

INSIDE TRACK

POWER TO THE PEOPLE: THE NEW POLITICS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

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POWER

TO THE PEOPLE

COMMENT

We have often focused *Inside Track* on the issues of most interest to our members and colleagues. But we have long sought to broaden the range of organisations that feel a sense of ownership of these issues.

We will only succeed in tackling our concerns if we develop approaches that also meet the needs of those whose primary interests are social and economic. That is undoubtedly the case with climate change. Fortunately, there is now widespread recognition of its potentially catastrophic economic and social impacts, and this has helped to inspire a wide range of creative and ambitious initiatives. On pages 10-12 we outline six such inspirational examples.

But we need to see far more activity of this kind if we are to succeed in the long term. In November 2008 we published *A new politics of climate change: why we are failing and how we will succeed*. It argues that climate change must move from being primarily an 'environmental issue' to become the dominant issue of concern for all civil society, if we are to secure political action on the scale we so urgently need.

In this *Inside Track*, I outline the thinking behind *The new politics of climate change*, which I wrote after much discussion with colleagues in the third sector. We are hopeful that it will spark further debate on how to secure action to prevent catastrophic climate change.

In the spirit of good debate, we have invited responses from Michael Shellenbarger and Ted Nordhaus, the US political strategists and co-authors of the controversial *The death of environmentalism*, and David Nussbaum, chief executive of WWF-UK. Each offers important challenges to our analysis and takes the debate forward into new areas, as we hoped and expected they would do. There is much common ground, and much work to do to develop these ideas.

I hope you will want to carry on this conversation with us. We will be taking it forward into our future work, to play our part in creating the change we so urgently need.

Also in this issue: find out what we said to Gordon Brown in our new year letter to him, read about our new programme of work on building a sustainable economy and the latest on our Designing out waste theme.



Stephen Hale, director



THE QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF GREEN ALLIANCE

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Edited by Karen Crane
Designed by Howdy
Printed by Park Lane Press

© February 2009 Green Alliance

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The views of contributors are not necessarily those of Green Alliance.

PRIORITY
URGENT

NEW YEAR LETTER TO GORDON BROWN

A call for a third sector partnership with government and business

The UK is a world leader in making commitments on climate action and sustainability. If speeches and strategies could reduce carbon emissions we would now be well on the way to stabilising the climate. But, in truth, nearly two decades of campaigning for policy change by the environmental movement has not been enough to do more than get climate change established on the public and political agenda. More of the same will not get us where we need to be.

The situation is made worse by the onset of serious economic turmoil: a recession is here and it shows alarming signs of getting worse during 2009. Politicians are under pressure to deliver a meaningful global deal on climate at the end of the year, but they are facing even more pressure to safeguard jobs and shore up their economies in the face of a huge crisis for the financial system and economic resilience.

As is made clear elsewhere in this edition of *Inside Track*, we need a profoundly new model to succeed in making breakthroughs in climate action, not just in remote emission targets. Climate change is not just an environmental issue. Campaigning alone will not prevent it. Leadership from across the third sector (the voluntary sector or civil society) could make the decisive difference.

In the light of this, Green Alliance aims to bring third sector bodies together, to make sure

that environmental sustainability, climate action and social justice are at the heart of public and business policy and, in particular, at the heart of measures to bring about a sustainable recovery from the recession. To this end, we started the New Year as we mean to go on. Together with a

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”

group of national third sector organisations, we sent a New Year letter to Gordon Brown and the Cabinet's National Economic Council. It called for a partnership with the third sector in ensuring that we use the economic crisis as the spur to radical action for sustainable development and a low-carbon, high-value economy.

For more information contact **Stephen Hale**
shale@green-alliance.org.uk

AN ECONOMY AT THE CROSSROADS

Towards a green economic recovery



2008 was a year of systemic shocks to the financial world and to the real economy, and it looks as if 2009 will be just as stormy. The recession and the response to it will have far-reaching consequences: government rescue packages for major banks and measures to boost economies will shape both the next economic cycle and worldwide strategies for public investment.

Green Alliance believes that the economic crisis must also be seen in the context of global pressures on natural resources, especially oil and gas and, of course, climate change. A recovery based on a return to 'business as usual', an over-dependence on debt-fuelled consumer spending, financial services and fossil fuels, would be illusory and short-lived. If we are to make the rapid progress necessary towards meeting the huge challenges of climate change, resource degradation and risks to energy, food and water security, then the economy has to come out of recession in a very different form to the way it went into it.

Some current economic growth does take us in the right direction, but much of it compounds the damage and continues to take us down the

high carbon path that will lock in infrastructure and public behaviour for decades. The new approach to economic management that will emerge from the current crisis should be focused on an economy and society that will be more resilient to future energy or resource price shocks, that invests in the infrastructure to deliver a low carbon economy, and that takes into account the true value of the world's natural and human capital.

Green Alliance's forthcoming work on this theme will include, but not be limited to, action in the following areas:

- Channelling investment in a more sustainable low carbon direction. The credit crunch and banking bailouts have widened the scope of politically feasible solutions in this area and blurred the boundaries between public and private investment.
- Building public finances. The response to the financial crisis has left public finances in a precarious state, and all parties will have to propose ways of repairing the damage. There will be room in this debate for the role of green taxes as an explicit way of raising revenue.

– Training and reskilling for a new green economy. During what will be a deep recession with painful job losses, it will be important for employers and trade unions to determine what skills, such as renewables engineering, are scarce in the economy, and how skills that have become temporarily redundant can be redeployed in areas such as home insulation programmes.

Green Alliance will be advocating the desirability of a green economic recovery, and developing policy solutions in these three areas to make such as transformation possible. Led by Chris Hewett, former head of climate change at the Environment Agency, the work will kick off with a high-level green budget seminar in March, and a series of thought-leadership essays in the spring.

For more information on our green economic recovery theme contact **Chris Hewett** chewett@green-alliance.org.uk or **Hannah Hislop** hhislop@green-alliance.org.uk.

THE GREEN LIVING CHALLENGE

Giving government reasons to act

The choices that consumers make everyday have a huge impact on the UK's environmental footprint.

There's plenty of evidence about how to influence choices to reduce the impact of our homes and lifestyles, yet government still doesn't feel it has a mandate from the electorate to cajole us into better environmental behaviour.

There is an urgent need to close the gap between the evidence on behaviour change, the public discourse and government action.

So, how do we encourage the government to use incentives? How can we do it in the current economic climate? How can the policies be made attractive to the electorate? And what are the limits of policy influence?

Over the next three years, Green Alliance will be answering these questions through an ambitious new set of projects under our Green Living programme. We will be collaborating

closely with business, the third sector and the academic community to use their considerable expertise. The projects will be led by a wide consortium of partners from a number of sectors. Looking at the way we live, how we travel and what we buy, our conclusions will be squarely aimed at informing those in government who are responsible for this agenda.

If you would like to be involved in helping us to reach these conclusions or would simply like to know more, please contact **Rebekah Phillips** rphillips@green-alliance.org.uk

BEYOND RECYCLING

A better solution by designing out waste

Tabloid headlines are screaming that recycling is pointless: it uses more energy than it saves and all our carefully segregated materials get shipped to China or, rather, they did before the bottom fell out of the recycling market. Many articles have and will be written to counter these claims (in the case of the carbon benefits, both of recycling operations in the UK and abroad) explaining why a bigger demand for recyclates will help build more resilient markets for these materials. What the recycling detractors ignore, and what Green Alliance is focused on exploring, is the bigger picture: a world of global resource flows and ecological devastation in places far removed from our daily lives.

Our two-year *Designing out waste* programme has brought together ten companies across the supply chain, representing manufacturers, brands, retailers and waste companies. All the organisations involved have a shared interest in exploring how products and services can be designed to eliminate waste. Around this common theme, in the first year of the programme, we researched and analysed a

number of strategic issues and questions around resources, product and waste policy. We have explored the future direction of Defra's work on sustainable products and materials; the practical and political prospects for the EU's ecodesign directive; and to what extent carbon can be used as a proxy to judge the environmental impact of packaging.

In April, we'll publish a short report detailing the efforts of both the private and public sectors to measure and reduce the environmental impacts of products and packaging, and comment on the extent to which they are coherent, complementary and ambitious.

We are also focusing once more on compostable plastics, investigating the current and possible future feedstocks for bioplastics. This is in response to the debate about biofuels and the sustainability of substituting fossil-fuel sources with specially grown renewable sources.

To find out more about this work or get involved contact **Hannah Hislop** hhislop@green-alliance.org.uk

THE DEFINITIVE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME

Stephen Hale outlines the compelling need for a new politics to combat climate change, explored in detail in the recent pamphlet published by Green Alliance



I have worked on climate change for over ten years, in government, business and the voluntary sector. Great strides have been made in that time, in raising the public and political profile of this definitive challenge of modern times.

Yet, even in countries such as the UK where there is relatively high awareness of what is at stake, progress in reducing carbon emissions has been far too slow. Politicians, businesses and public alike blame one another for their collective failure. Pressure groups blame politicians for not providing leadership; politicians justify their inaction by citing the lack of public support for policies to cut emissions; and many businesses bemoan the inadequacy of both to justify their own timidity. But who is really to blame? And what can we do about it?

It is imperative that all of us active in this area step back and analyse the underlying causes of the profound disconnect between the scientific evidence and our collective response, and develop new strategies that can succeed.

The new politics of climate change: why we are failing and how we will succeed, is Green Alliance's contribution to that debate. It focuses on how we can secure decisive action from governments. They alone have the power to tax, regulate and incentivise businesses and individuals to act. Climate change is not a problem of science, technology, economics, or behaviour change. It is, above all, a problem of political imagination.

Politicians have more power than they choose to acknowledge. There is far more that they can and should do. Green Alliance's business

is to persuade them to use that power more consistently and ambitiously. We have had considerable success. But there is far more that we plan to do in future.

I know from my own time in government that there are deep structural reasons why governments don't deliver in this area. The nature of climate change is inimical to the short-attention spans of modern democracies ('pollute now, others pay later'). National governments are constrained in their ability to act; ideological resistance to regulation is a powerful constraint on action, and we lack effective global and national forums for the choices and agreements that need to be made.

We are failing in the war against climate change because we have not yet made a strong enough case for action, in terms that politicians find compelling. Levels of public concern, behaviour and demand for political action are too weak to overcome these obstacles.

Committed private sector leadership could have a dramatic effect on the politics of climate change, and secure many of the policies needed to incentivise investments in low-carbon energy and transport solutions.

The business community now almost universally accepts the science of climate change, and the need to act. All businesses with long-term investment cycles have a powerful interest in a successful transition. There would be many winners from a low-carbon global economy, and new technologies and industries are emerging fast that will be at the forefront of this. Yet many businesses continue to take a primarily short-term

and defensive approach to engagement with government. Consistent support for government intervention is still too rare, and it is those who might lose out in the short term that remain the loudest voices in the political process.

This is changing. The investment and insurance industries have been prominent in this shift. The Corporate Leaders Group in the UK has been an influential advocate of progressive policy positions. At the most recent global climate change talks, a range of business coalitions supported specific government action. Green Alliance works with a number of such companies, across a range of industries.

Businesses respond above all to market signals. Shifting public attitudes and behaviour create new market opportunities. So ultimately the public holds the key to a long-term transformation of corporate carbon footprints and opinions. A further step change in public concern is needed. Creating these opportunities is now the central task for all of us committed to persuading both governments and businesses to use their power to full effect.

This is not something people can easily do alone. The evidence shows that few of us are both willing and able to adapt our lifestyles to dramatically reduce our carbon footprint. But we are much more likely to do so if we have opportunities to in concert with others. The third sector, made up of community groups, national membership organisations, trade unions, faith communities, social enterprises and co-operatives, provides individuals with these collective opportunities.

For many years, climate change has been an issue highlighted overwhelmingly by environmental groups. But, critically, this is now changing. To succeed, we must move from the era in which climate change was an issue primarily for environmentalists, to one in which it is the primary issue of public concern and mobilisation.



Climate change is not a problem of science, technology, economics, or behaviour change. It is, above all, a problem of political imagination



There has been an explosion of concern and action over the past two years among faith leaders, development groups, and grassroots initiatives such as Transition Towns. Their concern over climate change is well-founded, given its dramatic potential impacts on international prosperity, security, and social justice. Important new initiatives are underway to articulate these links, and bring them to public attention (We profile some of them on pages 10-12).

These diverse initiatives are critical to the prospects for effective political action on climate change. The surge of leadership we need to create this new politics can come through third

sector action in four areas:

- Leadership and commitment, from groups concerned with issues from development and security to housing and health, will deepen support for action.
- Community, local and regional leadership will enable people to come together to change their lifestyles and demand political action, through the rise of initiatives like Transition Towns and low-carbon villages.
- A movement of people living low-carbon lifestyles will set an example to others, brought together by a voluntary national personal carbon trading scheme.
- Mobilisation across borders will play an instrumental role in persuading individual countries to act consistently and ambitiously, as cities combine to drive down the cost of deploying low-carbon technologies, and pressure groups make consistent and compelling demands for national action.

We published *The new politics of climate change* in November. For some, the importance of third sector action has long been well understood. But far more could be achieved, with the right funding, collaboration and commitment. Both funding organisations and a variety of third sector organisations are keen to accelerate the mobilisation that is already underway. We at Green Alliance will play our part in this. We are already working with trade unions, development groups, the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, Help the Aged, and the national environmental groups with which we have enjoyed a long-standing and important partnership.

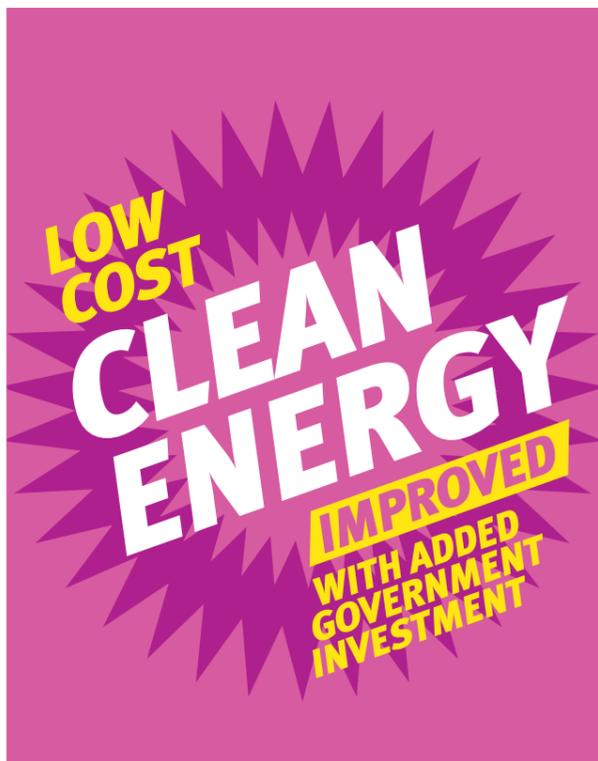
These are exciting times for Green Alliance. We remain resolutely focused on the objective that has driven the organisation for thirty years: persuading politicians to act. But we will be pursuing this approach in new and ambitious ways, working with an increasingly wide range of organisations to achieve our goals and building new relationships to add to the many that we already enjoy in the private and voluntary sectors. We are currently finalising our plans for 2009-12, to be published in April. We look forward to working with many of you to make our plans a reality.



Stephen Hale is director of Green Alliance. *The new politics of climate change: why we are failing and how we will succeed* was published by Green Alliance in November 2008 and can be downloaded free from www.green-alliance.org.uk/grea1.aspx?id=192 For more information about our third sector work, contact **Faye Scott** fscott@green-alliance.org.uk

BEYOND THE POLLUTION PARADIGM

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus respond to the *New politics of climate change* and highlight the importance of public investment in innovation



The *new politics of climate change* is a critical challenge to greens on both sides of the Atlantic to rethink their strategy. It begins with an important admission: “we are failing.” Stephen Hale argues that this is for two reasons. First, the negative consequences of global warming will be felt most strongly by “people in the future and often in other parts of the world.” Second, the cost of action is high. Winning action, he concludes, will require broadening the constituency of advocates for action beyond greens to those concerned about poverty, health, security, prosperity and well-being.

But broadening the constituency in this way would not deal with the economic challenge at the heart of the problem, which is the large technology and price gap between fossil fuels and clean energy. Our 2004 essay, *The death of environmentalism: global warming politics in a post-environmental world*, was widely interpreted as a call for a broader coalition. But our argument was not that greens needed to get anti-poverty activists to support the existing climate agenda, but rather that greens needed to radically re-think their agenda so that anti-poverty activists (among others) could support it.

Hale should be applauded for demanding that greens confront the disparity in impacts and costs of climate change, and rethink their strategy. We would add that we must also rethink our goal and our policy agenda. While Hale acknowledges that action on climate change will be expensive, he does not consider different policy paths to make actions cheaper, and even profitable, for developed and developing economies. Hale acknowledges that governments are “wary of new taxes and regulations”; but he does not fully confront the implications of his own analysis.

Energy and human development

Inaction on global warming is a consequence of the reality that clean energy remains far more expensive than fossil fuels, and no government will raise the price of fossil fuels high enough to make clean energy cost-competitive. This is especially the case in China, India, and the developing world. As these economies emerge, the world will triple its energy consumption by 2050. Reducing emissions by 50 percent globally during that same period of time will thus require massive technology breakthroughs to make clean energy cheap.

A new paper by University of Colorado political scientist Roger Pielke, Jr, a senior fellow with our Breakthrough Institute finds that the UK is massively underestimating the challenge of meeting its goal to reduce emissions by 80 per cent by 2050, and 34-42 per cent by 2022. Britain would have to decarbonise its economy at a rate of 5.2 per cent a year. Even if it built 30 nuclear plants (or some other low-emissions plants) that displaced existing coal and gas plants over the next six years, it would still have to decarbonise another 33 per cent. (*The British Climate Change Act: A critical evaluation and proposed alternative approach*, draft, 27 January 2009 <http://sciencepolicy.colorado.edu/admin/>

publication_files/resource-2717-2009.02.pdf)

And if the UK achieved this goal, what would that mean for the world? In 2004, the UK emitted about as much carbon dioxide as China increased in 2007. Thus, a fundamental question must be raised: what should be the goal of the new climate politics?

Why Kyoto was doomed

For the last 15 years the goal among the developed nations that created and ratified Kyoto has been to reduce emissions. The EU and greens in the US have sought to achieve these reductions through emissions trading. The economic assumption is that trading would establish a price for carbon pollution. The future costs of global warming would be increasingly internalised in the cost of present pollution. We would gradually make fossil fuels more expensive so that energy efficiency and clean energy would become gradually cheaper.

But such an approach was doomed from the beginning for the simple reason that no voting public or government in the world is willing to raise the price of fossil fuels high enough to provide sufficient incentive either for firms to invest in efficiency or clean energy. Rather than confront this contradiction, environmentalists in the US and EU governments have pointed to the symptoms of this underlying problem: the over-allocation of pollution credits in the EU, resistance from industry, public ignorance, etc.

The emissions trading model came from a similar model to deal with acid rain in the US, one that did not result in any serious technological innovation. The 1990 Clean Air Act amendment used cap and trade to allow firms to trade emissions reductions. But the law simply required firms to adopt an existing, inexpensive technology, and an existing, inexpensive fuel source. Firms either installed scrubbers on smokestacks or switched to abundant low sulphur coal. (For a discussion of Kyoto’s flawed models see the seminal 2007 essay by Oxford University’s Steve Rayner and London School of Economics’ Gwyn Prins, *The wrong trousers: radically rethinking climate policy* <http://www.martinstitute.ox.ac.uk/JMI/Library/James+Martin+Institute+Editorial/The+Wrong+Trousers+-+Radically+rethinking+climate+policy.htm>).

Greens on both sides of the Atlantic routinely insist that technology innovation is the result of government regulation. But it is more often the result of government investment. This was true in the case of computers and the internet. Thanks to Pentagon contracts, the price of microchips went from \$1,000 a chip to \$20 a chip in under a decade. The internet was invented in a Defense Department lab. Nuclear, solar, and wind power would not exist had governments not made large investments, not just in laboratory R&D but also real world deployment. And Japan was not, contrary to conventional green wisdom, the birthplace of hybrid-electric cars because of its fuel economy regulations but because the government had an industrial policy that rewarded innovation.

Never before in human history have we moved from one energy source to another by making older energy sources more expensive. As we moved from wood to coal, from coal to natural gas and nuclear, from animal labour to petroleum, new technologies displaced old technologies because they were cheaper, more efficient, and more secure.

The good news is that humans are good at making things cheap, whether they are microchips and personal computers or solar panels and wind turbines. We will make clean energy cheap not through pollution regulations but rather through massive government investments in technology. The model for this strategy is not the unwieldy and unworkable Kyoto treaty but rather the European Coal and Steel Community, created after World War II to rebuild Europe.

Make clean energy cheap

Just after the second world war, Winston Churchill gave two famous speeches calling for a “United States of Europe.” His vision for what is now known as the European Union was so compelling that the US government was inspired to invest the equivalent of \$500 billion today’s dollars between 1947 and 1951 to make it (and the rebuilding of Japan) a reality.

As the global economy continues its downward spiral, the world is waiting for another leader to make a similar speech. Today governments have an incentive to invest in mutually beneficial technologies and industries, just as we did after the second world war, for strictly economic reasons. Making clean energy cheap is the obvious goal for such an initiative, as it would put people back to work and harness the natural abilities of each nation, whether in science, engineering, manufacturing, or all three.

There is no Europe to rebuild but there are two billion human beings on our planet who make less than \$2 per day and who lack electricity. The global poor must be empowered. As they are, we in the developed world will benefit as they become consumers for our products and services. This is not ‘development aid’ but an investment in our common future. For this strategy to work, governments must initiate a crash programme to make clean energy cheap in real, subsidised terms, so that they can compete on their own against fossil fuels.

As soon as we let go of the idea that climate change is essentially a pollution problem, one that requires slowing economic growth, and embrace the idea that investment in technology and economic development are the solution, we will be well on our way to solving several urgent international crises at once.

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus are political strategists who are, respectively, president and chairman of the US Breakthrough Institute. They co-wrote *The death of environmentalism (2004)* and *Break Through (Houghton Mifflin 2007)*. They were named *Time* magazine Heroes of the Environment 2008. www.thebreakthrough.org

Response by Stephen Hale

Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus support the central theme of *The new politics of climate change*: that we need to build far broader social foundations for political action on climate change. Those that have had a chance to read them will know that this was an important element of both *The death of environmentalism* and *Break Through*, written by the same authors.

However they argue that coalitions won’t emerge without a fundamental reassessment of what constitutes the ‘green’ agenda, and the development of new approaches that deliver on economic and social objectives.

I agree. We won’t build social foundations for action unless it’s clear to all that their own interests are at stake, and government adopts approaches that convey this. This is now increasingly accepted, and the case is frequently made in economic and, to a lesser extent, social terms. Many groups are now identifying in their terms what climate change means for them, and how they can contribute. We need to listen to these voices, and develop proposals that strengthen them.

Shellenberger and Nordhaus go on to argue that emissions trading cannot deliver this, and that public investment will drive the transition we need. I share their enthusiasm. We are making the case for this as a means to tackle both climate change and the recession. I also share their view of the limitations of emissions trading, as we outlined in our pamphlet *Is there more to life than trading?* (2008).

But, in my view, Shellenberger and Nordhaus over state the importance of public investment, and underestimate the importance of regulation. Many companies we work with recognise that regulation is critical to driving private investment and reducing the cost of new technologies. Public investment alone will not secure the private investment we need in carbon capture and storage, renewable energy or electric cars.

Green Alliance exists to develop and secure ambitious, widely supported actions by government. But even the smartest policy framework will not, by itself, inspire the support needed to overcome the inertia of our political system. We need to work harder to create these social foundations for political action. That was my purpose in writing *The new politics of climate change*. Green Alliance will not step back from the policy arena. But we will be working harder than ever to shift the political climate.





SAVE
THE
PLANET

BUY
MORE
STUFF

VALUES MATTER

For the third sector to build public concern and political mobilisation, it must get its own values straight first, says **David Nussbaum**

In *The new politics of climate change*, Stephen Hale builds a compelling argument that global environmental challenges like climate change will not be met without far tougher regulatory intervention, and that the political space and pressure for the development of such regulation will not be built without far more vocal public mobilisation.

Stephen identifies the third sector as being of crucial importance in helping to deliver this public mobilisation. He is right to point out that many mainstream environmental organisations have tended to focus on refining their policy proposals, whilst doing too little to help create the political mobilisation that is needed if these proposals are to be adopted. WWF recognises the danger of focusing exclusively on advocacy, while ignoring the need to build public support. Initiatives like Earth Hour, which aims to inspire a billion people globally to signal their demand for a robust international climate agreement by switching off their lights for an hour on the 28 March, are a response to this understanding.

“the types of values which we predominantly express have a crucial importance for the level of environmental concern that we feel”

But being reminded of the need for greater public mobilisation is one thing. The crucial debate revolves around how the third sector deploys its limited resources to best effect in helping to create this public pressure. Important as it is that we all switch our televisions off stand-by or check our tyre pressures, these are not the most effective ways of helping to build political mobilisation.

How is the third sector to help create this public engagement? Stephen draws attention to the importance of community here, and again he is right to do so. The desire to feel part of a community is one of several values that social psychologists refer to as ‘intrinsic’. Other things that we value intrinsically include our sense of affiliation to friends and family, our sense of connection to nature, and our desire for self-development. These values contrast with our desires to accumulate personal wealth, or to acquire objects that confer social status. Such ‘extrinsic’ values arise from our desire to be seen in a certain way by other people, rather than through a sense of what is intrinsically important to us.

Repeatedly, studies in social psychology show that people tend to be more motivated to engage in an activity (whether learning new

information, going to the gym, or engaging in environmental work) when they are led to do so through an expression of what they value intrinsically. And, importantly, the more difficult the behaviour that they are undertaking, the greater the relative benefit of them engaging in this for intrinsic reasons. This means that, whilst someone may be quite happy to switch their TV off stand-by because this will save them money, more difficult, and potentially more environmentally significant, behaviours are more likely to require an appeal to intrinsic values.

Studies in social psychology also show that the types of values which we predominantly express have a crucial importance for the level of environmental concern that we feel. People who express a set of more intrinsic values tend to be more concerned about the needs of other people and the natural world, and tend to behave in more altruistic and environmentally friendly ways.

These results from experiments in psychology have an important implication: values matter. And they matter particularly if we are to help build sustained political pressure, as opposed to achieving piecemeal wins when the environmental case happens to coincide with some other imperative.

This is where I think that we need to push Stephen’s thinking further. He is right that we need to make issues like climate change compelling to interest groups other than environmentalists. But there is a danger in being too opportunistic in this. It’s fashionable to respond to the current dominance of a set of social values fixated on consumption and economic growth by urging that these are essentially immutable aspects of society and that we should therefore simply sell something different (Smart cars to trendy young professionals on the basis of they looking cool, or renewables schemes to trade ministers on the basis of their contribution to economic growth).

This opportunistic response is the easiest response but it is also a piecemeal one: we know only too well that there are new consumables which are not sustainable, and that there are infrastructure projects which may be good for economic growth, but which are not good for the global environment.

However, a new emphasis and clarity about the values underpinning the work of third sector organisations can offer many new opportunities. In particular, it presents the scope for new coalitions of organisations campaigning on the things that shape and constrain societal values. Values can be engaged. The way in which some are accentuated and others suppressed can be influenced. We know, for example, that exposure to commercial marketing tends to lead people to more strongly express those extrinsic values which leave them more indifferent to environmental problems, and less persistent in engaging to address these. But it is also the case that children can be taught to deconstruct

advertisements in ways that help to mitigate this impact, or marketing can be regulated in more stringent ways (some Scandinavian countries have strict laws governing advertising aimed at children, for example).

“exposure to commercial marketing tends to lead people to more strongly express those extrinsic values which leave them more indifferent to environmental problems”

All this will require a boldness in articulating these concerns in public, even in the face of the scepticism that arises from those seemingly out-of-kilter with today’s dominant values. This will require new forms of co-ordination between voluntary organisations, but also the support of forward-looking business leaders and policy-makers.

If the third sector is to begin to build the public concern and political mobilisation that is so desperately needed, we must first get our values straight, find the courage to clearly articulate them, and then begin to address the barriers that prevent these values from being more commonly held and expressed.



David Nussbaum is chief executive of WWF-UK. WWF’s *Strategies for Change* project seeks to examine the empirical basis for today’s dominant approaches to pro-environmental behaviour change, and to develop new evidence-based strategies. For more information see: www.wwf.org.uk/strategiesforchange

NEW POLITICS IN ACTION

Six inspirations for change

Tracey Todhunter of Low carbon communities network

A grass roots movement for change

There is nothing special about Church Stretton, Bollington, Mosely or Chew Magna. You may never have heard of them before. Yet, like hundreds of other communities across the UK (and worldwide) these towns and villages are part of a growing movement taking steps to raise awareness of the practical actions we can take to reduce our personal energy demand and our consumption of the earth's finite resources.

The residents of these diverse communities are all notable for one thing. They are taking to the streets, not with placards and banners, but armed with energy meters, on-line carbon footprinting tools and practical advice on reducing domestic energy. Volunteers in low carbon communities are inspiring their neighbours to change the ways they choose to live and work, to build spaces in which people can prosper now, and in the future.

Rather than attacking personal lifestyle choices they present inspiring and practical scenarios backed up by evidence to show the cumulative effect our actions can have. Shopping locally for in season produce, insulating homes, using public transport and walking to school are smart choices that improve health and well-being and reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

These communities are also realistic. They know that no amount of small, local initiatives will prevent the disastrous impacts of climate change affecting millions of people's lives. The overwhelming evidence from our last Low Carbon Communities Network conference shows that business and government are seen as part of the solution. Our political leaders need to make clear commitments to action and they need to know when the electorate supports them. Low carbon communities want to see a real commitment to investment in renewable energy, a radical improvement in the energy performance of our existing homes and a government that will face up to the realities that airport expansion and investment in coal-fired power stations are not sensible solutions to deal with transport needs or energy security.

If the government is serious about large scale behaviour change among the UK electorate they need organisations like ours to help them. Low

carbon communities have already changed the way people think and feel about climate change and now we are concentrating our efforts on influencing personal actions and demanding more effective energy policy. We want everyone to know that low carbon living can be smart, stylish and comfortable it doesn't have to be punitive if we act now and act together.

“If the government is serious about large scale behaviour change among the UK electorate they need organisations like ours to help them



Tracey Todhunter is policy and campaigns manager of the Low Carbon Communities Network. Find out more at www.lowcarboncommunities.net info@lowcarboncommunities.net twitter: [lowcarbdiary](https://twitter.com/lowcarbdiary) tel: 01829 752 147 / 07595 291 504

Martin Palmer of The Alliance of Religions and Conservation (ARC)

Initiatives for generations, not just years



The Alliance of Religions and Conservation (ARC), may not be a familiar name but its worldwide outreach has real impact. The ethos behind this modest but extremely influential charity is to act as a broker helping the major faiths of the world to develop their own environmental programmes based on their own core teachings, beliefs and practices.

A glance at the range of ARC's partners demonstrates its ability to engage equally well with those at the gargantuan end of the spectrum, such as the World Bank, World Council of Churches and IFEES (Islamic Foundation for Ecology and Environmental Sciences), to organisations of a more national nature like ABE (the Association of Buddhists for the Environment in Cambodia) or the Daoists of China.

The Generational Change Programme (an ARC-UN initiative) is a response to requests by many faiths for advice about what to do next. The aim is to assist faith communities to create long-term action plans, offering practical models of constructive engagement with environmental issues. The key contributions religions can make is to develop programmes that will deliver responses based not on fear, guilt, or apprehension, but on being true to what their faith understands. And to develop programmes which last generations not just the lifespan of a campaign.

An example of how this programme is making an impact is the Chinese Daoists' Eight Year Plan. Last November, the Daoists announced their undertaking to launch plans for the protection of China's environment. Commencing in 2010, the Daoists will have in place their initiatives, not just for years, but for generations.

The draft Daoist plan includes proposals for: converting all Daoist temples to alternative energy within three years; adding ecological dimensions to all Daoist businesses and industries (including sales of incense sticks, which will now be low-pollution); calling for more environmentally friendly forms of pilgrimage (something that could have a huge impact as millions of Chinese people visit sacred mountains and temples every year); instituting plans to bring young people on youth camps into nature; building and agreeing standards for what constitutes an ecological temple; and incorporating environment more centrally into traditional cosmic dances.

In November this year thousands of faith groups worldwide will launch their own generational plans. In a world obsessed by the UN climate change conference in Copenhagen at the end of this year, the faiths offer a vision of a greater and hopefully longer future.

Martin Palmer is secretary-general for ARC. For further details about ARC, please go to: www.arcworld.org and for information on the ARC-UN Generational Change Programme go to <http://www.arcworld.org/projects.asp?projectID=358>

Matthew Scott of The Community Sector Coalition

Believing that local people and organisations can change the world

As the challenge of climate change shows, this is a world that needs changing The Community Sector Coalition (CSC) is an unincorporated network of national community organisations covering the diverse and emergent aspects of the community sector, from social enterprise to community development, amateur arts to city farms. It has a unique community footprint that encompasses hundreds of thousands of grass roots organisations all over the country.

CSC is the lead body for Every Action Counts and is working with partners to sustain continued collaboration on this agenda. We are also developing the role of the Third Sector Declaration on Climate Change of which CSC is a signatory.

In partnership with Green Alliance and Community Development Foundation we will be working with national community leaders to take forward the ideas expressed in The new politics of climate change and talk tactics. Second, working with a range of partners on a Baring Foundation supported project we will be providing insights on climate change for non-environmental voluntary organisations. Engagement will be through consideration of climate change scenarios whilst providing expert advice on environmental performance. Finally, in our forthcoming manifesto we will ensure climate change is centre stage and grounded in medium to long-term common sense. If there's no planet, there's no community.

As we come together we must talk explicitly and creatively about power dynamics and have a sharper political awareness in supporting collective action. Mass community mobilisation is indeed an important part

“we need to recognise that third sector leadership has been partial



of the equation but we need to recognise that third sector leadership has been partial.

To date the wider third sector has reflected social inequalities in society. The gap between the wealthy and poor in the third sector has grown. Small and medium-sized charities and the unincorporated organisations below them make up by far the majority of the third sector, and have the bulk of active relationships with local people at a local level. If this part of the sector is declining then our activist base is under threat at a time when it is most needed.

Environmental justice, like social justice, is a shared endeavour and the process matters. The change we need cannot be a corporate management exercise; it will be a messy joyous and at times contradictory coalition. In so doing we go back to the fundamentals of local leadership, social capital and infrastructure that will be the difference between benign top down initiatives that struggle to connect and a grassroots response that rises to the challenge.

Matthew Scott is director of the Community Sector Coalition. For more information contact him at matt@communitysectorcoalition.org.uk www.communitysectorcoalition.org.uk www.everyactioncounts.org.uk

Matthew Smerdon of The Baring Foundation

Creating powerful and timely new coalitions

In *The new politics of climate change*, Stephen Hale writes “we will only succeed if we establish awareness throughout the voluntary sector of the links between climate change and a myriad of social and economic issues.” This view has had an important influence on work that the Baring Foundation launched in September 2008.

The Foundation has not had a specific focus on climate change before. The current special initiative reflects the desire of the trustees, post the Stern review, to explore the issue more directly. We began in 2007 by offering organisations we have funded in the past free environmental audits. These provided a route into the issues and we saw how organisations could easily and cheaply reduce their emissions, in some cases by significant amounts. We have since developed this approach to look beyond organisations' own carbon footprints to explore the wider impacts of climate change on organisations and their beneficiaries.

The result is a programme of four grants for work with non-environmental voluntary organisations to explore the impact of climate change on their charitable purpose. The results of this work will be shared with practitioners and policy-makers to influence wider practice and policy. Crucially, we hope that this process of bringing together climate experts with experts in the non-environmental voluntary sector will generate new perspectives about the impacts of climate change on vulnerable people and new action at organisational, political, economic and social levels to address climate change.

The organisations leading the work are:

- Climate Outreach and Information Network (COIN), working with refugee organisations;
- Community Development Foundation, New Economics Foundation and Groundwork, working with ‘community anchor organisations’ (i.e. local, multi-purpose community organisations);
- National Children's Bureau and the Institute for Development Studies, working with children and youth organisations;
- National Council for Voluntary Organisations, Global Action Plan and Green Alliance, working with organisations that support vulnerable communities.

It's early days, but we can see already that, even though it seems obvious that the goal of human survival should be shared by non-environmental voluntary organisations and climate action advocates, integrating aims and objectives is immensely complex. Establishing a genuine understanding of each other's issues and priorities will be crucial. If not, goals may become diluted or even end up in conflict. However, where both sides engage with what each is trying to achieve, we hope to see powerful and timely new coalitions being formed.

Matthew Smerdon is deputy director at The Baring Foundation. For more information contact matthew.smerdon@uk.ing.com www.baringfoundation.org.uk



Robin Stott of Climate and Health Council

Mobilising health professionals to influence politicians

The effects of climate change on health have been rigorously modelled and well articulated. Dr Margaret Chan, director general of the World Health Organisation, has described climate change as the defining issue for public health during this century. She points out that the consequences of climate change, the reduction in availability of food and water, sea level rises, the increase in vector borne diseases, and the resultant population movements, although global in reach, will fall most heavily on the poor. The already very wide gap in health between the rich and the poor will grow even wider.

Given the potency of these arguments, and the degree of trust placed in health professions by the public (Ipsos Mori poll *Trust in professions 2007*) it is surprising how relatively silent the health voice has been in articulating the need to tackle climate change.

The Climate and Health Council is trying to put this right. It is a charity led by doctors with the aim of mobilising health professionals across the world to tackle climate change. We have mounted an ambitious global campaign, designed to ensure that the health voice is heard at the UN climate change conference in Copenhagen at the end of this year. By April we aim to have signed up at least 10,000 health professionals from across the world to a pledge applying pressure on governments to sign a meaningful deal. For the Council, 'meaningful' means recognising the need not just for a global cap on CO₂ emissions, but also for support for those countries where both living standards and fossil fuel use have been low, delivered in a way that enables population stabilisation. This 'fair shares' approach (using the Contraction and Convergence framework outlined at www.gci.org.uk) has the potential to narrow the gap between the rich and poor, and directly tackle the disproportionate effects of climate change on the most vulnerable.

In May the Council's campaign enters its public phase. The public will be invited to ask their physician, and other health professionals they encounter, whether they have signed the pledge. The hope is that a solid global consensus of health professionals can stiffen the spines of governments. This looks like a beautiful example of doing what Ed Miliband has asked the public to do: apply pressure on politicians. It is direct action beyond reproach. It deserves wholehearted support. We look forward to working with all others committed to tackling climate change, to move towards a fair shares world.

Robin Stott is co-chair of the Climate and Health Council.

For more information go to www.climateandhealth.org where the pledge can also be signed by health professionals.

Dr Victoria Johnson and Anna Coote from The roundtable on climate change and poverty in the UK

A coalition for the environment and social justice

Poor people are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change in rich as well as poor countries. They are more likely to be harmed, both directly, by droughts, storms and rising sea levels, and indirectly, through damage to health, housing and livelihoods. Wherever they live, the poorest are the least likely to be able to protect themselves against harm or to buy their way out of trouble.

Until now, there has been little discussion in the developed world about links between poverty and climate change. To put that right, a coalition was formed in 2008 of the UK's leading environment and social justice organisations. It includes Friends of the Earth, Oxfam, Help the Aged, Green Alliance and nef. The Roundtable on Climate Change and Poverty in the UK set out to assess the impacts of climate change on efforts to reduce poverty from the point of view of practical, community-based organisations engaged in responding to a changing environment.



Its first report *Tackling climate change, reducing poverty* (nef, 2009) describes a range of initiatives by local groups across the country. It concludes that the two issues are so intricately connected that they must be tackled together. It indicates ways in which government can simultaneously address poverty and climate change, and argues for rapid change.

Another new paper from nef: *Green well fair: three economies for social justice* (nef, 2009) develops

the case further. It argues that Britain's welfare state must be radically transformed to meet the triple challenge of deepening social divisions, climate change and economic meltdown. An unequal and divided society cannot take the kind of concerted action needed to deal with climate change and the global credit crunch. But these divisions will deepen unless action is taken to ensure that global warming and economic recession don't hit the poor hardest.

A welfare state fit for the future cannot rely on the market economy to keep growing to fund more and better services. Because growth is not inevitable and, unchecked, it damages the environment. Instead it must value and nurture two other, overlooked economies. These are the abundant human resources that underpin and shape society, and the fragile resources of the planet, on which all life depends. All three economies: people, planet and markets, must work together to deliver sustainable social justice.

Dr Victoria Johnson is climate and energy researcher and **Anna Coote** is head of public policy at nef (the new economics foundation). Find out more about the Roundtable at www.neweconomics.org

GREEN ALLIANCE NEWS

BOARD MOVES

Dorothy Mackenzie stood down as the chair of Green Alliance in December and **Robin Bidwell** has been appointed as her successor. We are very grateful for Dorothy's invaluable guidance through a period of significant change and growth for the organisation. She remains as a trustee.



Robin Bidwell is president of the international consultancy Environmental Resources Management (ERM). He has been a longstanding trustee of Green Alliance and has been closely

involved in our development, serving on the finance and management sub committee of the board for a number of years.

The staff and trustees would also like to express particular thanks to **Nigel Haigh**, who recently retired as trustee, after exceptional service to Green Alliance as a founding member, chair and trustee.

Thanks also to **Benet Northcote** and **Pamela Castle**, who retired from the board in December.

A NEW LEAD ON SUSTAINABLE ECONOMY

Chris Hewett has joined Green Alliance on a year's secondment from the Environment Agency to lead our work programme on a sustainable economic recovery. Chris has been head of climate change at the Environment Agency since 2005 and, before that, led the Agency's work on resource efficiency and sustainable communities. Formerly, as a senior research fellow at the Institute for Public Policy Research, he specialised in environmental taxation, low carbon economy and energy policy.



NEW INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

welcome to:

Jessica Brown

Penny Evans

John Firth

Alex Jelly

Elizabeth Salter-Green

Jenny Saunders

Bruce Stanford

Glenn Wilkinson

Sheena Will

BUSINESS CIRCLE

We welcome Associated British Foods and Rockwool as the newest members of our business circle.

They join existing members, such as ASDA, PwC and Scottish Power, from a range of sectors.

This scheme offers progressive companies the opportunity to explore emerging policy issues and the changing external environment with the Green Alliance team as well as distinguished external speakers. At our last meeting in January 2009 we welcomed the Rt Hon Hilary Benn MP, to discuss Defra's current priorities.

If you think your business could benefit, contact **Thomas Lingard** tingard@green-alliance.org.uk or visit www.green-alliance.org.uk

Green Alliance's mission is to promote sustainable development by ensuring that the environment is at the heart of decision-making. We work with senior people in government, business and the environmental movement to encourage new ideas, dialogue and constructive solutions.

staff

Stephen Hale
director

Thomas Lingard
deputy director

Louise Humphrey
head of resources

Tracy Carty
senior policy adviser

Karen Crane
communications adviser

Josephine Evetts
pa to director and office manager

Chris Hewett
Associate

Hannah Hislop
policy officer

Chris Littlecott
senior policy adviser

Maureen Murphy
policy officer

Rebekah Phillips
senior policy adviser

Faye Scott
policy officer

contact each staff member at:
initialsurname@green-alliance.org.uk

associates

**Ian Christie, Julie Hill, Jiggy Lloyd, Derek Smith,
Stuart Singleton-White, Rebecca Willis**

Green Alliance
36 Buckingham Palace Road
London SW1W 0RE
T 020 7233 7433
F 020 7233 9033
ga@green-alliance.org.uk
www.green-alliance.org.uk

Registered charity number 1045395 and company limited by guarantee (England and Wales) registered number 3037633



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