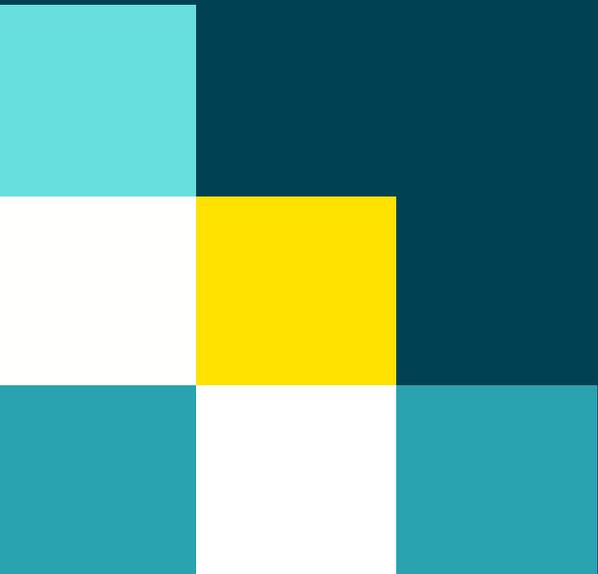




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Canolfan Polisi Cyhoeddus Cymru

Towards a Just Transition in Wales

Jack Price, Manon Roberts, and Dan Bristow
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Summary

- The Welsh Government is committed to decarbonisation, and mitigating the impacts of climate change.
- Some of these impacts will be socio-economic. A Just Transition framework seeks to ensure that decarbonisation is carried out in a way that avoids creating, or exacerbating inequalities, and to use the possibility of a transition to reduce, or remove these inequalities.
- However, there is no universal agreement on what a 'Just Transition' means, and key questions will need to be answered in order to implement it.
- For instance, there are differing approaches to justice, and what we mean by 'justice' will affect the types of policies governments pursue, and how they will affect people.
- How we decarbonise, and how we understand the process of decarbonisation, will also be important. A spatially-focused decarbonisation strategy might look very different to a sector-by-sector approach.
- This also needs to be put into the Welsh legislative, and socio-economic context.
- Wales has a strong legislative background, including the Well-Being of Future Generations Act, and the Environment Act 2016.
- A Just Transition will require a stronger emphasis on cross-cutting governance arrangements, and stakeholder involvement in decision-making.
- A focus on stakeholder engagement, and a mixture of 'top-down' direction, and 'bottom-up' engagement and implementation could help support effective policy- and decision-making.
- This is particularly important as Wales's economy is difficult to decarbonise, with more reliance on agriculture, and heavy industry than the rest of the UK.
- The Coronavirus pandemic has highlighted existing, and stubborn inequalities, but has also shown that governments and societies are able to act decisively to address pressing threats.
- Addressing climate change with similar forcefulness, and engaging the whole of society, could support a Just Transition, and efforts to 'build back better' will be important if net zero commitments are to be achieved

Introduction

There has been a resurgence of awareness, among both the public and policymakers, in tackling climate change since early 2019. In Wales, the Welsh Government's declaration of a 'climate emergency' in April 2019 has indicated a renewed commitment to decarbonisation.

Decarbonisation, and a move towards net zero emissions, have widespread economic and social implications – as any restructuring of the economic base would have – and the Wales Centre for Public Policy (WCPP) has been interested in exploring how these implications can be understood, and mitigated. A 'Just Transitions' (JT) framework attempts to understand these implications, and to build measures that promote social justice into a decarbonisation process.

A JT framework focuses attention on the types of impact that decarbonisation can have — for instance, possible job losses in high-carbon industries — but also offers a way of using decarbonisation to mitigate existing inequalities and lack of opportunity, and to promote social justice (Price, 2019). Adopting it would allow governments and other stakeholders to address existing challenges, while meeting ambitious climate targets, and offers a way for decarbonisation to be mainstreamed across government.

While there is much interest in a JT, there is also little detailed evidence on what a JT might involve. Unpacking the concept of a JT also means reflecting on how it could be implemented on the ground, and in particular, how the sorts of commitment a JT requires can be embedded in to governance, and policymaking. The WCPP's work in this area is intended to provide an initial reflection on these issues, and what implementation might look like in Wales. We have attempted to harness views among organisations, and individual experts working on this area through roundtables, and other forms of engagement, as well as through carrying out desk-based research.

This work was initiated prior to the impact of the Coronavirus pandemic, and despite retaining a focus on the medium- to long-term, it is impossible to ignore the current context. As others have argued, the experience of the Coronavirus pandemic can be cast as an example of an 'unjust transition' precipitated by an unforeseen crisis. And how governments choose to direct the economic recovery in 2021, and beyond, will determine the parameters for future decarbonisation efforts.

This report attempts to unpack what a JT means, and how decarbonisation can be used to promote a more inclusive, and fairer economy. We discuss the relationship between a JT and the existing Welsh policy framework, and opportunities to integrate the two, as well as the challenges posed by the limits of the devolution settlement, and

the difficulties of addressing both decarbonisation, and social justice. We also consider the impact of the Coronavirus pandemic, and the lessons it might hold for a JT. Recognising that this is an evolving policy area, we conclude with some initial suggestions on how a JT might be conceived of in the Welsh context.

What is a Just Transition?

There is increasing awareness that the economic changes that are likely to result from decarbonisation might result in unjust outcomes, and the need to ensure a JT has been included in (for instance) reports by the Committee on Climate Change (CCC, 2019: 33). But the concept has not yet been universally adopted, and, as indicated above, still contains some ambiguity. A key question that remains to be answered involves the nature of the transition itself, and the extent of change required for the transition to be both just, and a real transition. To explore these ambiguities, we will first need to unpack the term in more detail.

What is justice?

It is important to be clear about the different types of justice that we might be interested in, i.e. what the ‘just’ means in the ‘just transition’. We can distinguish between three types of justice, namely distributive, procedural, and restorative justice (McCauley and Heffron, 2018):

- **Distributive justice** involves how resources are allocated, and who receives them. This might involve considering questions of Wales’s economic geography, as well as improving outcomes for less well-off people, and groups.
- **Procedural justice**, by contrast, is about ensuring that decision-making is done fairly, perhaps through participatory decision-making or co-production. This is not limited to making processes fair, but is also about ensuring that decision-making is contributed to by those affected by the decision.
- **Restorative justice** involves righting past wrongs, which in Wales could mean providing additional assistance to those communities who have been previously affected by unjust transitions, such as in the South Wales Valleys.

While these approaches can be considered separately, they are not mutually exclusive. They could even be complementary: pursuing procedural justice, for instance, might result in more distributionally just outcomes.

One issue that arises is that having distinguished these types of justice, we are still no clearer on what outcomes, or arrangements suffice for ‘justice’. This is an issue about which there is little consensus, and has not been since at least Plato’s criticism of Athenian democracy. Distributional justice, for instance, could be understood in terms of equal opportunity for all members of society; it could mean that all sections of society have more equal outcomes (e.g. by reducing wage inequalities); or it could mean that each person receives a wage commensurate to their contribution to society.

It is far beyond the scope of this paper to adjudicate definitively between different understandings of justice, and of what society ought to look like.¹ It is important, however, to highlight that the exact shape of a JT, and whether it demands radical change, or a more moderate evolution, will therefore depend on unavoidably political, and philosophical commitments on what ‘justice’ entails, and what demands it makes. It is vital that these discussions are not shied away from, because while abstract on the face of it, the ideas we have about justice will determine which pathways are taken, and what types of changes policymakers focus on. This conversation might include key stakeholders such as workers, communities, small businesses, consumers, and citizens (Robins et. al., 2020).

The necessity of this conversation is highlighted by the current situation in Wales. There are targets for cutting emissions, and the Welsh legislative context promotes certain understandings of procedural, and distributive justice (about which more below). Equally, however, there is little articulation of what these targets mean in practice, and of what justice looks like for different groups who will be affected by policy decisions. It is important to understand how different people, and groups, will benefit, depending on how justice is understood, articulated, and implemented in policymaking.

What sort of transition?

As well as different types of justice, we should also consider the different ‘lenses’ through which we might consider the ‘transition’ (see Figure 1). Decarbonisation targets tend to promote set emissions reductions by a certain date (for instance, the CCC’s recommendation for a 95% emissions reduction by 2050 in Wales). Likewise, decarbonisation scenarios have been developed on a **sectoral** basis (for example, by

¹ The recent debate in the English-speaking world has been dominated by the conception of ‘justice as fairness’ introduced by John Rawls in his *Theory of Justice* (1999, first published 1971), which considers both procedural and distributional justice in an overarching theory. More recently still, the idea of ‘recognition’ has been articulated, both in the sense of persons achieving respect and participation within society, and in the sense of particular group claims for justice, commonly referred to as identity politics. The interaction and sometimes tension between redistribution and recognition has been articulated from a socialist-feminist perspective by Nancy Fraser (1995). Amartya Sen (2009) considers justice in terms of capabilities, and how different forms of procedural and distributive justice could increase the opportunities for different groups and individuals.

focusing on the agricultural, heavy industry, housing, energy generation, or transport sectors), in line with emissions reporting. Such an approach aligns with the Committee on Climate Change’s approach, who included a sectoral timeline for emissions reduction in their ‘Net Zero’ report (CCC, 2019).

However, in thinking about governance, justice and participation, other ‘lenses’ for considering transition pathways become relevant. Different **geographical** areas, and communities in those areas, will face different challenges, and be affected differently by choices made nationally. The **temporal** dimension is equally important to consider. Some aspects of the transition are manageable now; others will not be until the future; and choosing certain actions will shape the options that are available to us in the future. These aspects will be considered in more detail below.

Figure 1: Aspects of a just transition

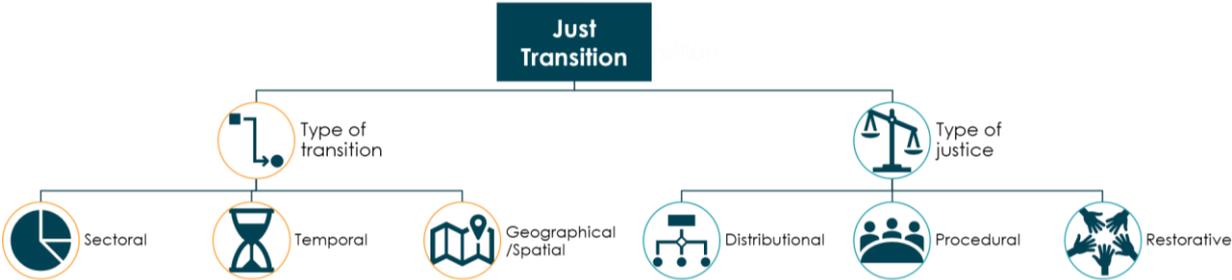


Figure 1 summarises the distinctions made hitherto. Overarching all of these, and determinative of what sort of approach is taken, is the question of what sort of transition is being aimed at. Sectoral roadmaps and decarbonisation targets do not explicitly promote any particular form of social organisation, but this itself suggests the idea that the end result will be a sort of greener version of the status quo, with existing employment, property, and social relations preserved as much as possible. This is perhaps the default position of many government, and private sector actors. Taking this approach would necessarily affect the scope, and nature of a JT.

While the WCPP is, again, in no position to adjudicate between these competing visions, it is worth noting that this vision of society advanced by many of those advocating for a JT (either implicitly or explicitly) would require far more radical change in the structure of the economy, towards greater employee ownership or participation, for instance, or towards a more ‘circular’, or less consumer goods-oriented economic model. This vision is perhaps more common in the academic world, and among some NGOs.

Disagreement over the nature, and scope of the change required, could make it more difficult to achieve any sort of transition, let alone a ‘just’ one. It is therefore imperative

that decision-makers, including governments and key stakeholders, discuss and agree precisely what decarbonisation targets would mean for socio-economic arrangements — including thinking through the implications of targets and goals, where these have not been spelled out, and co-ordinating the development of route maps to achieve the intended change. This clarifies what is being aimed at, and also allows for more substantive disagreement to be understood on its own terms.

Challenges and opportunities in the Welsh policy context

Legislation, powers and opportunities for change

The Welsh legislative landscape offers particular opportunities for promoting a JT, as well as promoting a particular interpretation of what that might mean, that could be used to marshal a clear vision of the desired outcomes.

The Welsh Government has stated an ambition to achieve net zero emissions. It declared a climate emergency in April 2019, and adopted the subsequent recommendation by the UK's Committee on Climate Change (CCC) for a target of a 95% reduction in emissions by 2050 (Welsh Government, 2019a).

Specific policy proposals are outlined in 'Prosperity for All: A Low Carbon Wales' (Welsh Government, 2019b), with proposals for decarbonisation sitting alongside separate proposals for mitigating the effects of climate change, and promoting biodiversity in the Welsh Government's climate change adaptation plan (Welsh Government 2019c).

In addition to these policy roadmaps, other existing legislation in Wales provides a helpful framework upon which to develop policy, and actions to ensure a JT, including:

- The **Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act (2015) (WFGA)**, which puts in place a legal duty for public bodies to act in accordance with sustainable development principles, and to further progress against a set of statutory well-being goals;

- **‘A Greener Wales’** (Welsh Government, 2020b), which sets out the Welsh Government’s objectives in relation to this area;² and
- **The Environment (Wales) Act (2016)**, which places a duty on public bodies to maintain, and enhance biodiversity.

In terms of the powers available to Welsh Government, agriculture and land use, planning, building standards for new properties, smaller scale power generation, public transport and waste, all fall under the government’s responsibilities. Wales does not have direct responsibility over a number of areas that would be of importance to a JT, and does not at present have the financial resource (including borrowing capacity) to invest in a JT to a significant extent: the UK Government retains responsibility for most economic and fiscal policy, large-scale power generation, electricity transmission, heating, vehicle standards and licensing, and heavy industry. Achievement of a JT, as well as the 95% emission reduction target, are therefore dependent on action at a UK level.³

In this context, the Welsh Government will need to consider a range of policy levers that it can draw on to promote a JT. The real, material constraints of the devolution settlement might force innovation in policymaking, and resource allocation. Wales’ relatively small size and population means that government is closer to the people by default, and a wider range of actors can more easily be brought together to work on an issue. Previous WCPP research has noted that the Welsh Government’s convening power or ‘nodality’ has previously been an important part of successful legislative action (Connell, 2019a), and this should be capitalised on to facilitate a JT.⁴

The public sector in Wales has significant purchasing power – public procurement expenditure accounts for approximately £6bn per year (Wales Audit Office, 2017). Welsh Government policy has also resulted in a wide range of businesses, and other organisations, having pre-existing relationships with Welsh Government, whether through grant funding, business support, or other working relationships, which could

² These include commitments to: Tackle regional inequality and promote fair work; Drive sustainable growth and combat climate change; Promote good health and well-being for everyone; Build healthier communities and better environments; Build resilient communities, culture and language; Deliver modern and connected infrastructure; and Promote and protect Wales’ place in the world.

³ To support this, the UK Government has recently set an interim target of a 68% reduction in emissions by 2030, along with a ‘ten-point plan’ designed to accelerate decarbonisation (Harrabin, 2020; Prime Minister’s Office, 2020).

⁴ ‘Nodality’ represents the ‘informal power that comes from being in the middle of networks’ (Connell, 2019a). It is a form of convening power that the Welsh Government is particularly well-placed to exercise.

be leveraged — although attaching conditions to financial support might be counterproductive, resulting in box-ticking exercises, or active resistance.

Participants in our roundtables noted that the policy frameworks put in place by the WFGA are especially favourable. In addition to legally establishing the UN sustainable development principle, the WFGA provides an opportunity to frame a JT through established legislative frameworks (the seven well-being goals), as well as through procedural norms generated through the five ways of working.⁵ Some stakeholders go so far as to argue that the WFGA legally requires a JT. This understanding of a JT would prioritise participatory, and inclusive forms of decision-making, as well as an expansive form of redistribution to disadvantaged communities, and groups. At its most expansive, the WFGA can be understood as calling for a new political and economic settlement, which prioritises sustainable development. Implementing a JT in Wales might, therefore, form part of the increasing roll-out, and awareness of the WFGA in the Welsh public service.

Aspects of this can already be seen in various attempts at governance innovation within Welsh public services. Area statements, required under the Environment (Wales) Act 2016, summarise the state of natural resources and ecosystems across seven defined regions of Wales (six land and one marine), and set out how challenges will be addressed. These aim to connect national policy frameworks with local priorities, and concerns, and are created by Natural Resources Wales in collaboration with local representatives, authorities, and agencies. This provides an element of feedback on the deliverability, and implementation of top-down targets, and allows local area representatives to feed into overall processes. The first set of area statements were published in April 2020, and their impact on policymaking therefore remains to be seen. But some participants in our roundtables felt that a focus on consulting NGOs, local agents, and local authorities, in preference to members of the public limited the participatory potential of these exercises.

A benefit of leveraging the WFGA to implement a JT would be the potential for ensuring that decarbonisation and justice are seen as genuinely cross-cutting issues, rather than being confined to one department or area. Discrete decision-making in existing ‘silos’ is unlikely to be able to face up to the nature of the challenge, and the required solution, no matter what interpretation of a JT one adopts. This is because the nature of the well-being goals requires co-ordinating existing resource and

⁵ The seven well-being goals are ‘A globally responsible Wales; A prosperous Wales; A resilient Wales; A healthier Wales; A more equal Wales; A Wales of cohesive communities; and A Wales of vibrant culture and thriving Welsh language’. The five ways of working are ‘Long-term; Integration [with the goals of the Act]; Involvement; Collaboration; Prevention [of problems that might affect the goals]’ (Future Generations Commissioner, 2020).

priorities, and the broad issues (such as increasing opportunity or promoting community) cover a number of portfolios.

There are existing barriers to implementing the WFGA, including complex governance arrangements, and over-demanding reporting requirements, as well as more typical culture change issues (Future Generations Commissioner, 2020). Additionally, it is unclear at present what legal powers of enforcement the Future Generations Commissioner has.

Cross-cutting working more broadly requires a sustained commitment across a range of bodies, and can be difficult to implement. This may especially be the case for decarbonisation, where there is no apparent 'end user', and therefore no direct client to address (Connell et. al., 2019b: 16).

Notwithstanding the auspices of the WFGA, cross-cutting and collaborative working between Welsh Government, local government, and Welsh Government sponsored bodies will be vital to tackle the multifaceted, and complex nature of decarbonisation. For example, decisions about the funding of carbon-intensive industry must be made with high-level decarbonisation strategy in mind, as well as local economic concerns.⁶ Equally, individual teams must be able to make decisions within that strategy, without having to navigate complicated, and time-consuming bureaucratic processes.

There are opportunities to move decision-making responsibility, and an element of control from formal bodies, and to local groups. Pilot projects including Project Skyline⁷ could allow local communities to be involved in natural resource management, which could allow for the promotion of environmental goods, while also providing sustainable, locally-focused employment. While Project Skyline is the most high-profile example, and has recently received funding (Dickins, 2020), representatives from the voluntary sector have told the WCPP that many other community-based projects exist which could be leveraged towards a JT.

Giving communities and locally-based organisations the ability to make decisions about their future would restore a sense of agency, and choice, making it more likely that they will support decarbonisation efforts where they will have a direct impact on local areas. This will also assist in promoting behaviour change, which will need to

⁶ This is complicated further by the risk of 'outsourcing' emissions or environmental impacts.

⁷ Project Skyline enabled local residents in some South Wales Valleys communities to decide what to do with publicly-owned land.

make up a significant (60%, according to the CCC [2019]) part of any decarbonisation programme.

Challenges and considerations to decarbonisation in Wales

A JT needs to be put into the difficult decarbonisation context for Wales. Despite favourable policy and legislation, and a government that is prepared to act, carbon emissions in Wales have dropped only to the extent that power generation emissions have dropped. Agriculture and industrial processes are both a proportionally larger emission source in Wales compared to the rest of the UK (National Atmospheric Emissions Inventory, 2019),⁸ reflecting the rurality of Wales, and relative prominence of heavy industry (such as the steel plants at Llanwern and Port Talbot). Both heavy industry and agriculture are difficult to decarbonise and, combined with the limited opportunities for carbon storage in Wales, act as limiting factors for the pace of decarbonisation (Committee on Climate Change, 2019).

Large parts of Wales are still struggling from previous economic transitions, in particular the loss of coal mining and much large-scale industry culminating in the 1980s. Moreover, industry and agriculture are sectors with social and cultural significance in Wales. As Wales seeks to transition to net zero emissions, consideration will need to be given to how to manage this in a way that acknowledges and addresses the impacts on affected communities.

To provide an example of difficulties inherent in decarbonising a specific sector, or in particular geographical areas, the Welsh Government has articulated proposals for its future support of farming and land management in Wales through its Sustainable Farming Scheme (see Welsh Government, 2020a). This would incentivise farmers to pursue environmental outcomes, and provide farmers with capital investment, business advice and support, and skills development; but it would not subsidise food production. However, there is opposition to change, such as views within farming communities that diversification is seen as ‘second best’ to food production (Senedd Research, 2019). There is particular concern that replacing productive farmland with ‘unproductive’ land would reduce overall revenue and turnover, which could have wider economic impacts beyond individual farmers (for instance, by reducing revenue for farm services like vets). Advocates for the Welsh language also argue that any

⁸ The main sources of GHG emissions in Wales are as follows: Energy supply (34%), Business (21%), Transport (15%), Agriculture (13%), Residential (9%), Industrial processes (5%), Waste management (3%), and Public sector (<1%) (Stats Wales, 2019).

threat to the viability of farming communities in west and north Wales, the main communities where Welsh is spoken by the majority, is also a threat to the Welsh language (Scourfield, 2020). While these challenges are not insurmountable, overcoming them will require careful, place-specific, and participatory policymaking with clear, specified, and consensual goals.

Importantly, planning for a JT will need to take into account path dependencies that will be created by taking certain actions, at certain points. Any actions that are taken now will not only affect what actions can be taken in future, but also what timeframe within which these actions will need to be taken. While appreciating the existence of contingencies and risks, the impact of which has been apparent this year as seldom before, policies will need to be carefully planned, and implemented, so as to facilitate future decision-making. This means that the groundwork for future interventions will need to be laid earlier, particularly in complex areas such as the decarbonisation of heavy industry.

The impact of the Coronavirus pandemic

While causing significant economic disruption, aspects of the Coronavirus pandemic could be instructive in planning for a JT. Parallels can be drawn between the current crisis and the response needed to tackle climate change, which are potentially useful in increasing support for a 'green recovery'. These include a sense that there has been a lack of long-term thinking and planning in governments; an acceptance of large-scale state/public sector intervention; and a renewed interest in, and valuing of, expertise and science. Taken in tandem with polling, which shows that two thirds of Britons believe climate change is as serious as Coronavirus, and the majority of respondents wanting climate/the environment to be prioritised in economic recovery (Beaver, 2020), the Coronavirus pandemic offers a key opportunity to use increased public concern about climate change to encourage a JT in Wales, and beyond.

In this context, calling for action on climate change can be framed in terms of acting to avoid future crises, demonstrating preparedness, and promoting equity. For this to be successful, solutions need to be offered; it is not enough to call for action. It will be important for the Government to be prepared to articulate how it intends to act, the 'solutions' it will pursue, and what the public's contribution can be.

The restrictions imposed as a result of the Coronavirus pandemic have been associated with a number of positive changes in behaviour that align with decarbonisation efforts, including: more people shopping locally; a greater appreciation for green space amongst the public; and decreased travel emissions as a result of increasing numbers working from home. While it remains unclear to what extent the changes observed during the pandemic will continue in the long-term, research suggests efforts to cement positive behaviour changes will be of crucial importance in achieving decarbonisation. The CCC suggested that for the UK to achieve net zero emissions, over 60% of the necessary changes require changes in societal and individual behaviours; simply introducing low-carbon technologies or fuels without changing behaviours will be insufficient (CCC, 2019).

Some of these positive changes are already being made permanent, including more provision for 'active travel' like cycling in Cardiff, and the prospect of homeworking as a permanent feature of the economy; and governments are (at least rhetorically) prioritising a 'green recovery'. Going forward, the Welsh Government could build on these measures by adopting planning approaches that incorporate nature-based design to increase access to green spaces. Support for local high streets could be targeted to ensure the right mix of services and retail is available to establish local shopping as the norm. Providing local and distributed workspace options in towns and villages may allow 'closer to home', rather than office-based or 'from home' working, which will help sustain the reduced road congestion at peak times that has occurred as a result of a significant increase in homeworking during the early stages of the pandemic.

However, while the severe economic shock of Coronavirus has resulted in significant resource being allocated to recovery, with the UK likely facing a significant recession, it is unclear to what extent these positive changes will be financially supported and able to continue in the long-term.

Summary: Moving towards a Just Transition

The concept of a JT is important in connecting the challenges of decarbonisation with a recognition that decarbonising the economy will have economic and social effects, some of which may exacerbate existing injustices, or create new injustices.

Exactly what is meant by a JT is difficult to understand at times, however; desired end states, as well as the nature and scope of change, are often poorly articulated. A first step towards any implementation of a JT must be to clearly discuss, understand, and articulate what we are transitioning towards, and in what respects it differs from the present arrangement. Implementation will also require an understanding of the complexities of decarbonisation; modelling of likely impacts; and a recognition that policy trade-offs, and path dependencies may make decision-making much more difficult.

Wales faces particular challenges in decarbonising, and its government is limited in power, and financial resource. At the same time, Wales is well-placed to implement a JT, with a favourable legislative environment, and the potential benefits that come from small-country governance. There are opportunities to convene stakeholder groups and work collaboratively to face challenges; and to build on the legacy of the Coronavirus pandemic to 'build back better'.

More broadly, Wales might consider ways in which a JT can be delivered on the ground, in the absence of large-scale financial support from government, involving community groups and local businesses. This might take inspiration from existing initiatives in delivering the Fair Work agenda or promoting the Foundational Economy. Existing regional structures, as well as formal or informal local consortia, could be used to discuss ways in which local organisations (including business) could share resources and plan together. This could form part of the wider, ongoing rollout of the WFGA, and attempts to enhance co-operative, and cross-cutting policymaking.

To put a more concrete and detailed face on the types of decision that will be needed, and to highlight practical obstacles that might be faced, one or two policy areas or decisions could be chosen for further in-depth study. These policy areas should be chosen from outside the 'traditional' scope of decarbonisation, to maximise opportunities for cross-cutting working, but should be within the scope of a JT. The study should seek to find the specific ways in which the policy area, or decision, could be used to lead to a JT; how actors and stakeholders can be mobilised to that end; and what resources or additional factors will be needed to deliver a JT successfully. The focus should be on implementation, to avoid the impression that a JT is a list of 'nice-to-haves', with little practical relevance.

A JT is a challenge to the idea that decarbonisation can be pursued absent of wider economic, and social issues, but it is also a conceptual, and practical challenge in its own right. Tackling it will require strategic clarity, as well as co-ordinated implementation on the ground, but it offers the opportunity to connect otherwise disparate policy areas, and tackle some of the great challenges of the 21st century.

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Author Details

Dr Jack Price is a Research Officer at the Wales Centre for Public Policy.

Manon Roberts is a Research Associate at the Wales Centre for Public Policy.

Dan Bristow is Director of Policy and Practice at the Wales Centre for Public Policy.

For further information please contact:

Dr Jack Price

Wales Centre for Public Policy

+44 (0) 29 2251 0871

info@wcpp.org.uk

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