



FAST, FAIR, FUNDED AND FEMINIST

A pathway to a just and transformative climate transition within and beyond the UK

Abstract

The climate crisis is a story of multiple, overlapping inequalities. But the policies put in place to address it have potential to generate not only greener, but more equal and more caring economies and societies. The UK Government, elected with a mandate for climate leadership, has an opportunity to set an example for fairness in its own transition to a low-carbon, climate resilient economy, as well as acting in solidarity with lower-income countries to enable a transition that is globally just. This paper sets out a framework for the UK Government to begin foregrounding fairness and justice in its response to the climate emergency.

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Cover photo: In London activists gathered in Westminster outside the Houses of Parliament to protest against climate change on Friday, 20 September 2019. Photo: Eleanor Farmer/Oxfam

SUMMARY

The climate crisis compels us to ask a fundamental question: what kind of world do we want to build for now and the decades to come? Today, both globally and in the UK, poverty remains high, inequality is extreme and growing, and climate impacts are escalating—hitting hardest those least responsible and destroying vital ecosystems. Communities in the Global South are facing relentless storms, droughts, and floods, while in the UK, it is also those with the least who bear the greatest risks. People experiencing marginalisation due to any combination of gender, race, disability, age, or other intersecting identities, are disproportionately exposed to harm.

Current and past economic exploitation, including legacies of colonialism, shape who thrives and who barely survives. These injustices fuel distrust, division, and disillusionment—eroding both public support and the international cooperation needed for urgent climate action.

Yet, the profound transformations required to tackle climate change – which will entail changes to many aspects of our economies and lives – offer an opportunity: not only to reduce hardship, but to build inclusive, regenerative societies where our economies serve people and the planet. The UK Government has been elected with a mandate for climate leadership. But, to ensure the net zero transition and wider climate policies are fair and bring practical improvements to people’s lives, Government policy must go beyond technological fixes and its mission to become a “clean energy superpower”. People and fairness must be at the centre of all responses to the climate emergency. Whether it’s people in our local towns, communities, and workplaces, those on the frontlines of climate impacts, or the workers within global supply chains producing the technologies we all depend on. Fairness – both real and perceived – must be for everyone.

To achieve a just, people-centred transition, the following principles must be hardwired into policy design:

- Recognition and respect for existing inequalities, rights, needs and knowledge of affected marginalised economic and social groups, including proper, prior, social and environmental impact assessments that take into account inequalities in geography, class, income, gender, age and ethnicity (*recognition justice*).
- Democratic, inclusive decision-making so that affected people, particularly minoritised and oppressed groups, have a meaningful say in the design and implementation of transition or adaptation policies and projects. This helps to ensure that people feel and are respected and valued in the decision-making process, and that the transition is happening with them, not to them (*procedural justice*).
- Shared prosperity, so that transition policies and projects are intentionally designed to ensure a fair distribution of the responsibilities, costs and benefits of climate action across

geography, genders and different economic and social groups (*distributive justice*).

- Fair and effective remedy for any harm resulting from the transition, or from failure to transition at the pace required (*remedial justice*).

But a truly just transition must also be transformative—so that it dismantles the root causes of the interlinked climate and inequality crises and enables the emergence of alternative ways of living that allow all life on this planet to thrive. This shift is already underway in feminist and wellbeing economy movements, which challenge the logic of profit maximisation and endless growth – which sustain inequalities and are ultimately incompatible with planetary boundaries. The following additional principle should also guide policymaking:

- Transformative action, because a truly just transition does not stop at avoiding harm and costs to affected people, it means addressing the root causes of social and environmental injustices by challenging economic structures and systems of oppression (e.g. racism, patriarchy, classism, ageism, and ableism) embedded in the dominant economic system. It involves working within existing systems to achieve positive social outcomes while simultaneously challenging them to enable and foster the emergence of new, fairer models (*transformative intent*).

Ultimately, the transition must be **fast**, for communities suffering the worst consequences of climate change, **fair** for people, workers and communities everywhere, **funded** in a way that actively reduces inequalities, and **transformative and feminist** so that our governments and economies care for people and the planet above profit.

The UK Government cannot deliver a just transition alone – but it can set an example for fairness in its own domestic transition, and act in a spirit of global solidarity, recognising the interdependence of all nations, particularly in tackling the shared challenge of climate change. This paper sets out four key, overarching recommendations to enable this:

Recommendations for a fast, fair, funded and feminist just transition

1. Establish a Just Transition Framework:

- Develop an ambitious and coordinated vision for a just transition, grounded in justice principles (recognition, procedural, distributional, remedial) that shares the costs and benefits equitably and contributes to a fairer, greener, more caring economy.
- Create a permanent, well-resourced mechanism (e.g., a commission or task force) to guide, scrutinise, and hold the Government accountable for achieving this vision.
- Enable meaningful participation of communities in shaping transition

policies and projects that affect them, identifying and mitigating barriers to participation for marginalised groups.

2. Ensure fair and sufficient financing for a just transition:
 - Commit significantly more public investment to support both the UK's just transition and the just transitions of lower-income countries, in line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities (CBDR).
 - Reform the tax system to be fair, redistributive, and progressive—including by taxing extreme wealth and profit, and highly polluting activities, to reduce inequalities and help finance the transition.
3. Redefine economic priorities, prioritising wellbeing, planetary health and reducing inequalities:
 - Shift away from GDP growth as the primary and sole economic goal and adopt models that measure equality, human well-being, and planetary health.
 - Use the transition to re-evaluate what is valued in our societies and economies, investing in services that enhance collective well-being, such as paid and unpaid care work, usually carried out by women.
 - Make reducing inequalities, advancing shared prosperity, and protecting human rights for all central to all climate policy—domestically and globally—aligning this with the Government's "clean energy superpower" mission.
4. Address barriers preventing a globally just transition:
 - Urgently deliver the UK's climate targets, treating these as a floor of ambition, while preserving the limited remaining global carbon budget for the development needs of the lowest-income countries.
 - Cooperate globally, and in the spirit of solidarity, to make the current global economic system fairer – including through meaningful debt cancellation, addressing global tax abuse, removing trade and investment related barriers to technology transfer.
 - Urgently restore the Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget as a critical source of public, grant-based climate finance, while progressing toward delivering climate finance as additional funding beyond the aid budget.
 - Ensure that the Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP) promotes equitable, rights-based transitions, including by recognising just transitions as a global issue requiring international cooperation, not just a national policy matter.

Introduction

It is climate crunch time. The United Nations has warned that current policies in place to address climate change, if implemented, would deliver 3.1°C of warming.¹ Today, warming has reached around 1.3°C and we are already witnessing the catastrophic consequences:² prolonged and deadly drought across the Horn of Africa; flooding in Bangladesh, South Sudan and Spain; and extreme heat across large swathes of Asia. In the UK, record-breaking temperatures in 2022 caused an estimated 2,985 excess deaths,³ exceptionally wet weather in 2024 produced the second-worst harvest on record,⁴ and frequent flooding left property in some towns almost uninsurable.⁵ There is no safe level of climate change, but overshooting the Paris Agreement limit of 1.5°C by any measure – let alone by over double – will cause untold disruption and destruction to people, planet and economies. The climate crisis is also a story of multiple, overlapping inequalities. Whether in the UK or elsewhere, people already living in poverty are most exposed to climate harm, with those experiencing marginalisation and discrimination due to any combination of gender, race, disability, age or other intersecting identity paying an even greater price. Moreover, ordinary people the world over, and particularly people living in poverty, are the least responsible for emissions. Billionaires emit more carbon pollution in under three hours than an average person in Britain does in a lifetime.⁶

Urgent action is needed to reduce carbon emissions fuelling climate change, but there is a risk that economic and other inequalities will widen unless governments embed justice and equity into transition plans and take steps to reduce inequalities more widely. This is both an epoch-defining challenge and an epoch-defining opportunity to build a more just, green and resilient future for all. It requires urgent and incremental changes, but it also demands bold steps to transform our economies from extractive (of people and nature) to regenerative and fair. Long-term wellbeing and sustainability – for all people and the planet – must be prioritised over short-term gains for a few.

In the UK, achieving a low-carbon, climate-resilient and fair future requires a whole-of-government approach. It also requires coordinated action from governments across the UK, not just the UK government, though this paper is focused on the latter. In the words of the Secretary of State for Energy Security and Net Zero, the UK Government must act as ‘the guarantor of fairness’ in the transition.⁷ The Chief Executive of the Climate Change Committee (CCC) – the statutory body that advises the UK Government – has also recently warned that decarbonisation must be delivered fairly. Fairness requires more than hoping that the economic benefits of net zero trickle down. It requires careful, intentional policy design, a human rights-based approach and a willingness to tackle the root causes of poverty and injustice. It also requires a willingness to be challenged and to hand over decision-making, including and especially to people not usually part of the policy design process.

A just, rights-based approach is necessary in both the UK’s domestic and foreign climate policy. While it is vital that we use the opportunity of the transition to improve lives and build shared prosperity across the UK, climate change does not know borders, and fairness and a just transition are needed everywhere. Failure to address climate change in one country has a direct impact on the environment, economies and societies of others. So too do many of the policies put in place to address it. We cannot simply put a green veil on global injustices and inequalities, nor allow climate change to make us more isolationist and inward-looking. Indeed, the opposite is necessary: given the UK’s colonial history – extracting wealth and resources and oppressing populations from other nations to drive its

industrial growth – it has a responsibility to address past injustices that laid the foundations for today’s climate vulnerabilities. Given this history, the UK Government’s recent decision to cut an already depleted Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget by a third in cash terms seriously undermines the UK’s role in championing just and fair transition globally.⁸ It will further diminish funding to support lower-income countries to access clean energy or adapt to the changing climate, as well as meaning less funds to support countries experiencing conflict.

Additionally, addressing neocolonial systems of trade that extract value from people in the Global South to provide ever more wealth to rich shareholders in the Global North is also vital to achieving a just transition. This system, while slowly inching away from fossil fuels, continues to rely on infinite production, consumption and growth and is increasingly viewed as analogous to green colonialism, with high standards of living in wealthy countries achieved at the expense of land and labour in the Global South.⁹ The solutions to climate change and associated injustices are not solely technological – they are above all political.

This paper calls for the UK Government to prioritise achieving a low-carbon, climate-resilient economy in a way that is **fast**, for communities suffering the worst consequences of climate change, **fair** for people, workers and communities everywhere, **funded** in a way that actively reduces inequalities, and transformative and **feminist** so that our governments and economies care for people and the planet above profit. It explores a broad vision for transformational policy change, anchored by key principles of justice – recognition, procedural, distributional, remedial and transformative justice – and builds on proposals developed by allies we work with.

Defining a just and transformative transition

This paper defines a ‘just and transformative transition’ (hereafter ‘just transition’) as a shift to a decarbonised, climate-resilient economy that is fair and inclusive for everyone and that actively seeks to enhance human rights, generate shared prosperity and reduce both poverty and inequalities in our economies, including and especially for people facing intersecting forms of oppression based on race, gender, class, age, disability or other identities. At its core, it is a vision of a global economy where the climate is stable, where lives are improved and inequalities are reduced – as well as the process for how to get there.

The term ‘just transition’ is rooted in labour movements and applied to the impact of the shift from fossil fuels to green energy production on jobs and workers’ rights. A just transition must include protecting the rights and livelihoods of workers and communities most affected by the energy transition, but not be limited to this. It must ensure that the benefits of all climate policies – whether to mitigate or adapt to climate change – are felt by all, particularly low-income and other marginalised groups and that the costs are fairly distributed across society and the world. Achieving this requires a willingness to disrupt the dominant economic system that prioritises profit and economic growth over the wellbeing of people and nature – and allowing and enabling the emergence of fairer alternatives.

Speed and fairness should not be viewed as at odds with one another. The green transition

cannot be just unless it is also fast. Communities, particularly those least responsible for emissions, are already experiencing devastating loss and damage: crop failures, displacement, destroyed infrastructure, the death of loved ones and much more.

Equally, the urgency for speed cannot be used as an excuse to bypass justice. Unless communities and affected groups perceive that the transition is happening with them, and not to them, and that the opportunities, costs and benefits are fairly shared, resistance will occur and the public mandate needed for ambitious climate policies risks being lost.

Box 1: Workers' rights in the energy transition

The roots of the term 'just transition' lie in the labour movements that have long fought for the dignity and rights of workers, recognising that economic and social justice are inseparable. As we shift away from fossil fuels, the principles championed by these movements remain vital: social protection, inclusive decision-making, respect for trade unions, and good-quality jobs.¹⁰ Ensuring comprehensive labour rights and a worker-led energy transition is not just a matter of justice but also a foundation for building sustainable and resilient economies. However, the energy transition in the UK's North Sea has not been happening in a planned or just way for workers and communities.¹¹ The intended closure of Grangemouth oil refinery in Scotland, with an expected loss of 400 directly employed jobs, is one example.¹² The Government has a responsibility to not only create the conditions for economy-wide just transition but also to ensure that companies that are responsible for industrial sites consult, negotiate and publish their own just transition plans in anticipation, ensuring fair outcomes for workers.

What is the status of the UK's just transition?

In 2019, the UK Government set a legally binding target to achieve net zero by 2050, making it the first major economy to do so. This transition is in its early stages and is beginning to reshape how we live and work, from how we heat our homes, to the jobs we hold, the business we do and the goods we buy. Yet, our climate targets are off track.¹³ Previous UK governments have delayed key policies, such as phasing out fossil-fuel boilers, while green-lighting more oil and gas production.¹⁴ Former Prime Minister Rishi Sunak framed this as a 'fairer' approach – yet, in reality this approach is highly unfair over the long term.¹⁵ Further fossil fuel dependence accelerates climate risk for everyone – though particularly for communities least responsible for emissions. Delaying inevitable policies – rather than adequately supporting households through the transition – shifts the costs onto citizens, while failing to prioritise those who are most at risk of being left behind.

The current UK Government, elected in July 2024, has made climate action more central to its agenda, although uncertainty remains around whether it is prepared to take the ambitious and disruptive steps necessary. It has committed to no new oil and gas licences for *exploration* but has not yet ruled out approving projects that already have a license but are not yet under development. It's recent Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) pledged to outline how it will support people and communities to participate in net zero, but showed its vision for a just transition remains narrowly rooted in jobs and skills, rather than the importance of delivering fairness for everyone.¹⁶

There has been some focus on ensuring the transition alleviates fuel poverty and benefits all regions, including industrial heartlands and often-overlooked coastal and rural areas. The Government's Local Power Plan aims to ensure that communities have a stake in and

benefit from renewable energy projects – a vital component of a just transition – and its Warm Homes Plan promises to lift one million households out of fuel poverty.¹⁷ These are welcome commitments, and full weight must be put behind their delivery, yet the Government’s October 2024 Budget announced only a fraction of the promised investment for the Warm Homes Plan and it is not yet clear what level of funds will be allocated to community energy projects.¹⁸ Moreover, the Government has simultaneously presided over austerity-driven measures, such as maintaining the two-child benefit cap that reinforces gender inequalities and disproportionately affects Black and minority ethnic families, as well as cutting winter fuel payments that support pension-age adults with the cost of energy.¹⁹ It has also backed airport expansion²⁰ despite aviation being a major source of emissions, difficult to decarbonise, and one of the most unequal forms of transport.

To ensure a just transition, more than lukewarm ambition and incremental policy change is needed. Addressing the climate crisis is an opportunity to review the structures and economic approaches that perpetuate climate breakdown, poverty and inequalities in the first place.

Growth-centric models risk deepening inequalities

Growing the economy is at the core of the UK Government’s mission.²¹ But to achieve a just transition, it is vital to ensure that GDP growth alone is not the sole measure of the health of the economy. It is important to pay attention to what kinds of growth, in which parts of the economy, how it is being achieved, who benefits and at what costs.

While the UK Government’s commitment to green growth may be crucial for creating new economic opportunities and low-carbon jobs, some critics question whether ‘green growth’ is truly achievable. One criticism suggests that continuous economic growth inherently relies on material and energy consumption and that technical advancements cannot achieve the emissions reductions needed in the timeframe required to avert further climate breakdown.²² Another criticism upholds that without accompanying changes to the dominant economic model, green growth continues to uphold the same systems of extraction and exploitation that are at the root of both the climate and inequality crises.²³

Moreover, GDP growth, even if ‘green’, completely excludes unpaid care work, along with some elements of informal work, both of which are done disproportionately by women, especially those living in poverty and from groups experiencing discrimination based on intersecting systems of oppression.²⁴ Care – for people, communities and the earth’s natural resources – is essential to drive more inclusive, more compassionate and more ecologically sustainable societies, which is ultimately what a just transition should strive to achieve. The importance of valuing care as part of a just transition is highlighted in Box 2. Alternative metrics that better capture time use for unpaid care work—disaggregated by gender, race, income group, age, ability and other inequalities—should be used to drive economic decision making. Additionally, inequality should also be hardwired into how economic progress is measured.²⁵

Box 2. Centring gender and care in a just transition

The transition to a low-carbon, climate-resilient future cannot be just unless it is gender-just and feminist. This must mean ensuring that women, who have historically been underrepresented in the technological workforce, have fair access to the opportunities of well-paid, high-skilled ‘green jobs’ which women risk being locked out of without sufficiently gender-sensitive policy design. However, more opportunity will not lead to transformative change unless it is facilitated by structural changes to support it.²⁶ One of the greatest structural barriers that lock women, and

particularly those experiencing intersecting forms of discrimination, into poverty and exclusion is the chronic undervaluation of care – for people, communities and places. Framed as ‘women’s work’ and assumed as inherent to femininity, care roles like healthcare, childcare, social care and unpaid domestic labour sustain economic growth and foster wellbeing while increasing women’s susceptibility to poverty.²⁷

The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that in 2023 unpaid caring responsibilities prevented 708 million from participating in the labour market, compared to just 40 million men.²⁸ This uneven distribution pushes women deeper into income poverty by preventing them from taking paid employment. Meanwhile, paid employment in caring roles is usually poorly remunerated. At the same time, climate change intensifies care work and often reduces the availability and quality of public services.

This dynamic plays out across high- and low-income countries. Given the gendered nature of poverty, in the UK, economic shocks like the energy crisis, stagnant wages and cuts to social security have a disproportionate impact on women, particularly women with disabilities, single mothers, migrant women, and women from minority ethnic backgrounds. Recent polling from the End Fuel Poverty Coalition shows that 14% of UK women were in energy debt between 2023 and 2024.²⁹

In the Global South, women’s unpaid labour often extends beyond domestic care to include subsistence agriculture and small-scale farming, blurring the lines between domestic and economic spheres. These livelihood strategies, vital for social and economic stability, face increasing threats from energy poverty and climate change, further exacerbating gender inequalities.³⁰

A just transition must include treating care services, which are inherently low-carbon, as social infrastructure that deserves the same investment as physical infrastructure like roads and renewable energy projects, as well as redistributing care work so that it is not seen as women’s work, or treated as a free natural resource to be exploited.³¹ Responses to the climate crisis should aim to create a green *and caring* economy that values the planet and ecosystems as well as the people and labour that sustain life.³²

The UK Government is taking tentative steps toward promoting inclusive growth and mitigating inequality, including through small-scale reform of taxes on capital gains and inheritance, and measures to support and incentivise cooperative businesses.³³ But, with UK billionaires’ collective wealth having increased at a rate of £35 million a day in 2024,³⁴ the Government can and must go further to reign in economic inequality and ensure all economic policies sufficiently consider global and local inequalities, gender, race, disability and other social inequalities, wellbeing and planetary health.

The UK’s Office for National Statistics (ONS) is pioneering two new metrics to measure economic progress more accurately by taking account of negative impacts on people and the environment incurred through GDP growth.³⁵ The UK Government has the opportunity to expand on the work of the ONS and look beyond growth as the primary aim of the economy.

Box 3. Holyrood and the Senedd are outpacing Westminster

Devolved powers, while limited in some areas, enable Scotland and Wales to take distinct approaches to climate action and social policy. Both nations are advancing equitable and just transition strategies more rapidly than Westminster, though there remains a critical gap between rhetoric and action that needs to be closed.

The Scottish and Welsh Governments have established strong legislative foundations for the pursuit of just transitions, in the form of the **Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2019** and the **Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015**. Wales has also consulted on a Just

Transition Framework to address current inequalities and prevent new ones.³⁶ In Scotland, a set of just transition principles are embedded within Scotland's climate legislation and a Just Transition Commission provides independent scrutiny and advice to ensure that the pursuit of net-zero goals also tackles inequalities and injustice.³⁷ Such initiatives emphasize the need for planning, inclusivity and accountability to communities.

These efforts to embed justice into climate policymaking serve to position the UK Government as falling behind the devolved nations. Crucially, in both nations, the approach reflects a broader economic vision – one that increasingly, in rhetoric at least, redefines prosperity beyond GDP growth. Wales is adopting wider indicators, such as equality and health, and has appointed a Future Generations Commissioner to guide long-term policymaking. The Scottish Government's National Performance Framework outlines a broader set of national outcomes, focused on social and environmental goals, and purports to prioritise 'the wellbeing of people living in Scotland' over economic growth.³⁸

These steps have the potential to challenge the status quo and lay the groundwork for healthier, more resilient, and regenerative economies. But delivering on these goals must happen quickly, and the resulting changes to how people live and work must be not only fair but also be perceived to be fair.

Missing the mark on global justice

The UK Government, despite acknowledgement of the 'unfairness of the global system' and claiming to prioritise climate change in its foreign policy, is also missing crucial obligations and opportunities that would support climate justice for low-income, low-emitting countries.³⁹ Despite promising to reset the UK's relationship with the Global South in a spirit of "genuine partnership",⁴⁰ it has chosen to deepen a cut to an already diminished Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget in order to finance increased defence spending.⁴¹ This political choice is a betrayal of the world's most marginalised communities. The decision will weaken the UK's International Climate Finance (ICF), undermining crucial support for lower-income countries to mitigate and adapt to climate change and address loss and damage. It also diminishes broader humanitarian and development efforts that save lives and strengthen resilience against crises—while putting the UK's claim to international leadership in serious jeopardy.

Alongside sustained cuts to the ODA budget, changes over recent years to how it is spent have precipitated a decline in funds reaching the lowest-income and most marginalised countries and communities. Instead, ODA is increasingly channelled through new instruments that focus on using public aid money to mobilise private capital to meet development and climate change objectives, often in middle-income countries.⁴² While this trend pre-dates the current UK Government, it is continuing under its leadership. This is troubling, as while private investment must play a role in the energy transition, countries experiencing the worst impacts of climate change, and which have been locked out of the benefits of the global financial system, cannot simply wait for market-based mechanisms which are yet to yield meaningful results and which often contribute toward a recipient country's indebtedness.

Oil Change International (OCI) analysis of blended finance projects related to the energy transition finds that each public concessional US dollar brought in only 85 cents in private finance. In low-income countries, this fell to just 69 cents.⁴³ Moreover, while the approach of using public money and guarantees to mobilise private finance might decrease risk for private investors, without safeguards and protections in place it can enhance risk for communities, increase indebtedness, and lead to an unjust transition.⁴⁴ The need for finance to reach communities in the Global South is urgent, but finance must also be of

good quality and accompanied by system change – it must not add to increasingly unsustainable debt burdens, nor neglect interventions that have high social or environmental benefits but low or no financial return, such as adaptation, loss and damage, or ensuring the ‘just’ elements of energy transitions. Prime Minister of Barbados, Mia Mottley, is among leaders calling for a new approach – a ‘refocusing’ of the global economy and international finance around ‘common good’ to deliver social and environmental goals, rather than prioritising the pursuit of private wealth.⁴⁵

Box 4. The global impacts of the UK’s transition

As the UK strives for net zero by 2050, demand for key minerals like lithium, cobalt and nickel – essential for electric vehicle batteries, wind turbines and solar panels – will soar. With limited domestic resources, the UK relies almost entirely on imports for all 24 critical materials.⁴⁶ The mining of critical minerals is already linked to human rights abuses, land grabs and environmental harm, echoing the exploitative practices of traditional extractive industries.⁴⁷ The ‘green rush’ therefore risks further entrenching harm and exploitation of already marginalised communities in the Global South, particularly Indigenous Peoples, whose territories are home to an estimated 54% of the world’s transition minerals.⁴⁸ As representatives of 87 Indigenous Peoples have stated, “the demand for mining of transition minerals and metals driven by incentives and other market-based actions, has huge potential for wide-scale water pollution and depletion, conflicts, food insecurity, and physical and mental health impacts for us, as well as other communities.”⁴⁹

The UK must ensure that access to green technologies does not come at the expense of communities already on the losing end of global power dynamics. This starts with reducing demand for critical minerals, particularly in transport, as well as using every lever to invest in and achieve circularity in the economy⁵⁰ to prioritise resource use for meeting basic human needs and development in lower-income countries.⁵¹ While personal electric vehicles are one part of the solution to reducing transport emissions, the Government must prioritise investment in accessible, affordable and electrified public transport, alongside urban planning that promotes walking, cycling and wheeling. These measures not only lower carbon emissions and mineral demand but also improve air quality, reduce road accidents and promote health equity.⁵² Public transport systems designed with input from marginalised groups, including people with disabilities, and low-income communities, can significantly enhance safety and inclusivity.

The UK must also ensure that companies involved in renewable energy or mineral extraction uphold international human rights, including Indigenous Peoples’ rights and labour protections while adhering to the highest environmental standards. However, human rights considerations in the UK’s existing critical minerals strategy⁵³ are weak and it fails to address **free, prior and informed consent (FPIC)**, a vital international law guaranteeing Indigenous communities a voice in mining projects on their lands. The Government has said it will publish a new critical minerals strategy⁵⁴ which must address rights-based concerns in the fullest capacity. Meanwhile, it should introduce legislation requiring companies to conduct mandatory, gender-sensitive human rights and environmental due diligence in their supply chains.⁵⁵

Finally, the UK should champion trade justice to help mineral-rich lower-income countries add value locally and advance economic development. As the UN Trade and Development Secretary-General has noted, the critical mineral boom is a ‘double-edged sword’, offering wealth potential but risking a ‘trap of development’.⁵⁶ The UK must use its influence to ensure that the critical minerals trade fosters equitable economic growth and sustainable development.

Challenging the unfairness in the global system is also about trade, supply chains and economic justice. How the Government navigates key policies in these sectors will be a test of its climate leadership and commitment to a globally just transition. For example, carbon taxes on imported goods, such as through proposed Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms (CBAMs), must not further harm the economies of lower-income countries, which often have fewer resources and limited access to the technologies needed to adopt

cleaner production methods. The rush for critical minerals – while vital to facilitate the energy transition – must not greenwash extractivism and exploitation (explored in more depth in Box 4) and lower-income countries must be enabled to have greater autonomy over their domestic resources and an equal footing in global institutions that set the terms of trade and economic policy.

Achieving this requires the UK Government's support for progressive reforms to international financial architecture, including the structures that govern global debt and tax. Many lower-income countries are spending over five times more on servicing debt repayments than on protecting their populations against climate change,⁵⁷ and the loss of public revenue caused by tax avoidance by multinational corporations and wealthy elites further deprives all governments of funds, with losses in lower-income countries far greater as a proportion of their budgets.⁵⁸ Addressing these fundamental injustices is essential to facilitate a globally just transition, and there is significant global momentum behind doing so, including a mandate for a new UN Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation that would democratise global tax governance, which the UK Government must constructively support.⁵⁹

How can the UK government enable a just and transformative transition?

Like any complex social problem, addressing the climate crisis in a just and equitable manner demands a whole-of-government approach. Still, individual departments must drive ambition, with some specific proposals explored in the latter half of this paper. However, ensuring that the policies put in place actively reduce poverty and inequalities requires coordinated efforts at all levels of government, backed by comprehensive policy frameworks and early communication with the public to ensure the transition is both fair and perceived to be fair.

The UK Government's 'mission-driven' approach promises greater joined-up government working.⁶⁰ However, while this approach includes an ambition to become 'a clean energy superpower', there is much more the Government could do to ensure that this mission (and wider efforts to ensure climate resilience) will be managed in a way that prioritises fairness. The Governments of Scotland and Wales have begun to develop the necessary policy frameworks to ensure that climate policymaking reduces, rather than entrenches, inequalities (see Box 3). Scotland's Just Transition Commission has recently produced a series of recommendations to lay the groundwork for a successful just transition, including to establish measurable targets that embed key just transition principles laid out in the Climate Change (Scotland) Act 2009, and transformational, early-stage leadership.⁶¹

While success in Scotland and Wales will depend on the delivery behind the ambition, the UK Government should build on their efforts and learnings and start explicitly foregrounding fairness, shared prosperity and the reduction of inequalities in its approach to the transition. Foregrounding a just transition approach at a UK Government level could also support faster progress in all four nations. For example, Scotland's Just Transition Commission has highlighted that powers to mandate community benefits and shared ownership of clean energy projects are reserved and has called for effective co-working across the four nations.⁶²

The UK can make progress toward embedding fairness right away. For example, it could commission the Climate Change Committee to provide advice on the distributional impacts

of climate change and associated policies, as the Scottish Government has done.⁶³ Equalities impact assessments (EIAs), which the last government failed to apply to key strategies linked to decarbonisation⁶⁴ and which are often viewed as ‘tick-box’ exercises,⁶⁵ could be used more proactively as a means to design policies explicitly for marginalised groups, rather than as a means of compliance. Assessments should also apply an intersectional lens that considers gendered caring roles.

However, to ensure that justice in the transition is both a central policy goal and consistently applied across all departments and at all levels, a mechanism should be established to pool expertise, explore approaches and prevent gaps and inconsistencies.

The specific mechanism for this – whether a commission, task force or other – should be decided by the Government, though it must have sufficient political clout and resources and be guided by measurable targets. Oxfam research has identified key principles of justice that should be applied at local, national and global levels to enable a just transition.⁶⁶

- **Recognition and respect** for existing inequalities, rights, needs and knowledge of affected marginalised economic and social groups, including proper, prior, social and environmental impact assessments that take into account inequalities in geography, class, income, gender, age and ethnicity (*recognition justice*).
- **Democratic, inclusive decision-making** so that affected people, particularly minoritised and oppressed groups, have a meaningful say in the design and implementation of transition or adaptation policies and projects. This helps to ensure that people feel and are respected and valued in the decision-making process, and that the transition is happening with them, not to them (*procedural justice*).
- **Shared prosperity**, so that transition policies and projects are intentionally designed to ensure a fair distribution of the responsibilities, costs and benefits of climate action across geography, genders and different economic and social groups (*distributive justice*).
- **Fair and effective remedy** for any harm resulting from the transition, or from failure to transition at the pace required (*remedial justice*).
- **Transformative action**, because a truly just transition does not stop at avoiding harm and costs to affected people, it means addressing the root causes of social and environmental injustices by challenging economic structures and systems of oppression (e.g. racism, patriarchy, classism, ageism, and ableism) embedded in the dominant economic system. It involves working within existing systems to achieve positive social outcomes while simultaneously challenging them to enable and foster the emergence of new, fairer models (*transformative intent*).

These principles have crossover and can be applied alongside other guiding principles, such as the just transition principles listed in the Climate Change (Scotland) Act, community wealth-building principles identified by the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES),⁶⁷ and international standards relevant to the transition such as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.⁶⁸

What further steps can departments take to enable a just and transformative transition?

As many commentators have pointed out, tackling climate change requires action equivalent to a war-like footing.⁶⁹ Ensuring efforts to address climate change simultaneously tackle inequalities adds an additional vital layer. This requires intention, funding, data analysis, expertise (including and especially lived expertise), meaningful

consultation, capacity building, cross-government working, devolving power, public engagement, monitoring and evaluation, and much more. An overarching policy framework, backed by the required political will and resources, is an essential starting point. Until that is established, the following section highlights some reforms, called for by various actors across civil society, that departments could begin implementing to enable progress toward a just transition. It is not a comprehensive list and there are many other worthwhile recommendations.

Department for Energy Security and Net Zero

The Department for Energy Security and Net Zero is responsible for delivering the UK's net zero target and plays a critical role in overseeing a fair transition in the UK. As the Secretary of State, Ed Miliband, has said, the Government must avoid replacing a 'high carbon Britain' that is 'unequal and unfair' with a 'clean energy Britain' that remains as such.⁷⁰ Since this department also leads climate negotiations at the United Nations, this statement's intent must extend globally, including to the negotiation of the Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP). The JTWP must facilitate the implementation of equitable, rights-based transitions, acknowledging that just transitions go beyond national policy and require international cooperation—especially for countries facing systemic economic disadvantage.

In the UK, the emerging Warm Homes Plan and Local Power Plans⁷¹ hold the potential for addressing fuel poverty, enhancing access to energy efficiency and other technologies for lower-income households and bolstering community energy initiatives across the UK. While full details of both schemes are yet to be produced, with sufficient, fair funding, upfront consideration of inequalities, and determination to tackle challenges in certain types of housing stock, such as terraced housing,⁷² they could provide fundamental progress toward the UK's just transition.

A study by the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) Scotland suggests that the fairest way to roll out clean heat technologies is to provide grants for all income levels, funded by progressive taxation. In this way, the wealthiest support those further down the income spectrum, while shifting the costs of their own retrofit from an upfront cost to gradual tax-based payments.⁷³ Decarbonising the UK's housing stock must also be viewed as an opportunity to work across departments to tackle inequalities in housing that lock renters into high costs and insecurity, and which leave large numbers of people with disabilities in poor living conditions, with only 7% of homes in England offering minimal accessibility features.⁷⁴

Additionally, a social energy tariff, offering discounted energy to low-income or other qualifying households, is a vital safety net to ensure that older people and people with disabilities and other health conditions (particularly those reliant on powered medical equipment) can meet energy needs affordably and buffer any shocks that might result from the energy transition.⁷⁵

Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office

The Foreign Secretary, David Lammy, has made it clear that climate action will be central to all Foreign Office policy.⁷⁶ In his first major speech, he acknowledged the injustices faced by the Global South and committed to ensuring that the global green transition avoids repeating past mistakes, such as exploitative practices in mineral extraction.⁷⁷ He also praised the agreement that led to the establishment of the loss and damage fund – a landmark step toward remedial justice. These words are not being met with concrete action and must be. This must include coordinating with other departments to ensure the UK

significantly increases its share of climate finance, including for loss and damage, ensuring funds are predominately public and grant based as well as truly additional to the aid budget, rather than displacing non-climate ODA spending. Though until that happens, the government must urgently restore the aid budget to prevent backsliding on climate finance as well as the erosion of other essential and often lifesaving development and humanitarian interventions.

The UK Government has also launched a Global Clean Power Alliance intended to accelerate the energy transition by 'uniting developed and developing countries'.⁷⁸ The Alliance includes a 'finance mission' focused on unlocking private finance. Similarly, the UK funds 'Just Energy Transition Partnerships' (JET-Ps) - a series of agreements between eight wealthy and four middle-income countries, aimed largely at unlocking private finance to accelerate their transitions. Reducing barriers to accessing private capital in lower-income countries is important; however, increased private investment alone will not facilitate a just transition. Investments must adhere to human rights and environmental standards and be transparent and accountable to the communities that they have an impact on, with respect for free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) as a core requirement. The UK must condition any public finance and guarantees it provides to private investors and companies on adherence to these standards and locally defined development goals.

But the role of public finance and public ownership over vital sectors like energy must also be acknowledged and supported. Public finance is vital to ensure energy affordability and access, particularly among remote, low-income communities, and to provide social protections for workers in declining industries, among other interventions that do not typically generate profit. Moreover, lower-income countries should be supported to develop a 'public pathway' approach to the energy transition at their choosing, as called for by Global South trade unions.⁷⁹

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government

Climate action is most successful when it responds to local needs and priorities and is community led.⁸⁰ The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government has an important role to play in enabling communities in every corner of the UK to thrive, participate in and reap the benefits of the transition – including through housing, public planning, access to green spaces, transport and much more.

Detailed analysis of each sector is beyond the scope of this paper; however, UK100 – a network of local net-zero leaders – has highlighted key structural barriers to delivering locally-led climate action.⁸¹ These include competitive funding pots and the absence of a statutory duty to deliver net zero. The Government's first budget promised overall reform to local government finance and a move away from competitive, short-term funding pots.⁸² This is a welcome step that must be of sufficient scale to redress the systemic underfunding of local government as well as to enable an expansion in funding for climate action specifically, which otherwise risks being deprioritised.

Climate and nature could be embedded in the UK's English devolution frameworks, as recommended by Friends of the Earth,⁸³ and a statutory duty, backed by sufficient resources and capacity building, explored to enable local governments to truly prioritise investing in low-carbon, climate-resilient and inclusive communities. Crucially, to achieve a just transition, deliberative community engagement must be a requirement and not a 'nice to have' – it must also go beyond town hall-style meetings and actively engage marginalised and harder-to-reach groups such as people with disabilities and migrant communities (see Box 4). C40 cities – a global network of mayors tackling climate change – has developed a guidebook for developing effective and inclusive engagement

strategies,⁸⁴ and while mayoral combined authorities across the UK have run citizen panels and other engagement processes, a minimum standard would ensure that the voices of communities that are most affected are heard.⁸⁵ While local strategies are vital, IPPR's Environmental Justice Commission, shaped by citizen juries across the UK, has also recommended a permanent, national UK climate and nature assembly to hold the Government to account, avoid working in isolation and uphold a high standard for deliberation.⁸⁶

Box 5. The transformative potential of community action

Local communities understand their context and are best placed to propose and implement initiatives that promote their collective resilience. Initiatives designed with and for communities have been shown to be highly effective. A leading example of its time, the Kirklees Warm Home scheme which insulated 51,000 homes concluding in 2010 valuable carbon savings and other co-benefits. The upfront cost was not small: the initial investment cost £20.9m, but it generated a net social benefit of nearly £250 million by reducing CO₂ emissions, reducing NHS costs, supporting local job creation, increasing property values and helping people with benefit claims. A subsequent project installed solar PVs and other energy efficiency measures onto 53 domestic properties and community centres with the resultant revenues contributing to a thriving community fund.⁸⁷

More recently, in Bristol, Ambition Lawrence Weston (ALW), a local charity working for a deprived postwar housing estate, developed a 100% community led and owned wind turbine—the largest of its kind in England.⁸⁸ The turbine cost £5.5m, which included a crucial £500,000 capital grant from the West of England Combined Authority. It generates clean electricity for over 3,000 homes and is estimated to contribute around £100,000 annually to a community climate action plan. Across the UK, there are numerous examples of ambitious, social and community-led energy projects. Empowering local governments to empower their communities at a greater scale could have a transformative effect across the UK.

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs is responsible for producing the National Adaptation Programme (NAP) – a strategy produced every five years that sets out the Government's plans to ensure the country is prepared for the effects of climate change. The latest NAP (NAP3) has been assessed by the Climate Change Committee as falling short of having a coherent, measurable vision, and as lacking ambition.⁸⁹ Beyond these fundamental shortcomings, a legal challenge by Friends of the Earth suggested that NAP3 contravened equality legislation by failing to consider upfront the impact on marginalised groups, such as people with disabilities.⁹⁰ People with disabilities or chronic health conditions continue to be disproportionately affected by extreme weather like heatwaves or floods. Physical environments or infrastructure that are not accessible or sufficiently adapted can make it harder for people with disabilities to evacuate, and extreme temperatures can exacerbate health conditions.

The Government produced a belated assessment of the impact of NAP3 on inequalities in response to the legal claim, leading to a judgement that the NAP3 is lawful. However, a separate legal claim successfully found the Government's Heat and Buildings Strategy unlawful on similar grounds,⁹¹ reflecting a fundamental pattern and flaw in existing climate policymaking – that considering inequalities, if it happens, is an afterthought, rather than an integral part of the process. The new UK Government must learn from these cases to ensure that the needs of marginalised groups are fully and properly considered as part of the NAP process and wider climate policymaking.

Department for Business and Trade

The stated aim of the Department for Business and Trade (DBT) is to deliver economic growth.⁹² Economic growth must not be prioritised at the expense of people's well-being or the planet. Crucially, economic growth—and the natural resources it demands—must not allow the Global North to deplete the global carbon budget with outsized emissions, causing further loss and damage in the Global South. A more appropriate aim for DBT and our economies should be human rights, wellbeing and shared prosperity, alongside carbon reduction.

DBT plays an important role in attracting investment in renewable energy to the UK, and in doing so, must hold companies and investors to high standards on environmental protection, workers' rights and community engagement. However, the capacity and responsibility of DBT for ensuring a just transition extends beyond UK borders. Trade agreements must ensure the protection of fundamental labour rights and waive intellectual property rules for green technologies to enable the large-scale manufacture and deployment of renewable energy and other low-carbon developments across the Global South.⁹³ The UK must also work multilaterally to address trade imbalances that have enabled mostly wealthier countries to reap the benefits of extractive industries and high-emission supply chains.⁹⁴

Crucially, to ensure supply chains uphold the principles of a just transition, the UK Government must legislate to ensure corporate accountability for human rights abuses and environmental harm, based on the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.⁹⁵ Legislation must ensure that businesses address the gender dimensions of human rights and environmental due diligence and recognise that harm has differentiated effects on historically marginalised groups due to intersecting forms of discrimination. With evidence of UK companies linked to abuses, vital standards can no longer be left to voluntary initiatives, particularly as demand for critical minerals grows to enable the manufacture of low-carbon technologies.⁹⁶ A new law to this end has been proposed by UK civil society organisations and trade unions, businesses, investors, and Parliamentarians, and is supported by the British public.⁹⁷

Department for Work and Pensions

As the department responsible for work and social protection, the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) has an important role to play in not only supporting pathways into good quality, green jobs, ensuring women and marginalised groups are empowered to take up employment in these sectors, but also in ensuring that people can adapt to potentially disruptive economic shifts. Social protection – a right enshrined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) – must play a fundamental role in a just transition. This must include ensuring that workers in declining high-carbon industries do not bear the costs of the transition. Safeguards called for by civil society include access to paid time off for education or training, or the protection of wages where a matching salary cannot be secured.⁹⁸

Social protection is also essential in fostering a green *and caring* economy. To achieve this, we must move away from austerity-driven policies that entrench poverty and inequalities and begin to redefine how care is valued and perceived. This must mean reversing the chronic undervaluation of care infrastructure and recognising that underinvestment in this often-invisible network of support, that sustains our social and economic foundations, is ultimately a false economy.⁹⁹ The United Nations has explicitly called on States to adopt

social protection measures that take into account women's unequal share of caring responsibilities.¹⁰⁰ Well-funded care infrastructure is a vital pillar of healthier, more resilient economies. The Women's Budget Group has shown that social infrastructure jobs are green jobs: the average job in health and care produces 26 times fewer greenhouse gases than a manufacturing job, over 200 times fewer than an agricultural job, and nearly 1,500 times fewer than a job in oil and gas.¹⁰¹ The UK must simultaneously support the greening of high-carbon jobs while recognising the value of and investing in inherently low-carbon, caring jobs that support collective wellbeing.

Department for Transport

Surface transport is the UK's highest-emitting sector, responsible for 29.1% of total emissions, with private car travel accounting for the majority.¹⁰² The high cost of transport also exacerbates poverty, especially in poorer regions, while the accessibility, quality and safety of transport options and infrastructure can have a significant impact on the lives of people already facing marginalisation, including women, people with disabilities and older people. Transport policy can be utilised to mitigate the risk of social isolation and equalise access to opportunities such as jobs and education.¹⁰³

The Department for Transport (DFT) has a vital role to play, working with local governments to create interconnected, inclusive transport systems that also reduce the UK's carbon emissions. The Campaign for Better Transport is calling for a bus service guarantee, highlighting the benefits that a minimum standard could bring for people with disabilities, older adults and younger people who are most reliant on bus travel.¹⁰⁴ Prioritising the needs and perspectives of these groups should be central to the design of such initiatives. Electrified, accessible and affordable public transport, and active travel, should be prioritised across the country to improve public health, bring public transport closer in convenience to car ownership, and reduce resource use.

Given the significant carbon impact of air travel, bringing aviation in line with climate targets is also an urgent need. Given the challenges surrounding the scalability of alternative fuels, demand for air travel must fall if the transition is to happen equitably and at the pace required.¹⁰⁵ Fairly reducing demand for air travel must begin with phasing out private jets, which can be up to 30 times more polluting than standard flights.¹⁰⁶ Targeting private jets first can build trust in wider demand reduction initiatives, such as a progressive frequent flyer levy proposed by the New Economics Foundation (NEF).¹⁰⁷

HM Treasury

The Treasury holds the purse strings for the reforms required by other departments, but it also has a responsibility to generate inclusive economies that work for everyone and ensure policies are funded in a way that reduces, rather than entrenches, inequalities. Restoring public services is a vital priority to reduce inequalities, as the costs of broken services disproportionately fall on women, who earn less and do a greater amount of unpaid care work, and on marginalised groups. But investment in basic public services that uphold healthy and inclusive societies, in addition to the reforms required to address climate change, requires significant spending. The 2024 budget made strides to increase spending power, including by redefining public debt and reforming taxes targeted at those with wealth, such as inheritance and capital gains,¹⁰⁸ but the Government needs to show greater ambition and take steps that not only raise significant new revenue but also reduce economic inequality.

With the richest 1% in the UK now holding more wealth than 70% of the population,¹⁰⁹ and wealth closely associated with carbon emissions,¹¹⁰ the Government can and must go

further, including equalising capital gains tax with income tax and implementing a 1-2% wealth tax on assets over £10m, raising up to £22bn per year, as called for by Tax Justice UK and Patriotic Millionaires.¹¹¹ In 2024, UK billionaires saw their collective wealth increase by £35 million a day to £182 billion.¹¹² At a time of scarce public finances, when significant intervention is needed to avert the worst consequences of climate change, this status quo of rapidly accelerating inequality cannot continue if a just transition is to be achieved. Tax justice is essential. As the Women's Budget Group (WBG) have long called for, gender and other equality impact assessments should also be applied to all tax and spending decisions.¹¹³

Moreover, the transition will fail to be just unless the 'polluter pays' principle and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR) are upheld. This must mean significantly increasing international climate finance, redirecting public money supporting fossil fuel production and punitively taxing high-emission luxuries such as private jets and superyachts. The UK must also support and drive progressive reforms at a global level that reverse the enormous and ongoing transfer of wealth from the Global South to particularly rich people and corporations within the Global North. This must include cancelling unsustainable debt, ensuring private creditors are brought to the table, and constructively supporting the UN Framework Convention on International Tax Cooperation.

Conclusion

There is significant jeopardy in an unjust transition and the UK Government, while making some welcome interventions in its first few months in office, cannot afford complacency. If people and communities, especially those already on low incomes or experiencing other forms of marginalisation, feel more insecure, more overlooked and less connected, further resistance to the transition risks being generated. Any delay in reducing emissions will lead to even more devastating loss and damage everywhere, but particularly for communities in the Global South, who are least responsible for the emissions causing climate change, and particularly women and marginalised groups. Every effort must be made to ensure that this does not happen and to secure a liveable future for all. Ultimately, a transition that prioritises justice and reducing inequalities is key to achieving this.

Unless the Government goes further, faster and sets out a clear plan for a just transition, with the full machinery of government behind its delivery, significant proportions of the transition will be left to market forces to shape, and inequalities in and across the UK will become further entrenched. To ensure effective delivery, this plan should be reinforced by a dedicated mission or taskforce, facilitating cross-departmental collaboration, partnerships with devolved administrations, and robust scrutiny to hold the government accountable.

The UK Government has already stated its aim to become a climate leader and a clean energy superpower, but it must go beyond technological fixes and become a leader in climate justice too. This means prioritising the well-being of people and communities at every step—whether in an industrial heartland in the UK or an Indigenous community overseas. Justice must be for everyone. This means the UK setting an example with a fair transition at home while actively dismantling the barriers that prevent lower-income countries from achieving their own just transitions—barriers that keep communities worldwide trapped in poverty and hardship. Ultimately, the transition should not be approached solely as a transition away from fossil fuels, but a transition *toward* economies and societies that are inclusive, safe and that support the flourishing of all life on this planet.

Recommendations for the UK government for a fast, fair, funded and feminist just transition

As outlined above, a range of proposals and recommendations across various sectors and policy areas are essential to support a just transition to low-carbon, climate-resilient economies and societies. This paper has provided a snapshot of some examples, though not a comprehensive list, with the emphasis of this paper and the below recommendations on the overarching and agenda-setting steps the UK Government could take to begin tackling injustice and inequality in its approach to addressing climate change.

Recommendations for a fast, fair, funded and feminist just transition

1. Establish a Just Transition Framework:

- Develop an ambitious and coordinated vision for a just transition, grounded in justice principles: recognition, procedural, distributional, remedial.
- Create a permanent, well-resourced mechanism (e.g., a commission or task force) to guide, scrutinise, and hold the Government accountable for achieving this vision.
- Enable meaningful participation of communities in shaping transition policies and projects that affect them, identifying and mitigating barriers to participation for marginalised groups.

2. Ensure fair and sufficient financing for a just transition:

- Commit significantly more public investment to support both the UK's just transition and the just transitions of lower-income countries, in line with the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities (CBDR).
- Reform the tax system to be fair, redistributive, and progressive—including by taxing extreme wealth and profit, and highly polluting activities, to help finance the transition.

3. Redefine economic priorities, prioritising wellbeing and planetary health:

- Shift away from GDP growth as the primary and sole economic goal and adopt models that measure equality, human well-being, and planetary health.
- Use the transition to re-evaluate what is valued in our societies and economies, investing in services that enhance collective well-being, such as paid and unpaid care work, usually carried out by women.
- Make reducing inequalities, advancing shared prosperity, and protecting human rights for all central to all climate policy—

domestically and globally—aligning this with the Government’s “clean energy superpower” mission.

4. Address barriers preventing a globally just transition:

- Urgently deliver the UK’s climate targets, treating these as a floor of ambition, while preserving the limited remaining global carbon budget for the development needs of the lowest-income countries.
- Cooperate globally, and in the spirit of solidarity, to make the current global economic system fairer – including through meaningful debt cancellation, addressing global tax abuse and removing trade-related barriers to technology transfer.
- Urgently restore the Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget as a critical source of public, grant-based climate finance, while progressing toward delivering climate finance as additional funding beyond the aid budget.
- Ensure that the Just Transition Work Programme (JTWP) promotes equitable, rights-based transitions, including by recognising just transitions as a global issue requiring international cooperation, not just a national policy matter.

Notes

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