minimise ongoing gender inequalities in caregiving and work.

However, the IPPR note that a shorter working week is not a panacea, and suggest that it could be implemented flexibly by increasing annual leave entitlements: “To reduce working time equitably, we recommend an increase in annual leave entitlements, a proportion of which could be in the form of bank holidays. Increased annual leave entitlements provide a mechanism by which to phase in reductions in working hours over time, benefitting part-time workers as well as full-time, and ensuring recipients have flexibility over how they use the additional hours.”<sup>77</sup>

## Investing in transformation

The need to invest in job creation in response to the economic impact of the Covid pandemic creates a range of opportunities to transform the economy so that it is more resilient and fit for future challenges, supporting a managed transition away from high carbon industry and delivering on promises to 'level up' the UK.

### Recommendation 8 Invest in a worker-led transition

A report published in September 2020 by Greenpeace, Platform and Friends of the Earth Scotland which interviewed workers in the offshore oil and gas industry found that 43% of them had been made redundant or furloughed since March 2020, 81% were considering leaving the industry, and that, given the option of retraining to work elsewhere in the energy sector, more than half would be interested in renewables and offshore wind.<sup>78</sup>

In evidence submitted to Reset, Greenpeace point out that significant specialist retraining and re-skilling of oil and gas sector workers will be required at pace, especially in the wake of the oil price crash and thousands of associated job losses that are now forecast.<sup>79</sup> They propose that: "over the next three years, as a starting point, the proposed Shared Prosperity Fund of £2.16 billion per year should be at least doubled to support tailored just transition programmes of this kind."<sup>80</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance point out that when industries need to change and convert to a new purpose, some of the most innovative and effective ideas can come from the communities and work forces affected: "An example of such a process that has provided inspiration to many is the Lucas Plan, developed in 1976 by the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee as a proposal to convert their arms factory to the production of socially useful products. The Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) have included a proposal for such bottom-up conversion in their proposals for a Just Transition led by working people."<sup>81</sup>

### Recommendation 9: Level up the regions with nationally funded, locally developed plans

Greenpeace propose that: "As part of this, devolved nations, city mayors and local authorities should be empowered to design and deliver just transition strategies that fit with specific local and regional needs."<sup>82</sup> The Local Government Association echo this argument, stating that: "Councils should have a lead role in post Covid recovery plans. The economic, social and environmental recovery our communities need will look different in different areas of the country and only a locally coordinated response will be effective."<sup>83</sup>

Nesta argue that a regional structure for UK Research and Innovation could act as a source of expertise for regional decision makers, helping to ensure

that local R&D funding allocation decisions are made with the best possible evidence and expertise, and that local decisions are joined up with national innovation and industrial strategy.<sup>84</sup> Research by the Local Government Association found an acute need for the reform of a fragmented and centralised skills system: “£23 billion of public money was spent on growth, regeneration and skills, fragmented across 70 different national funding streams and managed by 22 government departments and agencies.”<sup>85</sup>

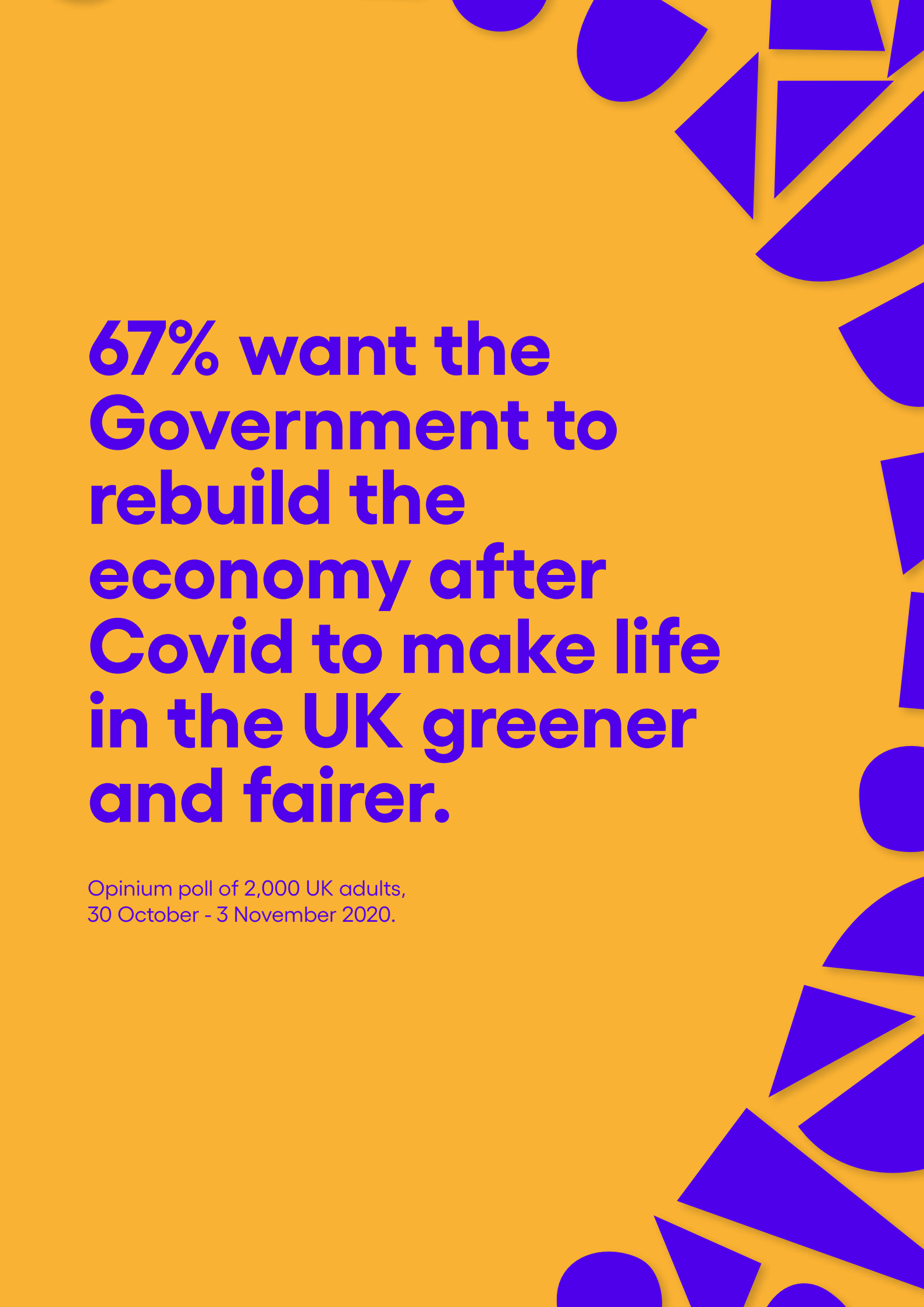
### **Recommendation 10: Support local businesses by redirecting government procurement to tap into local expertise and capacity**

The importance of local level collaboration during the coronavirus emergency suggests lessons for government procurement, which tends to favour tenders from large firms. The Rapid Transition Alliance noted that many smaller firms responded flexibly, for example in response to food procurement – with local caterers turning to delivery overnight.<sup>86</sup> Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) can often convert their business to other purposes more easily than large firms as their technology and business model are rarely as specialised and are therefore more adaptable. The Rapid Transition Alliance suggest that national and local government procurement should tap into local expertise and capacity rather than awarding contracts to large firms, building local resilience and contributing to the Government’s ambition to ‘level-up’. Councils like Preston and Oldham have demonstrated the local economic and social benefit of an approach that enables local procurement.<sup>87</sup>

### **Recommendation 11: Support a diversification of business models**

In their evidence, the Tyndall Centre highlight the need for a range of different business models to deliver decarbonisation at the scale and speed necessary for emissions reductions to align with the Paris Agreement’s ambition of limiting warming to 1.5 degrees. The development of local smart energy businesses for a net-zero climate target requires the ‘4Ds’ of decarbonisation, digitalisation, decentralisation and democratisation.<sup>88</sup> To this end, they propose that the Government needs to support alternative investment criteria, acknowledging the social and environmental value of local business models, going beyond just economic value propositions.<sup>89</sup> The Rapid Transition Alliance recommend: “support for cooperatives, social enterprise, B-Corps and non-traditional business models that put welfare above short-term profit.”<sup>90</sup>



The background is a solid yellow color. On the right side, there are several overlapping, semi-transparent blue geometric shapes, including circles, triangles, and irregular polygons, creating a modern, abstract pattern.

**67% want the  
Government to  
rebuild the  
economy after  
Covid to make life  
in the UK greener  
and fairer.**

Opinium poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
30 October - 3 November 2020.

# How to invest in Reset

**“We need to correct, by drastic means if necessary, the faults in our economy from which we now suffer.**

Franklin D Roosevelt, Oglethorpe University Commencement Address, 22 May 1932

During the pandemic, people saw that the Government could invest in the economy to prevent unemployment and keep businesses going. A green recovery plan would put government nationally and locally in the driving seat, directly shaping outcomes by leading investment in renewable energy, clean transport, climate-friendly farming and warm homes with the Government marshalling the resources and setting the direction of travel and plans for transformation developed and delivered locally. This would reduce inequality and create the infrastructure needed to meet the challenges of the climate and nature crises. As the Grantham Institute point out, many investors are already committed to the idea of a ‘just transition’; a green recovery would give a new structure, and a new certainty, to those investments – ‘crowding in’ private investment.<sup>91</sup>

## **Recommendation 12: Direct stimulus spending to meet climate targets, level up and reduce inequality**

At a time of economic downturn or great danger such as a pandemic, the national government remains the only institution that is large enough to lead a programme of economic transformation. By borrowing to invest in the economy at a time of high unemployment, Government can create jobs, stimulate economic activity and restore business confidence. Using public investment to create jobs can drive up aggregate demand where it is needed most, reduce business uncertainty, crowd-in private investment and support the private sector in generating high quality jobs. Investment in jobs ensures that significant amounts can be recouped through ordinary taxation of income, and of the spending by those in employment.

With unemployment set to rise into the winter, an investment-led recovery is both necessary and affordable. Interest rates are currently so low that, according to IPPR, even a doubling of the UK’s debt would still mean the Treasury would pay less to service this debt, as a share of tax receipts, than at almost any other time since 1950.<sup>92</sup> Over time there will also be higher tax takes from the industries and workers newly involved in a transformative programme of work.<sup>93</sup>

### **Recommendation 13: Set clear social and environmental criteria for government investment**

Government should establish clear social and environmental criteria for any investment, based on the best available evidence, and should publish the criteria they use. Transition Economics drew on World Bank derived criteria to identify the best value for the public from investment in a range of different infrastructure projects.<sup>94</sup>

The think tank IPPR propose nine criteria for investment: sufficient scale; environmental benefits; job creation; promotion of local sustainable production and consumption; resilience benefits; targeting workers and businesses that have been hardest hit by Covid; timeliness and feasibility; that they trigger a transformational second phase of the recovery and a fair distribution of costs and opportunities.<sup>95</sup>

### **Recommendation 14: Redirect and expedite existing funding streams**

There are a range of existing allocations of funding that could be redirected towards a job-rich low carbon transformation of the UK's infrastructure. For example, the Reset poll found very little support for government investment in road building, with fewer than one in seven people backing it, and three times as many supporting investments in cycle networks and local buses.<sup>96</sup>

The Chief Executive of the Government advisory body, the Committee on Climate Change, concluded in April 2020 that the £27 billion currently designated for new roads would be better invested in broadband.<sup>97</sup> This echoed earlier comments by the AA President who also concluded that the money would be better invested in broadband.<sup>98</sup> Greenpeace suggest that to significantly increase investment in buses and trains, the Treasury could claw back the vast majority of the £133 billion currently allocated for road building and HS2.<sup>99</sup> A range of other experts have also called into question the value for money of the £106 billion HS2 project.<sup>100</sup>

The LGA argue that the recovery could be aided by bringing forward council-led investment programmes including all current grant schemes such as Housing Infrastructure Fund, the Future High Streets Fund, Stronger Towns Fund/Growth Funds and Local Transport Schemes. The LGA suggest that this can be done through expediting allocations; relaxing conditions so that councils can get on and deliver; greater focus on delivery not process; by enabling flexibility on use of funding streams; and extending deadlines and flexibilities on completion timescales.<sup>101</sup>

### **Recommendation 15: Channel savings into the green recovery**

According to evidence presented to the Reset Inquiry, there is huge potential for UK pension funds and savings to play a key role in the green recovery by simultaneously investing in the future, while also providing the returns people need now. Finance for the Future set out simple rule changes to ISAs and

pension contributions that could ensure that a substantial part of the investment required for the energy efficiency programme could come from these two sources, for example.<sup>102</sup>

Finance for the Future show that collectively £70 billion a year is saved in different kinds of ISA accounts. If, they suggest, “to secure this tax free status these funds had to be invested in green bonds paying an average of 1.85 per cent, which is the current average cost of UK government borrowing, then we have no doubt that all this sum would be available for investment in the green transformation.” In addition they propose, “if pension rules were changed so that in exchange for the tax relief given on these contributions, which costs £54 billion a year at present, 25 per cent of all contributions had to be invested in green bonds, then more than £25 billion could come into the programme from this source as well.”<sup>103</sup>

### **Recommendation 16: Rebalance the tax system to tax wealth more**

Research by the Equality Trust shows that inequality in the UK has spiralled since 2010 to a point where the richest 1% of people in the UK owns the same wealth as 80% of the population, or 53 million people.<sup>104</sup> Bringing taxes on wealth in line with taxes on income would help to reduce inequality and underpin increased investment in public services.

Tax Justice UK, together with a group of 16 organisations including Oxfam GB and the New Economics Foundation, recommend a package of proposals to address the under-taxation of wealth, bringing it into line with taxes on income. They suggest: equalising capital gains and dividend tax rates with income tax rates; replacing council tax with a proportional property tax and replace business rates with a land value tax; introducing a flat rate of pension tax relief and reduce the tax free lump sum that can be taken on retirement and exploring the possibility of introducing a wealth tax.<sup>105</sup> According to a poll commissioned by Tax Justice UK, 74% of people in the UK want to see wealth taxed more, including 64% of Conservative voters and 88% of Labour voters.<sup>106</sup>

### **Recommendation 17: End de-facto subsidies to the fossil fuel industry**

The Government could support this shift to renewables by immediately ending all effective subsidies to the fossil fuel, industry including tax breaks. As one of the co-authors of the Smith Institute study, Brian Callaghan points out: “Reallocating this capital to job rich renewable energy projects would benefit the economy and environment.”<sup>107</sup>

For transport, the Rapid Transition Alliance point out that there is a risk that, “as energy prices fall and social distancing becomes the new normal, we will see a fall in petrol prices and a rise in private car use. It is essential that governments introduce a sustainability surcharge on petrol prices to keep them at current levels, together with restoring the fuel duty escalator.”

They suggest that this will generate considerable revenue that can be used to invest in active travel in urban areas and more frequent public transport services, redesigned to minimise risk of spreading infection in the short term, and to reduce dependence on private cars in the long run in rural areas.<sup>108</sup>

**Recommendation 18: Apply conditions to bailouts to safeguard workers and accelerate decarbonisation**

The Inquiry received a range of proposals regarding the importance of attaching conditions to any public bailouts of private companies during the pandemic. The Rapid Transition Alliance advocates a proposal from the Green Group in the European Parliament that suggests: “All big companies, including banks, insurances and financial actors, receiving public financial support should be required to disclose publicly how they intend to align their economic activities to the objective of limiting global warming under 1.5°C.”<sup>109</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance propose a system of ‘economic triage’ to assess which businesses have a future in the zero-carbon world beyond 2030, with Government allocating funding on the basis that: “Businesses in transition to a zero-carbon future would receive funding to help them produce conversion plans. Proposals for reallocating value include the idea that (i) Companies should not be allowed to pay out dividends, bonuses or to buy back shares (ii) Companies registered in tax havens should be not be eligible for public money (iii) Companies in receipt of public money should ensure that, over the next two years, they achieve a maximum 10:1 pay differential.”<sup>110</sup>

**Recommendation 19: Direct resources locally**

In addition to advancing and expediting existing local authority funding to a green and fair recovery, Nesta proposed that a significant element of national funding should also be devolved. In a paper for them, Richard Jones, Professor of Materials Physics and Innovation Policy at the University of Manchester and Tom Forth Head of Data at the Open Data Institute, Leeds, outline how channelling research and development (R&D) spending towards previously poor regions of East Germany has contributed to the development of innovation clusters, and to their recent economic resurgence relative to comparable regions of the UK.<sup>111</sup>

Since the UK’s regions have different strengths and will be differentially impacted both by Covid and by the transition away from high carbon industry, they propose that national, regional city-level strategies for innovation recovery should be developed. In their report, ‘The Missing £4 Billion’ they propose that 25% of the uplift to R&D spending announced in the March 2020 Budget be devolved. This would put up to £2.5 billion per year by 2027 in the hands of the UK’s nations, cities and regions. Nesta suggest that this amount would be of a sufficient scale to drive a rebalancing of investment, if allocated on a needs-based formula.<sup>112</sup>

# Two thirds think that the Government should prioritise the health and wellbeing of citizens over GDP.

Opinium poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
8-11 September 2020.

**Recommendation 20: Create a National Investment Bank**

A number of the organisations who submitted evidence to the Reset inquiry propose some kind of National Investment Bank to channel resources effectively into the recovery. A public investment bank would be able to leverage and de-risk more green investment, with the application of strict criteria such as ruling out fossil fuels in their entirety. The Rapid Transition Alliance suggest it should be modelled on Germany's KfW, an approach already mooted by the energy minister.<sup>113</sup> KfW has been instrumental in financing Germany's energy transition and is empowered to invest especially in economically depressed areas. As a public bank, interest payments can be reinvested for public benefit rather than extracted by wealthy shareholders. KfW supplied funds totalling €75.5 billion in 2018 alone, of which 40% was spent on measures aimed at carbon reduction and environmental protection.<sup>114</sup>

**Recommendation 21: Rebuild a local banking infrastructure for the UK**

Tony Greenham, former Director of Economics at the RSA and now Executive Director of South West Mutual, and Frances Northrop of the New Economics Foundation propose a three-tier approach to rebuilding the UK's local banking infrastructure ensuring that money can flow more effectively through local economies. Many small businesses experienced difficulties accessing government schemes during the pandemic, in part because the UK no longer has a local banking service able to meet local needs.<sup>115</sup>

To redress this and build local economic and community resilience, while acknowledging that regional banks will take time to develop, they propose a three-pronged approach. Firstly, supporting and strengthening the Community Development Finance (CDFI) sector: "Much work has already been conducted in this space, for example by Big Society Capital, and we support these existing initiatives to strengthen the CDFI sector." In addition, they propose establishing new community venture funds to link local capital to local projects. They propose that the Government: "Pilot a community venture fund in at least three places, preferably spanning a rural area, key/core city and secondary urban settlement and hinterland (such as larger market or coastal towns). To complement these measures and recreate a local banking structure in the medium to long term they propose a capitalisation fund for regional mutual banks to be capitalised from "dormant assets or other appropriate sources which can match fund regional private, social and public investment."<sup>116</sup>

# Resetting the UK economy for wellbeing

**“Government’s main priority should be the health and wellbeing of all people within the country.**

Reset workshop participant <sup>117</sup>

## Public desire for a new approach to economic policy making

There is growing public support for a different basis to economic policy making. A nationally representative poll that accompanied the release of the first Reset report in September 2020 found that two thirds of people think that the Government should prioritise health and wellbeing above economic growth, while just one in five think that the Government should prioritise GDP growth. <sup>118</sup>

This finding was echoed in similar polling conducted in May 2020 by Positive Money. In evidence they pointed out that during the early phases of the pandemic: “This apparent prioritisation of GDP numbers occurred despite the public’s overwhelming support (82%) for the prioritisation of public health and wellbeing over economic growth.” <sup>119</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance notes that this shift in public priorities: “suggests the possibility of a broader conversation about well-being and prosperity as more useful and appropriate indicators of how we are doing as a society than narrow GDP metrics that measure all economic flows, whether they are good or bad for society and the environment.” <sup>120</sup>

The Empowering Places programme, a unique collective of 11 organisations working to create and nurture community businesses that respond to social and economic challenges in communities across England, suggest that replacing GDP matters at the local level, noting the need to: “replace GDP for metrics centred in well-being and good quality jobs.” <sup>121</sup>

The Quakers of Britain propose a deliberative process to engage people in the process of developing new measures of progress: “A public conversation is needed about the purpose of the economy, so that a new framework can be built around people’s priorities (which might be things like health, access to basic services, and leisure time), with economic policymaking designed to serve those aims.” <sup>122</sup>



**Two thirds support a jobs guarantee where the Government creates the opportunity for everyone to access a fairly paid job in work that helps to green the UK and make it fairer.**

**60% support a shorter working week, backed by some form of minimum guaranteed income, so that available work can be shared more fairly.**

**59% support some form of minimum guaranteed income or universal basic income.**

Opinium poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
30 October - 3 November 2020



## **An economic system that isn't working for people or the planet**

The experience of Covid highlighted a number of the failings of an economy oriented towards GDP growth rather than human and environmental wellbeing: the most important workers are often paid the least; millions of UK citizens experience severe financial insecurity, economic inequality, and food poverty; public services have been left threadbare after 10 years of austerity; local economies have been hollowed out leaving them vulnerable to shocks. In addition, an economic system that chooses to focus on never-ending expansion of resource use fuels both the climate and biodiversity crises. <sup>123 124</sup>

The economist Professor Jayati Ghosh noted in evidence to Reset that economies that focus on GDP tend to drive down wages and conditions, as well as devaluing the care economy and the ecosystem by: “defining the activities that are economically superior entirely in terms of the so-called value they create – that is the price they can charge. This has had terrible implications for devaluing the care economy, but it also devalues many other things, and it completely wrongly values a lot of very harmful activities.”

The interim report of the Treasury commissioned Dasgupta review into the economics of biodiversity, published in April 2020, recognises that: “economies are embedded within, and not external to, nature.” As Professor Dasgupta explains: “Unlike standard models of economic growth and development, placing ourselves and our economies within nature helps us to accept that our prosperity is ultimately bounded by that of our planet. This new grammar is needed everywhere, from classrooms to boardrooms, from parish councils to government departments.” <sup>125</sup>

As this Government moves to rebuild the economy through and beyond the pandemic, it should adopt economic objectives and indicators that more directly chart the UK's progress towards a fairer, greener and kinder country rather than crude measures of GDP growth. The Government should measure the things that matter the most to people's lives and livelihoods, for example: mental and physical health, income security, community resilience, equality and inclusion, affordable housing, renewable energy and environmental regeneration – replacing twentieth century models with more sophisticated measures fit for a twenty-first century world.

## **A growing chorus for change**

The campaign group Green New Deal UK made the case for an economy that delivers wellbeing by design: “If we are to build an economy which gives us a better quality of life, we must be explicit that this is our aim, and design it into all economic policies.” <sup>126</sup> An increasing number of businesses are calling for this kind of modernisation of the economic system. For example, Imperative 21, a new business-led network has called on governments to reset the economic system so that its purpose is to create shared wellbeing on a healthy planet. Imperative 21 represents 70,000 companies, 20 million

employees, \$6.6 trillion in revenue, and \$15 trillion in assets under management.<sup>127</sup>

A high-level OECD report, published in September 2020, with input from senior economists and policymakers, including the Bank of England’s Andy Haldane, argues that GDP growth is no longer associated with improved social and environmental outcomes.<sup>128</sup> The OECD report proposes a range of alternative economic objectives: environmental sustainability, rising wellbeing, falling inequality and resilience to shocks. The report calls for these goals to be built into the structures of the economy from the outset, rather than hoped for as a by-product, or added afterwards.

**Recommendation 22: Replace GDP growth with a broader set of wellbeing objectives and use them as benchmarks for success, including for current recovery plans**

In addition to the framework set out in the OECD report, there are a number of proposals for using a range of societal outcomes and ecological indicators as measurements of success to replace the sole metric of growth. In evidence submitted to the Reset inquiry, Positive Money proposed a range of steps to include wellbeing indicators across economic decision making.<sup>69</sup>

They propose that:

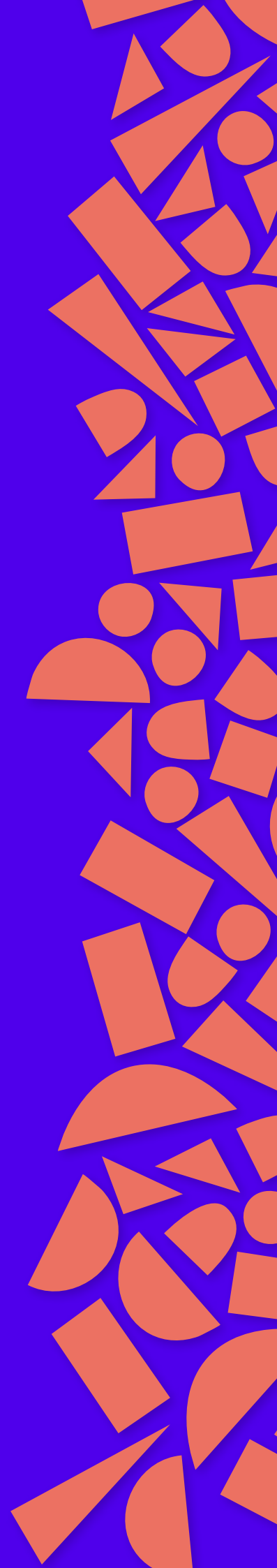
- The ONS should review its ‘Measures of National Wellbeing’ dashboard, learning from the New Zealand Treasury’s Living Standards Framework, and publish its wellbeing dashboard report on a quarterly basis.
- The Treasury should incorporate the dashboard into its macroeconomic framework and budgeting process.
- The Treasury should incorporate participatory processes into its decision-making guidance.

The Government should review these and other measures and determine how best to place the wellbeing of people and nature at the heart of decision making. Ministers should commit to making the wellbeing of humans and nature – incorporating future generations – the new benchmark for economic success, including for current recovery plans.

**Recommendation 23: Join the Wellbeing Economy Governments partnership (WEGo)**

The Government should demonstrate its commitment to moving towards a wellbeing economy by joining the Wellbeing Economy Governments partnership (WEGo) so that it can work with other nations already moving towards adopting wellbeing rather than GDP growth as their main economic objective. Established by the Wellbeing Economy Alliance, who presented and submitted evidence to us, WEGo is a collaboration of national and regional governments promoting sharing of expertise and transferable policy practices. WEGo, which currently comprises Scotland, New Zealand, Iceland, and Wales, is founded on the recognition that “development in the twenty-first century entails delivering human and ecological wellbeing.”<sup>129</sup>

# Part 3: RESETTING EVERDAY LIFE



# Resetting working life

**“Our work structure is based on systems we have outgrown, we need to grow with the times.**

Reset workshop participant.<sup>130</sup>

Working life changed dramatically as a result of Covid. During the initial national lockdown, many people began to work at home, some for the first time. The Reset poll found that just over three quarters of middle-class people said that their working lives had been affected by coronavirus, compared to just 48% of working-class people.<sup>131</sup> There were also regional divides, with 27% of people in London working from home more often, compared to the just 9% in the North, and 8% in Wales.<sup>132</sup>

## **Recommendation 24: Improve pay, rights and working conditions for key workers**

**“Key workers should be recognised in some way other than just saying yay and clapping. They need a lot more support than that.**

Reset workshop participant<sup>133</sup>

The official definition of ‘key workers’ expanded during the national lockdown to encompass all of the people who do essential work that enables society to function, including supermarket workers and delivery drivers.<sup>134</sup> Life for many people changed dramatically as lockdown restricted travel to essential journeys, but key workers continued to go into work and many jobs became more intense as a result of the measures imposed to limit the spread of Covid.

In light of the lessons learned from the pandemic about the value of the work that is essential to society, and to ensure that the UK is more resilient to future shocks, the Government should act to improve the pay, rights and working conditions for key workers. According to the Reset poll:

- More than 90% of the public think that people working in the NHS and care workers should have better working conditions.<sup>135</sup>
- More than 70% think that nurses and carers should be paid more.<sup>136</sup>
- An overwhelming majority of the public, more than 82%, think delivery drivers and supermarket workers should have better working conditions.<sup>137</sup>
- In evidence submitted to the Reset inquiry, the Food and Farming Commission found that 85% of agricultural professionals want better pay and conditions for land-based work.<sup>138</sup>

Echoing the findings of the Reset poll, a survey from Unite the Union showed that 74% of people believe the economy should be rebalanced and key workers valued more.<sup>139</sup> The Women's Budget Group point to demographic disparities: "Women are twice as likely to be key workers as men whilst 39% of working mothers are key workers compared with just 27% of the working population as a whole, while BAME and migrant women are overrepresented."<sup>140</sup>

Despite their contribution, acknowledged and lauded during the national lockdown, many key workers remain in low paid and insecure employment, on short term or zero hours contracts.<sup>141</sup> The Women's Budget group point out that, "the benefit of the identification of 'key workers' is that it makes their exploitation and precarity visible and challenges ideas about what (and whose) work matters."<sup>142</sup> They argue that: "A greener, fairer economy requires a new approach to whose work matters as well as improved pay, employment security, working conditions, childcare and flexibility."<sup>141</sup>

### **Recommendation 25: Strengthen the right to flexible working**

**“For professions that permit you to work from home, you should always have the freedom to choose.**

Reset Workshop Participant<sup>144</sup>

The Reset Poll found that of the people who were able to work from home during the pandemic, 82% wanted the continued flexibility of working from home where safe and possible.<sup>145</sup> While flexible working is a technical possibility for many people, negotiations with employers are often difficult, and people find that they are often denied the right to flexible working. To make working from home possible for more people, government should enshrine a flexible working entitlement into employee contracts. This should be about greater flexibility, rather than enforced home working which may place some people including victims of domestic abuse at risk, ensuring that people have the choice to work from their usual workplace for at least some of the time.

Working from home has significant positive environmental impacts, with traffic, pollution and carbon emissions falling urban centres during the national lockdown. The Rapid Transition Alliance notes: "People working from home are often more productive, although they may miss the bustle and collaborative nature of an office environment."<sup>146</sup> While not everyone can work from home, and it is not safe for everyone to do so, allowing those who can the choice to work from home for some or all of the time has a variety of environmental and social benefits for employees and businesses.

The Women's Budget group highlighted the wider benefits of more flexible working patterns: "As the Government encourages people back to offices, there is an opportunity for it and employers to acknowledge the benefits of

flexible remote working, not only to reduce the environmental costs of commuting, but to ease people's lives especially those with caring responsibilities and disabled people." However, they note that: "flexible working cannot be a substitute for universal affordable childcare and genuinely shared parental leave."<sup>147</sup>

### **Recommendation 26: Provide meaningful support for care and community work**

The Women's Environmental Network calls for "recognition of how vital paid and unpaid care work is – looking after children, and the elderly."<sup>146</sup> Some of the policy proposals already explored, including a shorter working week or some form of universal or minimum guaranteed income, would go some way to better supporting unpaid care and community work.

During the national lockdown thousands of volunteer and mutual aid groups formed across the country to fill gaps in public provision. According to the Reset poll, 79% of people had taken on some community role during lockdown, ranging from checking in on a neighbour, to volunteering for the NHS or sewing scrubs.<sup>149</sup> Green Councillors noted that this wasn't just a middle-class phenomenon; Councillor Jamie Osborn from Norwich observed that, "mutual aid was not lacking in poorer areas, it was just less visible and tended to be based around friends and family."<sup>150</sup>

Green Councillors also noted the value of close partnerships between volunteer groups and different levels of governance: "Volunteer groups, existing charities and council staff have worked together in rapidly established new partnerships. These have then made a real difference to the lives of many, providing practical help and addressing isolation and loneliness."<sup>151</sup> Green Councillors also pointed out that funds available during lockdown removed barriers to engagement: "Funds have been found to support this work when too often in the past funding bids created a barrier."<sup>152</sup> The volunteer response to the pandemic ensured that many of the most vulnerable in society were supported where official channels failed or were slow to organise. In many areas, charities significantly increased capacity to meet rising demand. Staff and over 28,000 volunteers at Trussell Trust food banks across the UK provided record numbers of additional emergency food parcels, meeting an 89% increase in demand at the height of lockdown.<sup>153</sup>

# Resetting the local economy

**“Community spirit is everywhere. When it is properly resourced and organised, it becomes the key not just to tackling Covid-19 but also to unlocking better social outcomes and more resilient local economies in the future**

Empowering Places\*

Restrictions on travel during the initial national lockdown meant that people across the UK focused on their local areas, discovering new places close to home. 31% of the people we surveyed said that they would make an effort to support local businesses more in the future, and 46% of the people we polled said that they would support measures to help businesses on local High Streets survive.<sup>155</sup> The participants in the Reset workshops were keen to support local businesses, and explored innovative ways to support them.

## **Recommendation 27: Empower local businesses and community organisations**

Local businesses and retailers face significant challenges in a world dominated by chains and online businesses, and where the wider social and commercial value of local businesses is largely unrecognised by national government. The East End Trades Guild, noted: “we are seeing how vital these businesses are, here and in other countries: both for essential goods and services, but also using local knowledge and social connections to provide a familiar anchor in communities at a time of unprecedented uncertainty.” They add: “we have all tirelessly advocated the social, cultural and economic value we provide to localities and what we stand to lose. Only now during the coronavirus crisis do we begin to see decision makers at Whitehall start to comprehend the magnitude of what is at stake.”<sup>156</sup>

Smaller businesses played a key role in responding to the pandemic and were often quicker to adapt than large corporations. People in the Reset workshops described local shops and restaurants that moved into wholesale, selling flour and vegetables when supermarket supply chains stalled. Local breweries and distilleries began to produce hand sanitizer for the NHS, and clothing companies produced medical scrubs and masks.

The Empowering Places coalition calls for an increased recognition and respect for the, “distinctive but supportive roles different sectors – private, public and community – play in building and supporting the resilience of places.”<sup>157</sup> They call for, “an equal seat at the table for community organisations as key economic actors in their local area,” and stress that the



Government should support both local business and community groups' input in local decision making and planning. They also suggest, "Buy Local Campaigns' anchored in local economies that support the SMEs who are thriving lifeblood of our country. We have seen a shift in consumer awareness towards local businesses and supply chains – it is no longer a theoretical idea that buying more locally is better for communities."

### **Recommendation 28: Reduce the debt burden for small businesses**

Despite their ability to adapt to the pandemic, many small businesses were badly hit by Covid and need government support. Positive Money highlighted the inappropriate form of funding offered to small businesses and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in the UK, and the failure of the banking sector to provide support: "Due to banks' unwillingness to lend, the Government had to step in to fully guarantee loans to small businesses through the Bounce Back Loan Scheme (BLS), meaning the public will absorb any losses banks feared. Though the Government is protecting lenders through such schemes, they are further overburdening businesses with debt at a time when their revenues are taking an enormous hit."<sup>158</sup> As a solution, they suggest that: "The Government should at the very least consider lower interest rate caps on emergency loans [...] Going further, the Government should consider a heavier focus on grants, as well as policies to reduce small business expenditures, including freezes and write-downs on rent and debt payments."

### **Recommendation 29: Provide appropriate support for businesses during lockdowns**

The Federation for Small Businesses questioned the support offered by the Chancellor in his Winter Economy Plan: "We are concerned that the Chancellor had nothing to say today on support for those who were left out of the first round of support measures, not least the newly self-employed and company directors. The Government urgently needs to come forward with an emergency relief package for these groups which have dutifully paid their taxes and deserve help too."<sup>159</sup>

They also draw attention to the challenge of local lockdowns, and call for grants to support businesses through times of uncertainty: "Local lockdown grants in all four nations should now be extended to firms forced to close that were counting on reopening in the coming weeks but now face the most difficult of winters."<sup>160</sup> Government should ensure increased funding and greater emergency support for small businesses, to safeguard them from the potential economic impact of national and local lockdowns.

### **Recommendation 30: Improve flows of funding to local businesses**

The New Economics Foundation's Frances Northrop pointed to biases in government funding that disadvantages local businesses: "None of this money is getting to the smaller businesses that really need it. And the smaller

businesses that really need it are the ones that we need to deliver a really sustainable Green New Deal.” She warned of the disconnect between ‘community’ and ‘economic’ activity and the failure to recognise the economic value of community enterprise: “If any money is flowing into a local area, not only does it sit above small businesses, it is even further detached from community enterprise – things that are clearly economic activity.”<sup>161</sup>

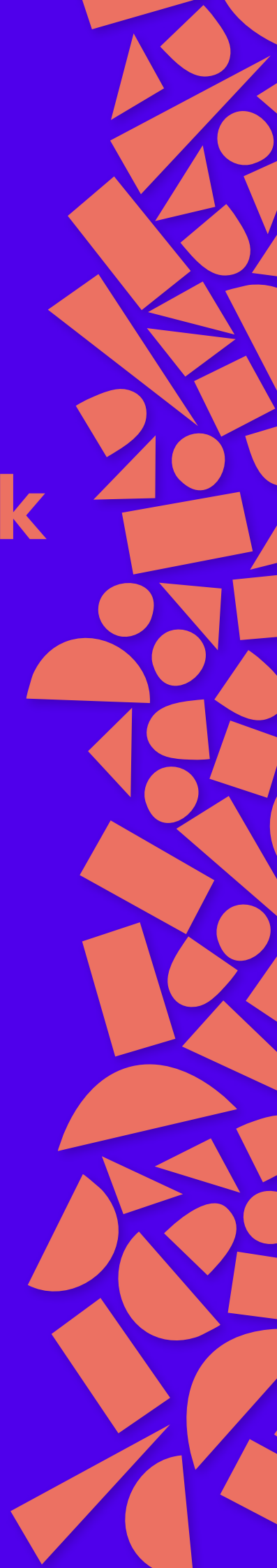
### **Recommendation 31: Adopt the Doughnut Model to guide local decision making**

The Reset Inquiry heard evidence about the application of a model designed to deliver wellbeing within ecological limits at the local, regional and national levels. Cities including Amsterdam and Copenhagen are implementing a wellbeing approach to policy making through the ‘Doughnut economy’ model developed by the economist, Kate Raworth. Raworth described the model which uses a “dashboard of indicators based on the Sustainable Development Goals to define what it means for every person to meet essentials of life.” Importantly, it also defines the planetary boundaries of “earth system science” within which these goals must be delivered.<sup>162</sup>

The space within the doughnut is what Raworth describes as the ‘Goldilocks zone’ where humanity is able to meet its collective needs while living within the boundaries which the planet can sustainably support. Raworth described the rapid spread of the Doughnut Economy model around the world, following an announcement in April 2020 that the city of Amsterdam was using the model to guide policy-making: “Since then, we’ve got the city of Cali in Colombia, the nation of Costa Rica have a plan to regenerate Costa Rica, they’re using the doughnut as the frame. In Cornwall, they’ve created a downscaled doughnut as a policy decision tool.” Towns, cities and regions across the UK should follow the example of Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Cali, Copenhagen and Cornwall and adopt the doughnut model to guide local decision making, working with the Government to identify and remove any barriers to doing so.

**Over a third of people (37%) think cars should have least priority in their local area - below walking, public transport**

Opinion poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
30 October - 3 November 2020



# Resetting the High Street

**“You’re not just attracting people to the shops; you’re attracting people for social and community reasons.**

Reset workshop participant <sup>163</sup>

The people who took part in Reset workshops created a new vision for the local High Street, where the High Street became “a social space not a consumerist space.” <sup>164</sup> They designed streets with more trees and green spaces, fewer cars and wider pavements. Many people wanted pedestrianised centres, one participant commenting: “I’d appreciate it if people walk and use scooters, so the movement can be better without cars. It would be safer, especially for us travelling with kids.” <sup>165</sup> People suggested including residential areas on the High Street, and community hubs alongside shops. They wanted spaces where people could gather, and everyone was welcome. <sup>166</sup>

As working patterns shift and shopping patterns change, with people moving away from city centre working and shopping, the revival of local high streets may well happen organically. With government support, the rebuilding of local economies could contribute to a levelling up of the UK, distributing economic activity more evenly while supporting more engaged, resilient, communities.

## **Recommendation 32: Rebuild Local High Streets by working with local people and businesses**

Regenerating High Streets as places for social connection, and not just shopping, could improve community resilience and wellbeing while reducing carbon emissions. Empowering Places, a coalition including the Centre for Local Economic Strategy, the New Economics Foundation, Co-ops UK and five UK localities told us that government should build on the lockdown community spirit: “we are positive that we can build on this renewed recognition and realisation that, regardless of whether we are public, private or community owned, we are striving for the same outcomes. The post Covid-19 recovery should be built on the community networks and spirit seen during the lockdown period.” <sup>167</sup>

In their report: ‘Brighten All Corners: Maximising Social Value in Place’, Localis argue for the democratisation of community development. They note: “The social value agenda presents the most direct and immediate route to building back better socially and making the Government’s ‘levelling-up’ agenda for rebalancing the economy come together. Different communities have different needs, and a key step to redeveloping local High Streets will be

to ask locals what is important to them and give councils the tools and funding to successfully make change for the better.”<sup>168</sup>

### **Recommendation 33: Include an ambition for '15-minute' neighbourhoods in planning policy**

The C40 Cities Mayors Agenda for a Green Recovery makes the case for the creation of 15-minute cities as a “framework for recovery, whereby all city residents are able to meet their needs.”<sup>169</sup> This means creating “a regulatory environment that encourages inclusive zoning, mixed-use development, and flexible buildings and spaces.”<sup>170</sup> 15-minute cities are designed to ensure that people’s needs for shops, entertainment, education, healthcare and green space can all be met within a short walk or cycle of their home.<sup>171</sup> Developed by Professor Carlos Moreno at the Sorbonne in Paris, the framework draws on the ideas of the American author and activist Jane Jacobs who noted: “A neighbourhood is not only an association of buildings but also a network of social relationships, an environment where the feelings and the sympathy can flourish.”<sup>172</sup> This should be incorporated into national planning policy, empowering local authorities to create 15-minute neighbourhoods.

# Resetting consumer culture

**18% of people will buy less in future according to our poll.**<sup>173</sup>  
**30% of the people in our workshop said they will shop less in future.**<sup>174</sup>

In the second poll for the Reset inquiry, 71% of the public agreed that “living through coronavirus has taught us that we buy and consume far more than we need.” 80% of the public agreed that “after the coronavirus crisis, we should aim to become a far less wasteful society by buying more locally grown, seasonal products.”<sup>175</sup> Lockdown changed the retail landscape dramatically, with many people believing that some change would be permanent. 31% of people we polled said they would spend less time in shops in the future.<sup>176</sup>

With more time, 13% of people in Britain grew their own food for the first time and 31% of people made more food from scratch. Many people had time to make the choices they wanted but noticed that slipping away as lockdown restrictions eased. As one woman in our workshop noted: “People have supported local businesses because they’ve had time [...] but now time is becoming precious again as we do more stuff and go back to work, there’s more time pressure. You haven’t necessarily got enough time to go to the bakers, the butchers and the veg shop as perhaps you did in lockdown.”<sup>177</sup>

## **Recommendation 34: Develop public information campaigns to support reductions in consumption**

As supply chains for certain essential goods were stressed during the peak of the pandemic, some of the major shops ran campaigns exhorting people to ‘only buy what you need’ in the interest of ensuring that there was enough for everyone.<sup>178</sup> The Rapid Transition Alliances note the value of this kind of messaging for reducing resource use: “This, of course, is advice that from a global perspective, given how humanity is surpassing several planetary ecological boundaries, we should strive to follow regardless. Not only was there advice to avoid buying non-essential goods, but also to avoid another typically polluting activity, ‘unnecessary travel’.”<sup>179</sup>

## **Recommendation 35: Reduce corporate advertising in public spaces**

The campaign group Adblock note that the local connection, that became so important during the period of national lockdown should be better reflected in the landscape of UK cities: “the values that have got us through the lockdown such as solidarity, compassion, mutual aid and community; values that we

need to retain to transition to a better world; none of those concepts get air time on corporate billboards.”<sup>180</sup> Adblock suggest that reducing corporate advertising space would increase space for social connection, and rewilding with advertising space dedicated to community initiatives, or community gardens. They conclude that: “Our public spaces should reflect a better world beyond consumerism, where our material needs are met and where we can flourish.”<sup>181</sup>

### **Recommendation 36: Support the re-localisation of production**

The IPPR notes government investment in the localisation of production has many benefits: “Projects which shift to more localised production can make consumption less resource-intensive, reduce commuting and increase overall wellbeing.” They note that, “A community wealth building approach may help deliver this shift in practice,” arguing that resources and funding should be allocated at a local level.<sup>182</sup>

The Rapid Transition Alliance calls for “a re-think about those things for which international trade is a requirement and those which could be provided more locally moving forward to boost local economies and reduce environmental impacts.” They stress that: “Greens have long argued that the principle of subsidiarity provides a useful guide to policy and the same might increasingly be true of trade.”<sup>183</sup> Investing in UK production, with key economic actors in communities across the UK should be a key priority for the Government in securing supply chains and protecting local jobs.

Localised consumption also has implications for the transition to sustainable technologies, and a just transition. Talking about new sustainable technologies such as electric vehicles, Professor Jayati Ghosh warned of the international inequalities: “it’s not just the patterns of production, it’s very much about consumption. So far, what we’ve observed is that the countries in the north that have managed to get better and better in terms of emissions have exported the problem because they’re importing goods produced in the south. [...] I think you have to have a target for green consumption, rather than just the production processes.”<sup>184</sup>

# Resetting the way we travel

**“We really enjoy there being less traffic on the roads, and it feels safer to be out in our communities.economies in the future**

Reset workshop participant <sup>185</sup>

As many people were forced to stay at home during the national lockdown implemented in March 2020, traffic and the noise and emissions associated with it reduced dramatically across the UK. Traffic increased again as lockdown measures were eased, but not before many people had noticed the impact of the reduction in traffic. Participants in the Reset workshops wanted more vibrant neighbourhoods where their needs can be met without having to travel for the essentials of life, less traffic and more time to contribute to their local communities. <sup>186</sup>

The first Reset poll, conducted in July 2020 showed that:

- **71% of people had noticed less traffic;** <sup>187</sup>
- **Of those who had noticed reduced traffic, two thirds wanted the reduction to be permanent;** <sup>188</sup>
- **Fewer than one in seven wanted to see investment in more roads;** <sup>189</sup>
- **More than three times as many wanted to see investment in local buses, cycling and pedestrian infrastructure.** <sup>190</sup>

As Green Alliance note in their evidence to the inquiry: “Transport accounts for 34% of UK greenhouse gas emissions, the highest contribution of any sector. It has increased its overall emissions by 12% since 1990, with emissions from international aviation doubling in that time.” <sup>191</sup>

Evidence submitted to the Reset Inquiry demonstrates that reduced traffic and air pollution can be achieved with the right policy framework with significant benefits for public health and wellbeing, as well as reducing emissions in line with the UK’s zero carbon commitments. The Campaign for Better Transport stresses that: “The transport sector needs to define a renewed purpose and take the opportunity of the disruption to operations over the coming months to reshape the sector.” <sup>192</sup> The pandemic provides a critical moment for the Government to reconsider transport investment, align with a shift in public opinion and behaviour and support transport methods that improve social connection and wellbeing while also reducing emissions and air pollution.



**70% support a Healthy Homes Commission to improve the energy efficiency of existing and new homes.**

**71% support capping rent increases at the rate of inflation to make rents more affordable.**

**71% support a Living Rent Commission, to oversee fairness in the rental market.**

**70% support government investment in building high-quality social housing.**

Opinium poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
30 October - 3 November 2020

Public transport is essential for thousands of people across the UK and remains the most accessible alternative to driving for many. Yet public transport in the UK is at a watershed moment. Passenger numbers have plummeted as a result of restrictions on movement and fear of contagion,<sup>193</sup> and rail companies were semi-nationalised by the Government to safeguard them from economic losses.<sup>194</sup> While the financial viability of public transport may be at risk from temporary reductions in passenger numbers, there is a clear case for long term planning and investment.

### **Recommendation 37: Invest in cycling infrastructure**

Local authorities in many towns and cities in the UK implemented measures to make active travel easier during the national lockdown, pedestrianising high streets, widening pavements and introducing temporary walking and cycle routes and low traffic neighbourhoods.<sup>195</sup> The experience showed that many of these changes could be implemented quickly and cheaply. There were wider benefits for health and local communities, too. Allowing restaurants and cafes to use space previously reserved for car parking created space for people to eat outside, reducing traffic and improving air quality. One participant in our workshops who had started cycling during lockdown told us: “it’s just the traffic and I hate breathing in the fumes. I’ve loved cars not being around.”<sup>196</sup>

With unemployment expected to rise through the winter of 2020, investment in cycling and walking would contribute to emissions reduction and improved public health and air quality but would also create new jobs. 64,000 people currently work in the cycling sector in the UK, and as Green Alliance note: “Estimates suggest that doubling the modal share of cycling across Europe could increase sector jobs by over 60%, including facilitating local jobs and low skilled job creation.”<sup>197</sup>

Sustrans note that improved investment in safe, separated cycle infrastructure would make cycling more accessible to disabled people or people who have never cycled before.<sup>198</sup> New infrastructure should be designed with significant increase in cycling and walking in mind and should make cycling as safe as possible.<sup>199</sup> As Green Alliance note: “shifting just 1.7% of journeys from cars to walking and cycling saves the NHS £2.5 billion annually.”<sup>200</sup>

New cycling and walking infrastructure is best planned and delivered locally. As Green Councillors note: “The Government is now talking the talk on cycling infrastructure; but it is councils that will design and build.”<sup>201</sup> Ensuring local councils have the power and resources to deliver transport infrastructure is key to sustainable transport development. As the former MP Alan Simpson points out: “Britain’s localities have far more limited powers (and resources) than their European counterparts. This has made it difficult for UK localities to be the drivers of dynamic modal change.”<sup>202</sup>

**Recommendation 38: Invest in local bus networks**

The Campaign for Better Transport notes that: “Buses are the backbone of local public transport networks across the country. With a full double decker taking up to 75 cars off the road, buses are already a more sustainable way to travel.”<sup>203</sup> Investment in public transport also returns social and employment benefits. The IPPR notes that: “investment, in buses in particular, will benefit poorer households who are disproportionately reliant on the bus network for their travel needs.”<sup>204</sup> As Greenpeace point out: “It is especially important for people who may face unemployment as a result of the coronavirus crisis, people on lower incomes, and those who live in rural areas, for whom getting to work or to job interviews is currently much more challenging and the costs of private vehicle ownership may be too great. Comprehensive, reliable, sustainable and affordable public transport options for all are a foundation for levelling up communities across the country and promoting widespread economic prosperity as we emerge from the inevitable post-coronavirus recession.”<sup>205</sup>

**Recommendation 39: Electrify and upgrade public transport**

The Climate Coalition propose that: “Instead of new road building, priority should be given to the electrification and upgrade of public transport, increasing investment in electric vehicle charging infrastructure, speeding up the transition to electric vehicles.”<sup>206</sup> The Campaign for Better Transport point to the need for rail electrification: “The rail network is losing its advantage as a green mode of transport. The diesel train fleet needs to be removed from service to achieve decarbonisation. The target to decarbonise the railway by 2040 cannot be achieved without greater electrification.”<sup>207</sup>

**Recommendation 40: Legalise electric scooters for final mile journeys**

Many short journeys that are too difficult for people to cycle or walk are often completed by car. Shifting these journeys into a more sustainable method could help improve wellbeing and reduce emissions. In evidence, Greenpeace suggest that “updating legislation by 2021 to support safe use on roads of micro mobility options such as e-scooters” could be a useful way to do this quickly and inclusively. The House of Commons Transport committee suggest: “e-scooters [...] have the potential to offer a low cost, accessible and environmentally friendly alternative to the private car. The Department for Transport’s focus must be on developing and implementing a sensible and proportionate regulatory framework for legal e-scooter use, drawing on lessons from other countries, which ensures that potential negative impacts on pedestrians and disabled people are avoided.”<sup>208</sup>

**Recommendation 41: Accelerate the transition to electric vehicles**

In February 2020, the Government committed to bring forward a planned ban on the sale of new petrol, diesel and hybrid vehicles in the UK from 2040, to 2035.<sup>209</sup> This is welcome, but needs to be seen in the context of a broader transition away from private cars and towards alternative means of travel,

including a move from ownership to usership, because of the broader environmental impact of electric cars.

Electrification does not resolve other problems generated by the car, with air pollution produced through particulates released from friction on tyres, and congestion still remaining.<sup>210 211</sup> While the transition to electric cars is important, it should be considered in the context of reducing driving overall. In 2019, a group of the UK's leading scientists wrote to the UK's Committee on Climate Change outlining their concern that simply shifting to electric cars would require significant, destructive, and in some cases impossible increases in resource extraction.<sup>212</sup>

Where private cars are necessary, for example in rural areas or for people with mobility issues, the transition to electric cars could create new jobs. As Green Alliance note: "Assuming a 2030 phase-out trajectory for petrol and diesel vehicles, large scale battery production and increased manufacturing in the UK is estimated to translate to an increase in green employment in this sector by up to 59%."<sup>213</sup> Making electric cars viable will need an increase in the number of batteries, ideally made in the UK, as well as an increase in the number of charging points.

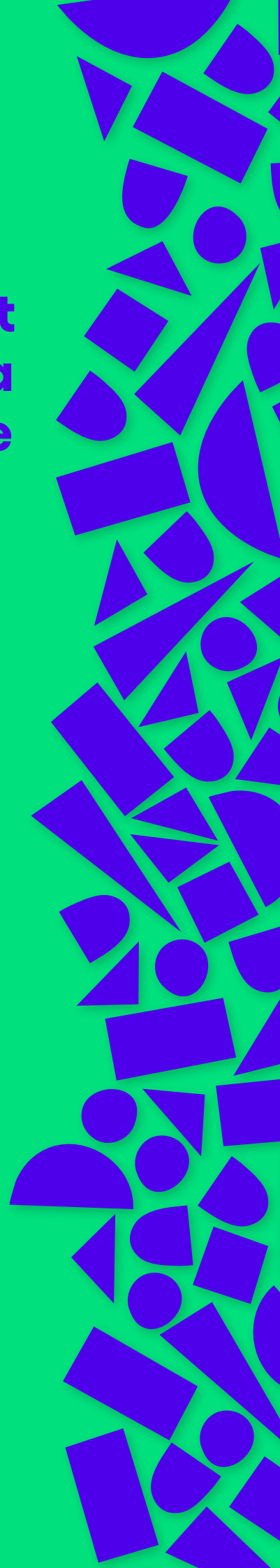
The NFU stress that: "Government support for EV charging infrastructure should be specifically targeted at predominantly rural regional economies, to sustain businesses and support rural tourism."<sup>214</sup> Providing rural communities with sufficient EV charging infrastructure may be an important part of a just green transition in more rural areas. The Food, Farming and Countryside Commission note: "Between 2016 and 2021 London will receive more than half of England's transport spend. Rural infrastructure is needed to connect town and country, enabling young people to stay in the countryside, connecting isolated older people and opening routes for city dwellers to escape to the country for a weekend."<sup>215</sup>

There is already widespread demand for electric vehicles in the UK. As the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders note: "Demand for battery electric vehicles (BEVs) increased by 184.3% compared with September last year."<sup>216</sup> They stress: "Even with this growth, however, meeting accelerated ambitions for uptake of these vehicles will require government to get behind a truly world-class package of incentives – alongside binding targets on infrastructure to reassure consumers that recharging will be as easy as re-filling."<sup>217</sup> Government should act to accelerate the transition to electric vehicles while acknowledging that electric vehicles must be complemented by investment in buses, trains, cycle routes and improved pedestrian access.

**63% support the Government ensuring that everyone has a right to a green or wild space within a 10-minute walk of their home.**

**62% support the creation of a National Nature Service, creating government funded jobs protecting and restoring nature.**

Opinium poll of 2,000 UK adults,  
30 October - 3 November 2020



**Recommendation 42: Introduce measures to support a reduction in car use**

Much of the UK's infrastructure, from motorways to out of town shopping centres and suburban sprawl, is built around the car. Journeys by car are a key source of carbon emissions, air pollution and fossil fuel use.<sup>218</sup> Shorter journeys in particular contribute to air pollution and congestion around urban centres. As the Rapid Transition Alliance notes: "The crisis highlighted how much space has been captured by the privilege afforded the private car and how we now have the opportunity to re-set by reclaiming space for cycling, walking and public transport."<sup>219</sup>

By limiting travel to essential journeys only and dramatically reducing car use, air pollution fell in many areas during the national lockdown. According to Greenpeace: "Nitrogen dioxide air pollution levels have dropped by 60% in some cities compared with the same period last year,<sup>220</sup> while we have become painfully aware of new evidence showing that air pollution is associated with higher death rates in people with Covid-19."<sup>221 222</sup> In the wake of Covid, policies aiming to reduce pollution within city centres such as clean air zones or low-traffic neighbourhoods, although popular with the public,<sup>223</sup> may come under threat as fears about the safety of travelling on public transport mean more people travel by car, and from drivers whose routes are disrupted by the changes.<sup>224</sup>

As Green Alliance noted, Clean Air Zones that prevent or charge high emitting vehicles for entering have important economic benefits: "Modelling work for the implementation of Bristol's clean air zone revealed significant economic benefits of over £150 million over ten years. This includes almost £100 million due to a reduction of journey times and just under £10 million from the advantages of active travel. While the introduction of Clean Air Zones in Bath, Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester has been postponed in response to the crisis, it is urgent that any delay is minimised."<sup>225</sup>

**Recommendation 43: Set conditions for airline bailouts**

The aviation industry, one of the most significant contributors to transport carbon emissions, has been hit hard the pandemic. As national borders closed during lockdown in April 2020, air travel internationally dropped by 94.1%, and passengers at Heathrow airport dropped by 97%.<sup>226 227</sup> The industry is at risk as air travel remains lower than pre-pandemic levels, but the need for public support could enable the Government to reform the sector. As Green Alliance noted: "Government must not provide support to airlines on the assumption that they should return to business-as-usual. There should be measures to ensure airlines contribute more tax to general public finances and in view of the scale of their environmental costs."<sup>228</sup>

A range of organisations, including Green Alliance and Greenpeace have proposed that any support packages for airline companies must set conditions in a number of key areas, so they:

- **protect workers so there are no pay cuts or lay-offs due to the Covid crisis.**
- **protect the climate – the airlines need to start cutting their emissions to meet the globally agreed climate targets, without relying on offsets.**
- **protect public money by giving the Government a stake in any companies it supports, so it can set the industry on a more sustainable path.**

There is also growing public support for a Frequent Flier Levy, one of the key recommendations of the UK Climate Assembly.<sup>229 230</sup> This would help reduce demand by shifting the tax burden to those who fly frequently, without removing access to flights from those with limited alternatives, limited resources, or who only travel occasionally.

# Resetting housing

## Only 18% of people think that housing policy in the UK is adequate

Reset poll <sup>231</sup>

Even before the onset of the Covid pandemic, the housing crisis was deepening. Between 2010 and 2019 rough sleeping in the UK rose by 141% to at least 4,266 adults. <sup>232</sup> Statutory homelessness has risen by 42% since 2009 <sup>233</sup> to 280,000 adults <sup>234</sup> in 2019. The number of people described as ‘hidden homeless’ increased by a third between 2008 and 2019 to more than three million. <sup>235</sup>

The national lockdown focussed attention on homeless people and those in precarious housing. Measures introduced during the initial national lockdown included policies to house people sleeping rough on the streets, and a temporary ban on evictions. Housing inequality was brought into sharp relief by the first experience of lockdown. What was an incredibly difficult situation for many people was harder still for people living in cramped, damp, flats with no outdoor space.

While 90% of known rough sleepers, and more than 15,000 people in total, had been offered accommodation by May 2020, <sup>236</sup> overall the housing circumstance of many has become more precarious as a result of the pandemic. As people were furloughed on reduced wages, or made redundant, meeting housing costs that were already very high has become a significant problem and an arrears crisis is growing. Research for Shelter estimated that by July 2020, 227,000 <sup>237</sup> adult private renters had fallen into arrears and faced eviction when the eviction ban is lifted.

The Government intention to provide long term support <sup>238</sup> for people sleeping rough through the Next Steps Accommodation Programme <sup>239</sup> is welcome, but does not address the deeper challenges at the heart of the housing crisis - a crisis that looks set to get worse, with more job losses likely, and the outlook for many already in difficult circumstances becoming even more uncertain.

Housing charity Crisis emphasised the ongoing need for support: “the Westminster Government must prioritise: The introduction of a new duty on local authorities in England, backed by funding, to provide emergency accommodation for people with nowhere safe to stay in the next 12 months”. They also stressed to us the need for “changes [in housing policy] to ensure no one across Britain is left without a safe place to stay because of their immigration status”. Crisis also argued for changes to the UK welfare system,



increased protections for private renters, the national roll-out of Housing First in England, and “increased investment in the provision of homes for social rent in England to ensure everyone can afford a home”.<sup>240</sup>

In the Reset poll and workshops, we found strong public support for housing policies which provide high quality, affordable housing for sale and rent. There was significant support for rent controls, and for increasing social housing.<sup>241</sup> People want homes that are well-insulated and energy efficient, and think that the right policies aren't currently in place to make sure that homes are efficient and don't waste energy.

#### **Recommendation 44: Implement rent controls through a Living Rent Commission**

In the September Reset poll, 68% of people, including 58% of Conservative voters supported the introduction of a rent cap with support consistently high across the regions, but higher among working-class (75%) than middle-class (62%) people. There are a range of places around the world where rent controls have been introduced. In 2019 Berlin authorities introduced a 5-year rent freeze on top of existing rent controls for the city,<sup>242</sup> New York City introduced permanent rent controls for 'regulated units' and, in July of the same year, Parisian authorities introduced standard rental charges for different areas of the city,<sup>243</sup> with landlords unable to charge more than 20% above the standard rate.

In the short term, rent payments could be frozen for those spending a disproportionate amount of their income on rent, with landlords compensated by the Government if necessary, housing benefit set at the median cost of rent and the five-week wait for support scrapped. In the longer term, a 'Living Rent Commission' is a critical first step towards controlling the sky-high rents faced by people in the private rented sector. Following the principles that underpin the idea of a living wage, the Commission would be tasked with setting out how an effective rent control policy could work, so that the Government could implement the steps needed to ensure that people spend no more than a third of their income on rent. A Living Rent Commission could also act as a centre of expertise and regulation in the private rental sector.

#### **Recommendation 45: Invest in social housing**

Government should invest in a programme of social housing to provide homes for those in greatest need and boost employment. Shelter estimates the UK needs over 3 million new social homes.<sup>244</sup> Their 2019 report called for a £10 billion annual investment in social housing over the following 20 years. This investment would address many of the most acute crises in housing. They called for:

- **1.27 million homes for those in greatest housing need – homeless households, those living with a disability or long-term illness, or living in very poor conditions.**
- **1.17 million homes for ‘trapped renters’ – younger families who cannot afford to buy and face a lifetime in expensive and insecure private renting.**
- **690,000 homes for older private renters – people over 55 struggling with high housing costs and insecurity beyond retirement.**

Transition Economics recommend a £13 billion investment in social housing over a two-year period in which the UK housing industry is geared up to operate at scale. Such a programme would deliver multiple benefits to the UK economy: “House-building on this scale is an opportunity to develop the offsite manufacturing industry for construction, build skills and new technologies. There are UK companies ready to expand manufacturing but reluctant to do this in the absence of a consistent pipeline of projects – which a social housing building programme would provide.”<sup>245</sup>

Such a mass programme of zero-carbon social housing would be best led by councils and communities. Councils could be enabled and supported by the Government to invest in housing to provide decent, modern, zero carbon homes as part of the creation of a major national asset, against which councils can borrow and retain rent receipts. Evidence from the LGA suggests: “the Government finance the construction of 100,000 high quality social homes every year.”<sup>246</sup>

There is consensus in the evidence submitted to us that any economic stimulus for housing should be socially just – focusing on social housing – and address the need for quality, affordable homes whilst meeting commitments to rapidly decarbonise the economy. The IPPR points to the need for a: “Mass zero carbon social home building programme delivering high energy efficient homes, creating jobs and tackling the shortage of affordable homes.”<sup>247</sup> The additional cost of implementing the zero carbon homes standard is estimated at just below £5,000 additional initial investment for a semi-detached house, and under £3,000 for a flat according to Greenpeace,<sup>248</sup> with the long term benefits outstripping these costs and preventing the future need for retrofitting, which is now needed for the majority of the UK’s existing housing stock.

As well as increasing the supply of socially rented homes, policy could build on the enthusiasm, expertise and success of recent community housing initiatives and projects like community land trusts (CLTs). CLTs are set up and run by ordinary people to develop and manage homes as well as other assets. These trusts act as long-term stewards of housing, ensuring that it remains genuinely affordable, based on what people earn in their area, for current and future occupiers.

## Recommendation 46: Establish a Healthy Homes Agency to future-proof UKhomes

In their manifesto for the 2019 election, the Conservative Party promised £9.2 billion<sup>249</sup> for a public sector energy efficiency programme over the course of the current parliament. Elements of the scheme were brought forward in response to Covid, but the ambition could be expanded. In a letter to the Chancellor, submitted to us as evidence, Greenpeace proposed energy efficiency measures should be expanded to the private and rental sectors.<sup>250</sup> Retrofitting homes to reduce emissions and end fuel poverty has the potential to recreate hundreds of thousands of jobs across the UK over the next 10-30 years according to Transition Economics.<sup>251</sup>

Decarbonising the UK's 29 million homes and buildings through energy efficiency measures and using green heating and renewable energy would cut emissions significantly – almost 40% of total final energy consumption currently occurs in buildings. Finance for the Future points to the practical implications of the commitment that the Government has made to 'net-zero by 2050': "To meet the Government's net zero carbon target for 2050 would mean up to 20,000 homes and buildings being made energy tight every week for the next thirty years."<sup>252</sup>

Finance for the Future points to the widespread benefits that this investment would reap in terms of job creation: "A huge number and range of jobs will be required to install, service and update this massive retrofitting programme. They will include general builders, roofers and labourers, plumbers, heating and air conditioning engineers, joiners, window fitters, insulation specialists, plasterers and renderers, electricians, carpenters, painters and decorators, solar PV roof fitters, engineers, building scientists and researchers."<sup>253</sup> Transition Economics calculate that an emergency house building and retrofitting energy upgrade would create 735,000 jobs over the next two years.<sup>254</sup>

Greenpeace argues that private landlords should be obliged to contribute to the cost of retrofit and that the Government should, "set out a clear plan for how homes in the private rented sector and homes of owner-occupiers who are not on low incomes will be obliged to meet the Government's goal of all homes reaching EPC Band C by 2035 or sooner. This will stimulate innovation, boost skills development and unlock private investment in the expansion of the retrofitting and low carbon homes market."<sup>255</sup> To oversee this vital upgrade of the nation's housing stock, Greenpeace propose the establishment of a 'Warm Homes Agency' with a mission "to ensure the delivery of a decent standard of heating and energy efficiency in homes across the private and rented housing sector by 2030."<sup>256</sup>

With the right package of measures the recovery from the economic impact of the pandemic could transform housing in the UK, ensuring good quality low

# Resetting our relationship with nature

**“With less traffic, we heard birds singing more, and we’ve noticed more butterflies and bees and it’s been lovely**

Research Workshop Participant <sup>257</sup>

People around the country valued time in green space during the national lockdown enormously, wanting both more green space and more time to spend in it. A third of people in Britain, and more than half of all Londoners, made more use of local parks and green spaces. <sup>258</sup>

Government guidance stressed the benefits of green space and encouraged people to spend time outside: “Spending time in green spaces can benefit both your mental and physical wellbeing. You can spend time outside for recreation or travel to outdoor publicly accessible open spaces, irrespective of distance. [...] If you can’t go outside, you can try to still get these positive effects by spending time with the windows open to let in fresh air.” <sup>259</sup> However, this advice was difficult to follow for those who do not have easy access to green space – even opening a window provides little respite for people who live on busy roads. In the Reset poll, almost a fifth of people said that they don’t live within easy access to green space. <sup>260</sup>

There is a strong public mandate for improving access to green space, 45% of the public said they want to see more green spaces in their area. <sup>261</sup>

The desire for more green space is particularly strong in London where 57% of people want more green spaces and for Black, Asian and minority ethnic people (55%), 31% of whom don’t live within easy walking distance of a green space. <sup>262</sup>

A range of other data which shows inequalities in access to private outdoor and green space by class, race and between those in urban and rural contexts. <sup>263</sup> Racial inequalities in access to private green space are significant, with people of Black ethnicity 2.4 times less likely than those of White ethnicity to have access to a private or communal garden or outdoor space according to the Office of National Statistics. <sup>264</sup>

The Land Trust estimates 2.69 million people live further than a 10-minute walk from a public park. <sup>265</sup> On average parks serve 2,000 people, but while people living in densely populated areas, especially in London, are likely to live far closer to a park they must share their park with as many as 22 times more people than the average. <sup>266</sup>

**“The world is turning up at our invitation. Who do we want to be when they arrive? How are we going to rearrange our house? Let us make ourselves proud.”**

Kate Raworth, Economist,  
Evidence to the Reset inquiry

The public told the Reset inquiry that they wanted green spaces to be multi use, a mixture of wild and manicured, and accessible to all.<sup>267</sup> Research from the Land Trust has also found people think a public park helps to form better communities.<sup>268</sup> One of the participants in the Reset workshops explained: “Even if you do have a garden, I think it’s still really important to have these kinds of open green spaces because it helps to connect people.”<sup>269</sup>

In evidence submitted to the Reset inquiry, the Climate Coalition note: “During this health crisis, many have found personal resilience through engagement with nature. It has also laid bare the fundamental connection between healthy, flourishing and productive communities and a thriving natural world. Indeed, our survival depends upon it. Our response to this crisis must take account of its value.”<sup>270</sup> The Land Trust in their 2016 report found that “9 out of 10 people feel that our green spaces play a positive part in their happiness and wellbeing” and the same number “feel that our green spaces encourage them or others to keep fit and healthy.”<sup>271</sup>

The 2010 landmark report ‘Fair Society, Healthy Lives’ by The Institute of Health Equality led by Professor Sir Michael Marmot recommended, “Improving the availability of good quality open and green spaces across the social gradient.”<sup>272</sup> In his 2020 report on health inequalities lack of green infrastructure is listed as a ‘feature of an unhealthy high street’. Deprived inner-city areas have five times less the amount of good-quality green space and higher levels of pollution than other urban areas.”

Defra estimates that if everyone had access to green space, the savings to the health system could be £2.1 billion per year.<sup>273</sup> The Land Trust found that, “for every £1 spent per year by the land trust, society benefits on average £30.30 in health care provision because people using our sites feel fitter and healthier.”<sup>274</sup> Similarly, Fields in Trust note, “The total economic value to an individual is £30.24 per year (£2.52 per month), and includes benefits gained from using their local park or green space and non-use benefits such as the preservation of parks for future generations.”<sup>275</sup> Investment in urban nature is amazing value for money. National Trust research found benefit to cost ratios of up to 200:1 for investment in greener parks, urban trees and peri-urban habitats.<sup>276</sup> The Trust’s research found that, “£5.5bn investment would benefit 20 million people, with 40,000 short term and 6,000 permanent jobs.”<sup>277</sup>

Over the last decade investment in public green spaces has fallen dramatically. The cross-party think tank the Social Market Foundation point out that: “The green lungs of our towns and cities have suffered from over a decade of austerity. In 2016, it was reported that 92% of park managers had seen their budgets reduced and more than £15 million was cut from parks and green space funding between 2016/17 to 2018/19.”<sup>278</sup>

**Recommendation 47: Implement a National Nature service to significantly enhance and expand green and wild spaces**

A National Nature service, described earlier in this report, could play a role in properly compensating the volunteers who currently maintain many parks. The Social Market Foundation point out that volunteers currently make up for shortfalls in funding: “Cut adrift from stable funding, parks continue to be kept afloat by volunteers, community organisations, and ‘Friends’ groups. The most comprehensive report on the state of urban green spaces, carried out by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) in 2016, estimated that Friends groups raised £50 million per annum to support parks.”<sup>279</sup> Community support is both desirable and vital, but shouldn’t reduce the responsibility of Government to provide a vital public service.

**Recommendation 48: Use planning policy and law to protect and restore nature-rich green space**

With only a small number of parks protected by law, green spaces are disappearing as pressure builds on local authorities to cut costs. The Heritage Fund’s 2016 State of the Parks Report found that more than half of local authorities had already or were planning to ‘dispose or transfer’ green spaces or parts of them to a range of organisations and private companies.<sup>280</sup>

The Land Trust recommends, “Local Authority planning departments must ensure funding for long term maintenance of green space within new developments is included in plan-making and planning application decisions must consider how planning policy can ensure new developments contribute investment to nearby existing green spaces, to support increased footfall and help maintain good quality areas.”<sup>281</sup> Nationally, the Land Trust proposes that: “national planning policy and practice guidance acknowledges that long term maintenance for green spaces in developments is vital for promoting healthy communities and ensure government appraisal tools incorporate costs of long term management of green spaces as a part of a project.”<sup>282</sup>

The Planning White Paper and the legislation that will follow could be used to put democracy, affordability, people’s health and wellbeing, and a right to access to nature for all, at the very heart of the planning reform process.<sup>283</sup>

**Recommendation 49: Develop habitat corridors for humans**

In evidence submitted to the Reset inquiry, the Food and Countryside Commission stress that rural green spaces can be difficult for people to reach because of disconnected and infrequent transport links. They argue that the Government should consider: “Developing ‘habitat corridors for humans’ across cities, and out of cities into the countryside, ensuring that people can get to the countryside with public transport.”<sup>284</sup> Improving transport networks between rural green space and urban sprawl could improve green space access when new developments are limited by cost or the built environment.<sup>285</sup>

# Resetting the food system

**“All the education in the world won’t help financially vulnerable people to buy more [healthy food].**

Reset Workshop participant <sup>286</sup>

Covid is exposing flaws in our food system, from the large numbers of people who simply don’t have enough money for adequate healthy food, to the fragility of globalised supply chains. Our current food system may perform well against economic measures of profitability of supermarkets and international food business, but it’s not the sustainable, resilient and healthy food system that we need. According to the Reset poll, only 19% of people believe that the UK’s food supply is safe and secure. <sup>287</sup>

5% of the people we surveyed used a food bank or relied on food parcels during the national lockdown, and half of the people who took part in our workshop on food had donated to a foodbank. <sup>288</sup> Research in April 2020 by the Food Foundation showed that more than three million people in Britain were going hungry because of the pandemic. Some had lost income, while others went hungry as a result of pandemic-related shortages or because they could not leave their homes to shop. <sup>289</sup> The Trussell Trust have warned that with unemployment set to rise, unless the Government acts, 670,000 extra people will become destitute in the last three months of the year – a level of poverty that leaves them unable to meet basic food, shelter or clothing needs. <sup>290</sup>

According to the Reset poll 61% of people want to see more food being produced in the UK and 70% of people wanted food to be produced more ethically and sustainably. <sup>291</sup> 45% of people try to buy British food when possible, and 52% believe we should invest more in British farmers. <sup>292</sup> An overwhelming majority of the public, more than 82%, think delivery drivers and supermarket workers should have better working conditions. <sup>293</sup>

The food and farming sector currently employs 1 in 8 people in the UK, or 13% of working people, and is worth £113 billion a year to the UK economy. <sup>294</sup> Wildlife and Countryside Link argue that sustainable agricultural policies put people and their future first, and benefit the economy more broadly: “Critical sectors of the economy depend directly on nature. Tourism (10% of the economy), food and farming (3.7 million jobs) and fishing (crucial for coastal communities) all depend directly on our soils, our landscapes, our fish stocks. Restoring our land and seas makes good business sense.” <sup>295</sup>



As the UN's standing committee on nutrition observed, the response to the current crisis should involve "collaborative solutions, solidarity and reinforcement of local food systems" and be clearly designed to further a "sustainable transformation to resilient and sustainable food systems with healthy nutrition at their core".<sup>296</sup>

### **Recommendation 50: Commit to ending food poverty**

In his evidence, Professor Sir Michael Marmot cited research from the Food Foundation which shows that eating healthily just isn't an option for many in the UK: "If people in the bottom 10% of households followed their healthy eating advice, they would spend 74% of household income on food."<sup>297</sup> Footballer Marcus Rashford's taskforce on child food poverty, launched after his successful challenge to the Government over summer school holiday meal vouchers,<sup>298</sup> together with the work of organisations such as the Trussell Trust and FareShare<sup>299</sup> have focused national public attention on shocking levels of deprivation.

End Hunger UK, a coalition of more than 40 national charities, recognise that the root causes of hunger are insufficient household income and an inadequate social safety net, a conclusion echoed in the interim report of the Government-commissioned National Food Strategy.<sup>300</sup> Sustain argue that Defra, DfE and DHSE should set mandatory standards for public sector spend on food that would support both sustainable diets and jobs in Britain – covering public catering and other public spending including the school fruit and veg scheme and healthy start vouchers.<sup>301</sup>

### **Recommendation 51: Invest in the transformation of British farming as part of a green recovery**

As Sustain, the Alliance for Better Food and Farming point out: "changing the way we farm and use land could allow the UK to produce more of our own food, which is better quality, and provides more, better land-based and food processing jobs."<sup>302</sup> Evidence from the National Farmers Union (NFU) suggests that farming is "uniquely positioned to deliver broad environmental outcomes whilst simultaneously driving productivity and levelling up economic growth and job opportunities in rural economies through leveraging improvements in built infrastructure alongside green infrastructure."<sup>303</sup>

The NFU call for investment in "Green infrastructure through existing and future agri-environment schemes", as well as "Improvements in farm buildings and structures to support the achievement of net zero targets".<sup>304</sup> They also outline the need for investment in "integrated water infrastructure to support sustainable food production". Reforming food systems through investment in green infrastructure was a priority of a number of the organisations that submitted evidence to the Reset inquiry.<sup>305</sup>

The NFU also make the case for investment to support: “greening supply chains and prioritising domestic sourcing to lower transportation footprints, promote high environmental standards and enhance supply chain resilience”. They note that “The role of domestic food production and the development of local agri-food businesses should be a key component for any approach to a green recovery as it underpins one of the largest manufacturing sectors in the UK.”<sup>306</sup>

### **Recommendation 52: Invest in a 10-year transition to agroecological farming**

Agroecology is an approach to farming that learns from, works with, and enhances natural and social systems. Agroecological approaches include organic farming, integrated pest management, pasture-fed livestock, conservation and regenerative agriculture, and agroforestry. Sustain make the case that “significant government investment is needed to enable a just transition toward agroecological production.”

The Food Farming and Countryside Commission argue for a 10-year transition plan to a systematic agroecological approach to the UK food system.<sup>307</sup>

The transition they propose includes ensuring “good food must become good business”, reconnecting nature and people to boost health, provide the support needed to facilitate the ‘fourth agricultural revolution’ such as a national ‘Agroecological Development Bank’ and ensuring “Investing in the skills and rural infrastructure to underpin the rural economy.”<sup>308</sup>

The Soil Association emphasise the importance of a ‘whole farm management’ approach: “The Agriculture Bill and Environmental Land Management System should ensure that farmers are rewarded for employing agroecological production across the ‘whole farm system’, not just for taking individual actions that improve the environment, which could see production systems unchanged, and concern for nature relegated to the margins.” Zonal Planning<sup>309 310</sup> could protect the natural environment and biodiversity if used in ways which strengthen environmental protections.

### **Recommendation 53: Invest in nature-based recovery**

70% of UK land is currently used for agriculture.<sup>311</sup> Without decisive action, loss of healthy soils and beneficial insects will make food production in the UK more challenging as well as undermining vital ecosystems. Investing in nature-based solutions is also one of the most cost-effective ways to avoid the high economic costs of environmental degradation.<sup>312</sup> The UK’s food and farming system should work to protect and restore the natural environment on which it depends, including the trees, hedgerows and wild areas that are part of farms as well as the soil itself. Wildlife and Countryside Link estimate that new investment in nature recovery could create 10,000 new jobs.<sup>313</sup> Paying farmers to improve soil health, restore habitats, sequester carbon and reduce flood risk will help to address the nature crisis, restoring biodiversity and supporting livelihoods.

### **Recommendation 54: Support farmers to transition away from intensive livestock production**

The Soil Association note: “There are significant barriers to overcome in transitioning away from intensive livestock production to more extensive, agroecological systems that ensure a ‘good life’ for all farm animals. Farmers investing in intensive systems can be tied into debt and repayments across more than a decade; buildings designed to house cows, hens or pigs cannot be easily repurposed; changing production systems can mean changing business models and diversifying into new markets.”<sup>314</sup> The Soil Association suggest this transition could be supported by the introduction of “a statutory requirement for ‘less and better’ meat in all English schools” through the upcoming update of the School Food Standards.

### **Recommendation 55: Reduce use of pesticides and antibiotics**

Food and farming can’t be separated from public health, from the nutritional value of the food we eat, to the pesticides and antibiotics currently used in food production. Sustain, the Alliance for Better Food and Farming have sought to promote public health by arguing for amendments to the Agriculture Bill that would result in the lowering of pesticide and antibiotic use. Exposure to pesticides has been linked to asthma and other respiratory conditions that increase vulnerability to Covid. The Soil Association propose a legally binding pesticide reduction target in the Environment Bill, with a programme of support for all farmers to adopt agroecological methods of integrated pest management, based on prevention first and pesticides last.<sup>315</sup>

### **Recommendation 56: Uphold UK environment, food and farming standards in any future trade deals**

Crucial decisions will be taken as the UK negotiates Brexit and the trade deals that will replace arrangements with the European Union, and decisions on food exports and imports will have lasting effects on our food production and consumption for generations. The House of Lords Select Committee report ‘Hungry for change: fixing failures in food’ recommended that “Food Imports should match UK environmental and animal welfare standards.”<sup>316</sup> The Soil Association recommends a legislative guarantee of non-regression to make sure that current UK environment, food and farming standards are upheld in any future deals, noting that: “The UK’s ambitions for a green recovery from Covid-19 could be scuppered by trade agreements that undermine production standards and create a ‘race to the bottom’ in animal welfare, pesticide use and environmental protection.”

# Part 4: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION



# Resetting our place in the world

**“The world is turning up at our invitation in our nation. In a year’s time, who do we want to be when they arrive? How are we going to rearrange our house? Let us make ourselves proud.**

Kate Raworth, Economist, Evidence to the Reset inquiry <sup>317</sup>

As the host and president of COP26 in 2021, the UN’s conference on climate change, the Government has committed to showing global leadership on climate action, declaring 2020 the “year of climate action”. <sup>318</sup> Organisations ranging from Greenpeace to the Quakers of Britain stress that this ambition should not be stalled by the pandemic.

## **Recommendation 57: Set an NDC in line with a 1.5°C pathway**

The UK can show leadership by setting a nationally determined contribution (NDC) in line with a 1.5°C pathway. CAFOD suggest that doing this could lead the way to more ambitious climate targets globally: “Success at COP26 will require emissions cuts through nationally determined contributions (NDCs) and public finance proportionate to the urgency of the climate crisis. UK diplomacy is a critical tool to deliver the scale of action required. Specifically, the UK must use its diplomatic weight to close the gap between existing climate change pledges for 2030 (NDCs) and the level of emissions cuts needed to limit global temperature rise to 1.5°C.” <sup>319</sup> CAFOD told us that committing to these targets will: “cement the UK’s climate leadership” and provides a chance “to transform the way we ‘do’ development and diplomacy in order to tackle the triple emergency of poverty and inequality, climate change and environmental degradation.” For this to be meaningful, the UK should measure, and account for, emissions relating to UK consumption. A report by the Sustainability Research Institute at the University of Leeds for WWF revealed that nearly half of the UK’s carbon footprint comes from goods produced overseas for UK-based consumption, which are not currently covered by national reporting or included in the UK’s net zero target. <sup>320</sup>

## **Recommendation 58: Lead the creation of an International Sustainable Recovery Alliance**

Giving evidence to the Reset Inquiry, Emily Shuckburgh Director of Cambridge Zero suggested: “Looking at the international scale, and in particular, the fact that we are going to be hosting the COP 26 conference next year, we can put together an International Sustainable Recovery Alliance to show leadership globally.” <sup>321</sup> The proposal, detailed in a University Network briefing, would

comprise a flexible “coalition of the willing” outside of the UNFCCC architecture to promote a shared vision of a sustainable recovery, building resilience to shocks, and co-ordinating with existing initiatives such as Mission Innovation.<sup>322</sup> The Alliance’s central aim would be to improve coherence between national and global efforts through practical cooperation and information exchange, engaging widely and ensuring the inclusion of the global south.

In their evidence the Tyndall Centre warned that “historically similar events to the pandemic, such as the 2008/9 financial crash, highlight the potential for a strong rebound in emissions following ‘shock’ driven changes in emissions.”<sup>323</sup> They point out, “The UK should take a leading role in showing how accelerated decarbonisation can be central to post-Covid economic strategies to realise the potential benefits of the unique confluence of post-Covid recovery and hosting COP26.”<sup>324</sup> An International Sustainable Recovery Alliance would ensure that the need to radically reduce emissions and restore ecosystems isn’t undermined by the economic recovery from Covid, but is advanced by it in the UK and around the world.

### **Recommendation 59 Lead the call for international debt relief**

**“That because these countries have had a huge hit to their economies and to their public finances because of COVID.**

Jesse Griffiths, Evidence to the Reset inquiry<sup>325</sup>

Lower income countries are more likely to have been impacted by Covid. The Rapid Transition Alliance stress that: “Far from levelling up, the Corona crisis will hit the poorest hardest.” They call for “a ‘global Marshall plan’ that would write off the \$44bn in debt due by African countries in 2020, and give at least \$2.5tn in aid to poor countries, with a single condition: that it is used to alleviate the impact of the pandemic and to write off significant amounts of debt.”<sup>326</sup>

The Climate Coalition point out that the UK can also use its major shareholder status at the World Bank and IMF to “advocate for full cancellation of debt payments of the poorest countries due in 2020, and a more fundamental debt restructuring beyond 2020.”

In her evidence, Professor Jayati Ghosh highlighted how the UK could play a leadership role in restructuring international debt: “The City of London alone has about 40% of the debt contracts, and most of them at the moment are unsustainable. But UK law has been used in a very perverse way to actually prevent the possibility of decent sovereign debt restructuring. So there needs to be some pressure to enable UK law to be a little bit more forgiving of international debtors in the same way that it is a little bit more forgiving of domestic debts [...] if we have to have a new deal, it would have to be global, it will not be sustainable otherwise.”<sup>327</sup>

### **Recommendation 60: Work across government departments to ensure that ODA, UKEF, trade negotiations and diplomacy are aligned to progress on climate**

For the UK to have credibility as a global climate leader in the year it hosts COP26, it must end support for fossil fuel development overseas. CAFOD point out that “this means a moratorium on any new financing and a review of all ongoing investments with the long-term objective to facilitate a just transition towards renewable energy, energy efficiency and energy access.”

Recognising the range of ways in which the UK supports energy projects in the global south they suggest that “This requires a coherent cross-Whitehall strategy to ensure all ODA spending, UKEF support, trade negotiations and diplomacy are targeting support towards climate-resilient, low carbon development that genuinely tackles poverty and inequality.”<sup>329</sup>

The Climate Coalition calls for international trade deals to “uphold the highest standards of environmental and social protection.” They note that “trade terms should be explicitly subject to environmental and human rights commitments”, stressing that “the UK must ensure that all of its Official Development Assistance - including COVID-19 humanitarian response – at the very least does no harm to, and where possible actively contributes to, addressing the triple emergency of climate change, nature loss, and poverty in developing countries.”<sup>330</sup>

### **Recommendation 61: Lead the development of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty**

Rapid Transition Alliance note the current gap between planned exploration of fossil fuels and the level of fossil fuel use compatible with a 1.5C target. They propose that the UK could join other countries around the world in agreeing to leave remaining reserves of fossil fuels in the ground as part of a Fossil Fuel Non-Proliferation Treaty, drawing on the model of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which came into force in October 2020. They note that “The UK is a member of the Powering Past Coal Alliance, but could join countries such as New Zealand, France, Costa Rica and Belize in banning new oil exploration.”<sup>331</sup>

## Footnotes

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- <sup>16</sup> Opinium Poll, 12-15 July 2020 Q9
- <sup>17</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q4
- <sup>18</sup> Email correspondence with workshop participant.
- <sup>19</sup> Margaret Heffernan, [RSA Bridges to the Future](#), Accessed 2nd November 2020.
- <sup>20</sup> For example, the think-tank Demos' [New Normal](#) surveyed over 10,000 people and found deep divisions on mask wearing and lockdown rules. Many of the other priorities identified by the project: community networks and volunteering, green spaces and local environment, national resilience and self-sufficiency, working life, reducing inequalities and the role of low paid workers overlap with Reset.
- <sup>21</sup> The Reset process included two nationally representative polls of 2,000 people, a survey completed by over 3,000 members of the public and a survey sent to members of the campaign group 38 Degrees completed by just over 50,000 people.
- <sup>22</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q3
- <sup>23</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q7
- <sup>24</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q7



- <sup>25</sup> Opinium Poll, 12-15 July 2020, Q5
- <sup>26</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q6
- <sup>27</sup> Opinium Poll, 12-15 July 2020, Q8
- <sup>28</sup> Work Life and Travel Workshop, 8th August 2020; Homes and Community Workshop, 8th August 2020
- <sup>29</sup> Opinium Poll, 8-11 September 2020, Q4
- <sup>30</sup> Findings from: Shopping and Consumerism Workshop 7th August 2020; Work Life and Travel Workshop, 8th August 2020; Homes and Community Workshop 8th August 2020
- <sup>31</sup> Findings from: Shopping and Consumerism Workshop 7th August 2020; Work Life and Travel Workshop, 8th August 2020; Homes and Community Workshop 8th August 2020
- <sup>32</sup> Food Workshop, Transcript: 04:02:01
- <sup>33</sup> Homes and Community Workshop, 8th August 2020, Chat: 03:00:58
- <sup>34</sup> Opinium Poll, 12-15 July 2020, Q8
- <sup>35</sup> Work Life and Travel Workshop, 8th August 2020, Transcript, 1:39:23
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- <sup>52</sup> Nigel Topping, Parliamentary Evidence Session 2: Green and fair recovery, 23rd July 2020
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<sup>61</sup> Womens' Budget Group. Evidence Submitted to the Reset inquiry. Available at: <https://reset-uk.org>

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