# A Green New Deal for Gatwick

An urgent call for jobs investment in response to Covid-19









This report considers the crisis in employment at Gatwick airport and in the surrounding areas as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. It challenges a troubling perception - that 'there is no work'. We examine the latent skills potential held by former aviation workers and propose a constructive, positive investment in quality, secure jobs - jobs that meet the present and future needs of communities and the environment.

#### **Authors**

Tahir Latif, PCS Aviation Group President

Jonathan Essex, Green House Think Tank

Robert Magowan, Green New Deal UK and PCS member

Sam Mason, PCS policy officer

Jack Baart, Green House Think Tank

The authors are grateful for contributions and comments from a wide range of organisations and individuals in Gatwick and across the UK. Special thanks go to Finlay Asher and co at Safe Landing and Sarah Finch for their input. As we conclude in the report, we hope this is the beginning of a conversation on Gatwick's future, not the end.



The Public and Commercial Services Union (PCS) is one of the largest trade unions in the UK, with 180,000 members including aviation workers in regulation, air traffic and ground staff at major UK airports.



Green House is a think tank, founded in 2011. It aims to lead the development of green thinking in the UK.



Green New Deal UK is a non-profit organisation formed in 2019 by organisers who are committed to social, economic and climate justice.

ISBN: 978-1-913908-04-1 **November 2020** 

# **Contents**

Sumn	nary	4
Introd	luction	5
1.	No going back	6
	COVID-19 devastation	6
	No return to 'normal'	10
	Long-term aviation trends	12
	Existing Government response	15
2.	Latent potential	18
	Valuing skills and experience of Gatwick employees and across the supply chain	18
	Jobs in a Green New Deal	19
	Skills in a Just Transition	19
	Skills transferability case studies	20
	Retrofitting the region	21
	Engineers: a scarce resource	22
	Piloting in a crisis	23
	A worker's view: A commercial pilot based at Gatwick	24
	A care-led recovery	25
3.	A Green New Deal	26
	Public sector leadership	26
	Work that needs done - green jobs potential across the 'Gatwick Diamond'	27
	Delivery options	30
	Making it happen	32
Ar	nnex 1 - Further tables	33

# **Summary**

- Gatwick airport, and the surrounding regions that depend on it, are experiencing a severe
  crisis. Despite significant financial support to airlines and airports, thousands of workers
  have been let go, almost 50,000 remain on furlough, and there will be no return to
  previous levels of traffic for many years if ever.
- But perceptions that 'there is no work' are grossly misleading. There is a huge amount
  of work to be done.
- From insulating homes to installing green energy, restoring nature to caring for children
  and the elderly, expanding public transport and a circular economy, there are a plethora
  of tasks in decarbonisation and transitioning to a safer, more secure and more
  prosperous society.
- We find that 16,000 of these green jobs could be directly created across the 'Gatwick
  Diamond' region of seven local councils in East Surrey and West Sussex, many within
  the next two years. Many thousands more would be created in the supply chains and
  local economies needed to sustain them.
- We also find that many of the skills held by different types of aviation workers from pilots, cabin crew, engineers and baggage handlers, to those in IT, retail, logistics and operations - are highly transferable to many of the green jobs that the Gatwick region is crying out for.
- The annual public cost of this level of employment would be between £287 million and £532 million, depending on the extent to which wages are borne by the Government. While significantly more than the one-off stimulus figures delivered locally so far through the Towns Fund (£25 million) and the Coast to Capital Local Enterprise Partnership (£19 million), this indicative cost would be well under half, and as little as a quarter, of Gatwick's share of the annual tax break granted to UK aviation (£1,250 million in 2019).
- The sum is comparable to Gatwick's share of the 12-month Air Passenger Duty (APD) suspension called for by Airlines UK, even though it would create twice the jobs in Gatwick as the latter is projected to create (8,000) across the entire UK.
- And yet this investment would carry a stream of co-benefits including warmer, more energy efficient homes, better quality care services, an improved local environment and stronger local economies.

A Green New Deal for Gatwick

#### 5

# Introduction

For Gatwick airport and the surrounding area, a large proportion of the employment opportunities are either at the airport or in a sector associated with the airport. The advent of the Covid-19 pandemic during 2020 brought an almost complete cessation of flying, with a slow regrowth that is likely to take years to return to previous levels. As a result, contemplation of a different future for workers across the 'Gatwick Diamond' region around the airport has become an urgent task.

Covid-19 has brought the aviation industry to a crucial tipping point much sooner than would have been the case otherwise. While trade unions representing workers associated with Gatwick airport must continue to fight for job protection and retention, the industry is likely to be in a lull for several years, and dependence on the airport for future employment growth cannot be relied upon. Instead, the opportunity has arisen to look at the real needs of the local area and to embark on a massive investment – in climate mitigation, in social services and in socially useful production – and the retraining required for a planned transition of workers.

In this report, the scale of the crisis brought about by the collapse of aviation, the skills of workers in danger of losing their current jobs, and the opportunities for alternative employment, are investigated and assessed. While the principles of a Green New Deal have been repeatedly elaborated at a national, and sometimes abstract, level, the intention here is to apply those principles to the practical case of workers in a defined area, and seek to bring about the kind of planned transition that will benefit workers, the environment and the local economy, for the good of all.

Tahir Latif

**PCS Aviation Group President** 

# 1. No going back

#### **COVID-19 devastation**

The aviation industry was one of the first and hardest hit by the global spread of coronavirus in the spring of 2020. By May, international passenger demand in Europe had plummeted by 98.7% on the previous year. 1 At Gatwick Airport - the UK's second-largest - total passenger numbers declined over the first half of the year by two-thirds, or almost 15 million.<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 shows the extent of the collapse. Even during July and August, as the UK emerged from its first nationwide lockdown, when travel bans were lifted and the quarantine list shortened, passenger numbers were still less than 20% of their 2019 equivalent.3 The second UK lockdown announced on 31 October prohibited almost all travel within and outside the UK, until at least 2 December, meaning airports have once again gone quiet.

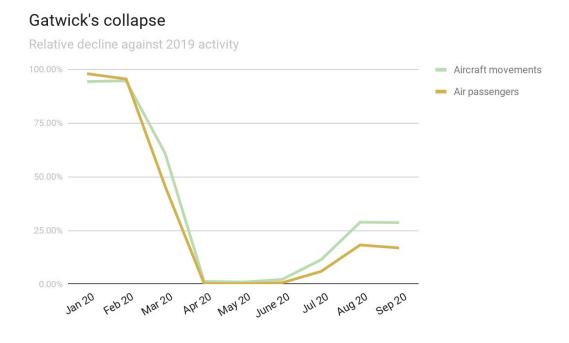


Figure 1: Gatwick Airport aircraft movements and passenger numbers in 2020, relative to 2019 activity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> IATA (2020) Recovery Delayed as International Travel Remains Locked Down. https://www.iata.org/en/pressroom/pr/2020-07-28-02/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BBC (2020) Coronavirus: Gatwick passenger numbers collapse by 14.7 million. https://www.bbc.com/news/business-53943734

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CAA (2020) UK airport data.

Gatwick's workforce felt the impact of this immediately. Gatwick Airport Limited (GAL) - the airport owner and operator, and direct employer of 3,000 of its staff - terminated 200 contracts in March, before lockdown had even begun. The Government's Job Retention Scheme was a major intervention to avoid more widespread unemployment, alongside almost £2 billion in low-interest and unconditional Bank of England loans for the sector.<sup>4</sup> This allowed GAL to furlough 90% of employees; over 75% remained on the scheme as of September.<sup>5</sup> Crawley became the "furlough capital of England", with 25,800 enrolled - 41% of the eligible population.<sup>6</sup>

However despite the unprecedented protection afforded by the scheme, as early as April - only a month after it launched - Gatwick's second-largest customer, British Airways, announced plans to make 12,000 staff redundant, almost a quarter of its total workforce. This included 1,100 pilots across the UK and a devastating 60% of its cabin crew at Gatwick. The airport's largest customer, Easyjet, then announced that 30% of its employees would be made redundant in airport operation, baggage handling, maintenance, sales and marketing roles. Virgin Atlantic announced it would cease operations in Gatwick altogether as part of a reduction of a third of its staff. GAL itself followed suit in August, announcing 600 further redundancies on top of the 785 who had already left the business voluntarily or involuntarily since the start of the pandemic.

This amounted to 40% of the GAL workforce lost, even before the end of the furlough scheme and the second lockdown. In November, following the announcement of a second lockdown, several airlines announced the suspension of all flights to and from the airport, and returned thousands more to the extended furlough scheme.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> DeSmog (2020). Bank of England COVID Bailouts for Airlines the 'Antithesis' of a Green Recovery –

Report https://www.desmog.co.uk/2020/07/01/bank-england-covid-bailouts-airlines-antithesis-green-recovery-report

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gatwick Airport (2020) Written Evidence to House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee. https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/11472/html/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Telegraph (2020) Crawley the furlough capital of England new figures reveal.

https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/06/11/crawley-furlough-capital-england-new-figures-reveal-20k-paid2/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Guardian (2020) British Airways to cut Gatwick operation.

https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/apr/30/british-airways-to-cut-gatwick-operation-and-lay-off-1130-pilots

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Routes Online (2020) EasyJet to cut 30% of staff.

www.routesonline.com/news/29/breaking-news/291498/easyjet-to-cut-30-of-staff-to-match-smaller-network/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Virgin Atlantic (2020) Our post-Covid19 Future.

https://corporate.virginatlantic.com/gb/en/media/press-releases/Our-post-Covid19-future.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gatwick Airport (2020) Written Evidence to House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee. https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/11472/html/

<sup>11</sup> The Argus (2020) Norwegian Air faces uncertainty as Gatwick staff furloughed.
www.theargus.co.uk/news/18859463.norwegian-air-faces-uncertainty-gatwick-staff-furloughed/

As shown in Table 1, aviation-linked jobs in the Gatwick Diamond region are predominantly located in the borough of Crawley (at the airport itself) where they make up an estimated 32% of the workforce. The total number of jobs connected to the airport in Crawley grows to 23,800 once support functions such as retail and hospitality are included. This increases to 36,000 by including supply chains across the Gatwick Diamond, the airport accounting for roughly a twelfth of jobs across this wider area.

Table 1: Aviation Jobs across the Gatwick Diamond (2019)

County/District	Jobs linked to aviation
East Surrey	355
Mole Valley	35
Reigate and Banstead	130
Tandridge	170
Epsom & Ewell	20
West Sussex	17,755
Crawley	17,365
Horsham	90
Mid Sussex	300
Aviation total for Gatwick Diamond	18,125
Support and supply chain-inclusive total for Gatwick Diamond †	36,000

Source: ONS (2020a) except for †Oxford Economics (2016)<sup>12</sup>

The trade union Unite reported in September that once supply chains were included, over 6,000 workers (in areas where Unite is organised) had already lost their jobs or were at risk of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> ONS (2020a) UK Business Register and Employment Survey (BRES). Oxford Economics (2016) The Economic Impact of Gatwick Airport.

https://www.gatwickairport.com/globalassets/documents/business\_and\_community/about-gatwick/gatwick\_growth\_board\_jan17.pdf

redundancy.<sup>13</sup> Worrying evidence of wider impacts exists in Crawley, which in September had the fastest rising unemployment rate of any large town or city in the country, with claimant counts increasing by 0.5 percentage points since August and 5.1 percentage points since March. Youth unemployment in Crawley has trebled since the beginning of the year.<sup>14</sup>

Prospects for respite from this trajectory do not look positive. The latest Government data on the Job Retention Scheme show that as of 28 October, the furlough rate for Crawley was 16%, the joint-highest in the country. The rates for Horsham, Mid Sussex and West Sussex county as a whole are also above the UK average. A total of 47,300 remain furloughed across West Sussex and East Surrey, with a further 31,200 claims for the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme.

Table 2: Take-up rate of the Coronavirus Job Retention Scheme in the Gatwick Diamond (October 2020)

County/District	Employments furloughed (28 Oct 20)	Eligible employments	Take-up rate (28 Oct 20)
East Surrey	20,800	188,300	11%
Mole Valley	4,400	39,400	11%
Reigate and Banstead	7,900	71,700	11%
Tandridge	4,600	39,200	11%
Epsom & Ewell	3,900	38,000	10%
West Sussex	26,500	200,800	13%
Crawley	10,300	62,900	16%
Horsham	7,700	66,700	12%
Mid Sussex	8,500	71,200	10%
Gatwick Diamond	47,300	389,100	12%
UK	3,274,900	30,353,200	11%

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Unite (2020) 6,000 job losses at 'ghost town' Gatwick airport. https://unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2020/september/6000-job-losses-at-ghost-town-gatwick-airport-demonstrates-devastation-in-uk-aviation/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Centre for Cities (2020) UK Unemployment Tracker. https://www.centreforcities.org/data/uk-unemployment-tracker/

Covid-19 is well documented as having a greater employment impact on younger generations.<sup>15</sup> This is the case around Gatwick Airport. Table A2 in the Appendix sets out how Covid-19 has left Crawley with higher levels of unemployment and how this has disproportionately affected young people. The level of work benefit claimants aged 18-24 in Crawley (12.9%) is much higher than the overall out of work benefit claimant rate (7.9%) and over three times the unemployment rate (4.1%). This is especially concerning for the regional economy given youth unemployment is typically a harbinger of long-term damage to prospects for work and pay.<sup>16</sup> Black and minority ethnic workers are also more likely to suffer both from Covid-19 infection and economically, with analysis showing 22% enter unemployment following furlough compared to 10% of the general population.<sup>17</sup>

The dire social harms of this unemployment crisis are already visible in Gatwick and the surrounding area. Food bank use in Crawley reportedly doubled since the beginning of the pandemic.<sup>18</sup> At Heathrow airport, a Unite survey found 55% of workers reported that their mental health was suffering.<sup>19</sup>

#### No return to 'normal'

What are the prospects for a recovery in the medium term? Gatwick's South Terminal will remain completely closed until summer 2021, and the airport has told investors that traffic will not return to 2019 levels until 2024,<sup>20</sup> in line with the International Air Transport Association's (IATA) expectations for global traffic.<sup>21</sup> Gatwick CEO Stewart Wingate also predicted a return to 2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> BBC News (2020) Employment: Seven ways the young have been hit by Covid. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/explainers-54005156

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Resolution Foundation (2020) Class of 2020: Education leavers in the current crisis. https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2020/05/Class-of-2020.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Figures from Resolution Foundation (2020), Jobs, Jobs, Jobs, p.6.

https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2020/10/Jobs-jobs-jobs.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> BBC News (2020) 'I know pilots who are driving for Sainsbury's now'. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-54480892

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Unite (2020) Epidemic of ill health revealed at

Heathrow.https://unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2020/october/epidemic-of-ill-health-revealed-at-heathrow-as-company-presses-ahead-with-huge-pay-cuts/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Gatwick Airport (2020) Gatwick Airport results.

https://www.gatwickairport.com/globalassets/business--community/investors/june-2020-mid-year/investor-present ation--results-for-the-period-ended-30-june-2020.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> IATA (2020) Recovery Delayed as International Travel Remains Locked Down. https://www.iata.org/en/pressroom/pr/2020-07-28-02/

traffic volumes "probably no earlier than about four or five years from now". 22 Even these assessments may be optimistic, however. The consultancy Oxford Economics projects a baseline recovery date for UK passenger numbers of 2023, but its downside scenario is 2039.<sup>23</sup>

Long-haul travel, which occupies only 17% of the market at Gatwick but contributed to the majority of passenger growth in recent years, is expected to take longer to recover than short-haul.<sup>24</sup> Covid-19 is also likely to deliver longer-term shifts in business practices and lifestyles. Business travel, one of the most lucrative revenue streams in the industry (with international transit in particular making a significant contribution to local overnight hospitality around Gatwick)<sup>25</sup> had already stabilised or been in decline across London's airports before the pandemic.<sup>26</sup> With businesses becoming accustomed to remote working and events, and investing heavily in the digital technology required to do so, it is likely this trend will continue.

Of greater concern to a growth-dependent Gatwick, an international IATA survey in July found that 66% of respondents expected to travel less for business and leisure in a post-pandemic world.<sup>27</sup> A recent Guardian poll found 30% of people in Great Britain said they would fly less after the pandemic (compared to 15% who said they would fly more).<sup>28</sup> This is perhaps a reflection of increasing awareness of aviation's significant contribution to UK greenhouse gas emissions (7% of the total), and growing evidence of support for reducing demand growth through measures such as a Frequent Flyer Levy.29

Even if passenger numbers do recover by the middle of the decade, evidence of past crises indicates that job numbers are unlikely to match the same pace of recovery. Analysis by the New Economics Foundation (as shown in Figure 2), found that ten years after the 2007-08

https://www.ft.com/content/0662c2fb-39bc-4c56-a777-ef432da04f37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BBC (2020) Covid: Gatwick Airport job losses affect 40% of employees.

https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-sussex-54648338

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The UK's aviation towns reel from the downturn in flights.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> BCG (2020) The Post-COVID-19 Flight Plan for Airlines.

https://www.bcg.com/publications/2020/post-covid-airline-industry-strategy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Oxford Economics (2018) Gatwick Airport's impact on the visitor economy, p. 16.

https://www.gatwickairport.com/globalassets/business--community/new-community--sustainability/economy/gatwi ck-visitor-economy-impact-final.pdf
<sup>26</sup> A Free Ride (2018) Runway for the Few.

https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/media.afreeride.org/documents/RunwayForTheFew\_WEB.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> IATA (2020) Traveler Survey Reveals COVID-19 Concerns. https://www.iata.org/en/pressroom/pr/2020-07-07-01/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Guardian (2020) People plan to drive more post-Covid, climate poll shows.

https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/nov/10/people-drive-fly-climate-crisis-global-poll-green-recovery-c ovid-pandemic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Climate Assembly UK (2020) The path to net zero. <a href="https://www.climateassembly.uk/report/read/final-report.pdf">https://www.climateassembly.uk/report/read/final-report.pdf</a>

financial crisis, job numbers in UK aviation still had not recovered, despite passenger numbers soaring.

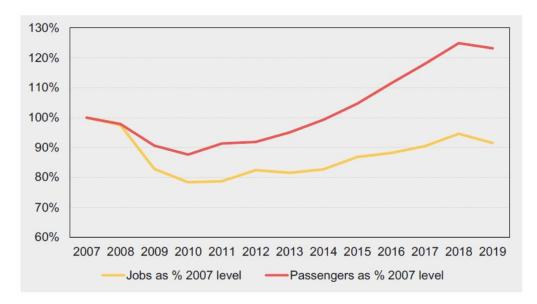


Figure 2: UK aviation recovery following the 2007-08 financial crisis. NEF (2020) Crisis support to aviation and the right to retrain.

## Long-term aviation trends

The quiet skies and consequent fall in carbon emissions and other pollution from aviation has led some to ask how reductions in air travel can be maintained beyond the pandemic. This is a view that clearly goes against the grain of the aviation growth trajectory - passengers and cargo - pre-pandemic. For example, the UK Government aviation 2050 strategy is predicated on supporting "aviation industry growth". Gatwick Airport's latest master plan proposes that by making use of the standby runway, passenger numbers could grow by 50%, and cargo by 200%, by 2032/33. The Covid-19 pandemic has brought into sharp focus the contradictions and unsustainability of the current economic model, and perhaps in no sector more than aviation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Fouquet and O'Garra (2020) The behavioural, welfare and environmental impacts of air travel reductions during and beyond COVID-19.

https://www.lse.ac.uk/granthaminstitute/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/working-paper-342-Fouquet-OGarra.pdf

<sup>31</sup> Gatwick Airport (2019) Master Plan 2019.

https://www.gatwickairport.com/globalassets/business--community/growing-gatwick/master-plan-2019/gatwick-master-plan-2019.pdf

In terms of climate change, the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) has forecast aviation emissions to grow by over 300% by 2050 without additional measures.<sup>32</sup> Increased flying will also increase other non-CO<sub>2</sub> pollutants such as nitrous oxide and water vapour contrails which have significant warming effects on the planet.<sup>33</sup> Aviation's carbon footprint is highly concentrated among very small numbers of frequent flyers - just 1% of the world's population causes half of total aviation emissions.<sup>34</sup> With aviation falling outside the 2015 Paris climate change agreement, and with the UK Committee on Climate Change stating that zero-carbon aviation is "highly unlikely to be feasible by 2050", UK industry plans are for offsetting, rather than actual emissions reduction, to make up the largest part of its 'net zero' trajectory.<sup>35</sup> On this basis it is not surprising that participants in the 2020 Citizens' Assembly on Climate Change "resoundingly rejected" industry projections for future growth.<sup>36</sup> This is clearly not a moment to 'restart' but to rethink the long-term demand forecasts for aviation so they are within planetary limits.

However the industry decides to react to this challenge, the prospect of the climate and ecological emergency carries a plethora of external threats to future growth: physical impacts on flying such as extreme weather events, flooding and heat; more and more harmful zoonotic diseases and associated pandemics; voluntary lifestyle changes based on increased environmental consciousness; and policy interventions such as less favourable tax regimes (in other countries if not also in the UK).

Beyond climate and ecological questions, the aviation business model is also precarious and unsustainable in the longer term. An IATA assessment noted that "even before COVID-19 much of the industry was fragile" with heavy debt burdens.<sup>37</sup> Much of the aviation sector is also reliant on government tax breaks - totalling £8 billion every year in the UK (or £1.25 billion as applied

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Transport & Environment (2020) Decarbonisation of aviation: why EU and ICAO action is needed. https://www.transportenvironment.org/publications/decarbonisation-aviation-why-eu-and-icao-action-needed <sup>33</sup> Lee et al. (2021) The contribution of global aviation to anthropogenic climate forcing for 2000 to 2018. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1352231020305689

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The Guardian (2020). 1% of people cause half of global aviation emissions – study. https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/nov/17/people-cause-global-aviation-emissions-study-covid-19 <sup>35</sup> Sustainable Aviation (2020) Decarbonisation Roadmap: a path to net zero.

https://www.sustainableaviation.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/SustainableAviation CarbonLeaflet 20200129.

pdf

36 House of Commons (2020) Aviation, decarbonisation and climate change. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8826/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> IATA (2020) COVID-19: Outlook for the airline industry 2020-21. https://www.iata.org/en/iata-repository/publications/economic-reports/airline-ind

 $<sup>\</sup>underline{https://www.iata.org/en/iata-repository/publications/economic-reports/airline-industry-economic-performance-june-2020-presentation/$ 

proportionally to Gatwick)<sup>38</sup> - as well as other government support for expansion plans. This is money that could be invested in green jobs. Given the very high costs of alternative fuels, ploughing further investment into aviation now will require even greater subsidies in future to avoid rocketing ticket prices.<sup>39</sup> The political unsustainability of the industry may be even more potent than its environmental unsustainability.

Add to this increasing automation or digitalisation of work - which research has shown is likely to interact with Covid-19 impacts to cause permanent unemployment<sup>40</sup> - it is clear that industry personnel forecasts predicated on aviation growth models were never likely to be matched in reality. None of this is to say the airport will cease to exist, but rather that the dependency of the surrounding area and across supply chains on Gatwick's growth is an economically unhealthy one, and would have faced serious challenges at some point if not quite as dramatically as now.

This is a grave concern for a region whose economic strategy - 'Gatwick 360°' - is designed explicitly around the airport.<sup>41</sup> Crawley in particular is more dependent on the private sector than any other large town or city in the UK, with a private-to-public ratio of 7.9 compared to the Great Britain average of 2.9. GAL's claim to support 1 in 12 jobs in the Diamond region, and 85,000 across the UK, sits at the centre of its long-standing case for continued government subsidisation.

That there were inherent risks to this strategy is of course no comfort for those losing their jobs, or for future workers who may have been looking to the airport for employment. But it is all the more reason to set a different pathway for the future of the region, not dependent on visions of a rapid rebound and continued growth of the airport. Out of this crisis, the Government must respond to social needs on the ground and offer secure pathways into new careers that utilise the wealth of workers' skills and knowledge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> £8 billion is an updated calculation based on the Full Fact methodology from 2012 (https://fullfact.org/news/does-government-subsidise-airlines-10-billion/). Other recent estimates are slightly lower at £7 billion. The Gatwick share of £1.25 billion is a crude calculation of proportionality based on CAA data on passengers by airport, of which Gatwick makes up 15.69%. This assumes that Gatwick's receipt per passenger aligns with the UK average. However, we see no reason why it would deviate significantly based on its customer profile. Calculation available upon request.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Asher (2020) Sustainable Aviation? <a href="https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ImrCJXdt0s8EahZBiL6fLaRzgHuyPsFh/view">https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ImrCJXdt0s8EahZBiL6fLaRzgHuyPsFh/view</a>
<sup>40</sup> RSA (2020) Work and automation in the time of Covid-19. <a href="https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid">https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid</a>
<sup>41</sup> RSA (2020) Work and automation in the time of Covid-19. <a href="https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid">https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid</a>
<sup>41</sup> RSA (2020) Work and automation in the time of Covid-19. <a href="https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid">https://www.thersa.org/reports/work-automation-covid</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Coast to Capital LEP (2018) Gatwick 360°: The Coast to Capital Strategic Economic Plan 2018-2030. https://www.coast2capital.org.uk/storage/downloads/coast to capital strategic economic plan 2018-2030 pdf-15 35099447.pdf

# **Existing Government response**

Clearly, given the devastating impacts already felt at Gatwick, both the Government and the aviation industry have failed to protect the livelihoods of those who depend on the airport. They have also failed to leverage interventions to improve the long-term sustainability of the sector.

Bailout loans to airlines through the COVID Corporate Financing Facility (CCFF) - airlines that have collectively announced 21,000 layoffs - have surpassed £1.8 billion.<sup>42</sup> Unlike in France, none of these loans were attached to even weak conditions relating to improving the carbon efficiency of aviation,<sup>43</sup> despite the Government having already committed £125 million of public money towards 'greener flight' in 2019.<sup>44</sup> This was a huge missed opportunity to lock in badly-needed green investment and jobs for the sector, as well as reduced pollution.

A series of Government initiatives have since followed, with an emphasis on returning the sector as soon as possible to its high-growth trajectory, albeit with a greener hue:

- A cross-Whitehall Global Travel Taskforce, tasked with considering how a testing regime and increased consumer confidence can best "boost safe travel to and from the UK".
- A Jet Zero Council will coordinate efforts between industry and government towards "net zero emission flight".<sup>46</sup>
- An Aviation Recovery Plan due imminently, which will be "setting out more measures to boost air travel", according to Transport Secretary Grant Shapps.<sup>47</sup>

Similarly the Gatwick Airport Consultative Committee (GATCOM) echoed the Prime Minister's appropriation of the 'Build Back Better' slogan in calling for the extension of business rates and "sustainable growth measures". Multiple industry bodies and 29 parliamentarians, led by

<sup>43</sup> BBC (2020) Coronavirus aid: Air France 'must cut domestic flights to get state loan'. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-52527517

https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/global-travel-taskforce#terms-of-reference

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> DeSmog (2020) Bank of England COVID Bailouts for Airlines the 'Antithesis' of a Green Recovery. https://www.desmog.co.uk/2020/07/01/bank-england-covid-bailouts-airlines-antithesis-green-recovery-report

Department for Transport (2019), Developing the future of flight: take part in the challenge.
 https://www.gov.uk/government/news/developing-the-future-of-flight-take-part-in-the-challenge
 UK Government (2020), Global Travel Taskforce.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Department for Transport (2020), Jet Zero Council. https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/jet-zero-council

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Department for Transport (2020), "Beyond the crisis" - speech to the aviation industry. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/beyond-the-crisis-speech-to-the-aviation-industry

Crawley MP Henry Smith, have called for the suspension of Air Passenger Duty to further subsidise increased demand.<sup>48</sup>

Such responses offer little to the significant number of workers who have already lost jobs in the sector. They also offer little confidence to those still subject to the vagaries of the global market and the airlines and airports that dominate it, companies that have clearly demonstrated a willingness to 'fire first, think later' despite receiving millions in annual tax breaks and crisis support.

There have been some more promising moves towards direct intervention in the labour market to support those who have already lost employment or risk doing so in the coming months and years. The Government's £2 billion Kickstart Scheme subsidises 6-month placements for 16-24 year olds who are on Universal Credit. The Coast to Capital Local Enterprise Partnership has received £19.2 million through the national Getting Building Fund to deliver shovel-ready infrastructure projects, including a new £8 million innovation centre in Crawley. <sup>49</sup> Crawley is also one of 100 towns invited to bid for £25 million from the Government's Towns Fund, and the Borough Council's Town Investment Plan sets out a number of "interventions to address over-reliance on [the] aviation industry" <sup>50</sup> including skills programmes, urban regeneration and transport and digital connectivity.

These are positive initiatives and the level of funding is significantly greater than that available to most other local authorities in the current circumstances. But they continue to follow the conventional approach of facilitating private sector employment and future inward investment. Not only does this mean there is no guarantee that the desired scale and speed of job creation will be delivered, but also much of the future employment will be subject to market interactions and the demand for consumption that sustains them - demand which cannot be guaranteed under Covid-19 or suppressed demand during an economic downturn. More fundamentally, the figures pale in comparison to the level of investment required urgently. For comparison, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Future of Aviation Group (2020), Parliamentarians call for temporary suspension of APD to boost aviation recovery. https://www.futureofaviationgroup.org.uk/news/parliamentarians-call-for-temporary-suspension-of-apd-to-boost-aviation-recovery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Coast to Capital (2020) Coast to Capital awarded £19.2 million Getting Building Funds. https://www.coast2capital.org.uk/media-centre/press-releases/coast-to-capital-awarded-19-2-million-getting-building-funds.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Crawley Borough Council (2020) Crawley Town Investment Plan. https://crawley.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2020-09/CERT%20TIP%20%28draft%29%2016%20September%202020.pdf

one-off Getting Building Fund investment will create just 310 direct jobs,<sup>51</sup> a far cry from the 11,600 unemployed across the Gatwick Diamond.<sup>52</sup>

The Government's 'Ten Point Plan' announced in November amounted to just £4 billion in new green stimulus, less than half the amount delivered by France and a third of the amount delivered by Germany in recent months.<sup>53</sup> The 250,000 jobs it is expected to support by 2030 pales in comparison to the 2 million green jobs that could be created under a comprehensive Green New Deal.<sup>54</sup>

It is an indication of how vulnerable the aviation industry is, and how little faith the Government's response to this crisis has inspired so far, that the recent announcement of successful vaccine trials caused so much excitement in the industry. Shares in IAG, owner of EasyJet and British Airways, jumped over 30% on the announcement,<sup>55</sup> and Crawley MP Henry Smith pivoted quickly from the Government's 'Build Back Better' slogan to hoping a vaccine might help the economy "get back to normal".<sup>56</sup> As we have shown, however, there is no going back to normal. Gatwick needs a different route.

https://www.greennewdealuk.org/updates/green-jobs-for-all-report/

https://www.cityam.com/airline-stocks-soar-on-pfizer-covid-19-vaccine-breakthrough/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2020) Coast to Capital LEP Getting Building Fund. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/906575/GBF\_S\_ummary\_Coast\_to\_Capital\_LEP.pdf

<sup>52</sup> Nomis (October 2020) Local Authority Profiles. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Green New Deal UK (2020) 'The government has pledged just £4bn of new money for the green recovery. To see how little that really is, watch to the end.' https://fb.watch/1WOoecvx-3/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Green New Deal UK (2020) Green Jobs for All Report.

<sup>55</sup> City AM (2020) Airline stocks soar on Pfizer Covid-19 vaccine breakthrough.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> The Argus (2020) MP Henry Smith hopes covid vaccine can help Crawley recover. https://www.theargus.co.uk/news/18862341.mp-help-aviation-industry-recover/

# 2. Latent potential

## Valuing skills and experience of Gatwick employees and across the supply chain

According to Gatwick airport's website there were 24,000 people working across the Gatwick campus before the pandemic. These are broken down into eight key areas: commercial, passenger operations, engineering, security, construction, IT, airfield operations, and baggage handling. In addition, there are workers employed by the airlines (pilots and cabin crew), in air traffic control, and wider tourism functions. And there are many jobs across the supply chain, such as airline catering, and induced jobs which develop as a result of the airport, such as in additional surface transport services, such as buses and trains, coming to 36,000 supported across the Gatwick Diamond.<sup>57</sup>

Those workers who have lost their jobs, or face an uncertain future, do not just lose their livelihoods. They take with them (or if furloughed, are at home and unable to use) a vast array of skills and experience. Some have specific qualifications required for their jobs such as hard or technical skills: airline pilots, engineers, project managers, data analysts and logistics professionals. Others have soft skills, generally understood to be those skills which are not job-specific but can be just as critical to productive work.

Skills will also be developed and acquired through work built up through experience such as problem solving or taking decisions under pressure. Aviation industry workers are generally seen as having valuable skills related to working in a high-pressure environment where time, safety and precision are critical, and requiring high levels of team working and communication. At an international airport like Gatwick, there will also be skills in languages and cultural understanding, with passengers flying in and out from across the world, as well as working with passengers with particular disabilities or health needs.

It must be remembered that while workers may have grievances about working conditions or pay, they often will have developed a strong connection to their industry, workplace and colleagues. Therefore, transferring to a new job, in a completely new sector, is not simply a matter of job-matching or learning new skills.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Oxford Economics (2016) The Economic Impact of Gatwick Airport.

www.oxfordeconomics.com/recent-releases/the-economic-impact-of-gatwick-airport

#### Jobs in a Green New Deal

Climate change is now an inescapable fact of our lives, with widespread public and political support for action to be taken to meet the ongoing crisis. But decarbonisation – removing greenhouse gas production from our activities - is not the only action we must take, huge and complex as it is.



The impact of Covid-19 should not blind us to the reality that there is a huge amount of work to be done.

Addressing the interrelated issues of climate change, land-use, biodiversity loss and resource use – and the social and economic harms they create (and are sustained by) - will require a very substantial package of investments. Many of these, however, are significantly labour-intensive: retrofitting lofts, for instance, to provide better insulation, is heavily dependent on labour, whilst expanded recycling and other measures to support the 'circular economy' can be expected to create many new jobs.

But when we speak of green jobs, we don't just mean hard hats and solar panels. We include work that has been systematically undervalued but is foundational to a good society and low-carbon economy of the future: the work of carers, teachers, nurses and many others. These are *jobs that sustain life* - our key workers during the pandemic - or "socially useful production" as described in the prescient demands of the Lucas Plan.<sup>58</sup> And as they are inherently social in nature, they tend to be heavily labour-intensive. Care work investment, for example, creates almost three times the number of jobs of construction investment, skewing heavily towards women and others habitually discriminated against by the labour market.<sup>59</sup>

By setting out to address these challenges, we can not only overcome much of the expected job losses from Covid-19, but reshape our entire economy away from high-carbon, high-resource, high-damage activity.

#### **Skills in a Just Transition**

The skills outlined above are highly transferable to new roles urgently needed for a green economy and could be matched through a structured programme of support. These jobs include where there are already pre-existing labour market occupational and skills gaps such as in the

<sup>58</sup> The Lucas Plan. http://lucasplan.org.uk/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Women's Budget Group (2020) A care-led recovery from coronavirus. https://wbg.org.uk/analysis/reports/a-care-led-recovery-from-coronavirus/

health, care, and education sectors. Other transferable roles are in the transport sector (bus or train drivers), construction, energy workers, mechanical engineers, or the maritime industry, which has cross-over skills with airline pilots and aircraft engineers.

Care, health and education jobs require good interpersonal and listening skills and patience alongside formal qualifications. Public or client-facing roles are essential for delivering a mass housing retrofit programme which requires a high level coordination, and customer service alongside the more technical roles which may require building trades vocational and education qualifications. The 'hard hat' skills of energy, construction or building trades workers can be upgraded or repurposed to become retrofit, heat pumps or solar thermal workers.

The point here is not to be prescriptive about specific potential job matches, but to illustrate the possibilities that a publicly supported proactive labour market intervention provides. Such an intervention ensures that workers' skills and knowledge are kept within the wider workforce and redirected towards the green economy and the work that urgently needs doing now (see further below in Section 3). This must be coupled with a package of support that also ensures workers are not faced with the risk of retraining, financially or in terms of the job offer it will lead to.

The UK has long had a problem of under-investment in skills and training for workers.<sup>60</sup> With a significant proportion of the region's workers still on furlough, there is ample capacity to engage in training for high-quality jobs that address future needs. Therefore this level of public leadership, combined with funding for (and payment whilst) retraining workers is a critical part of the Just Transition process.

# Skills transferability case studies



The following section received input from Safe Landing, a group of workers from within the aviation industry: pilots, cabin crew, airport staff, aerospace engineers and factory employees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> TUC (2019) Britain needs urgent investment in skills and training, says TUC. https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/britain-needs-urgent-investment-skills-and-training-says-tuc-0

"We demand that a focus on long-term, sustainable employment is at the forefront of any discussion related to the climate crisis, and the necessary transition to a low carbon global economy. The global coronavirus pandemic represents turbulent conditions, and our industry needs to set a new flightpath out of it. We urgently need a Safe Landing that ensures a second, far bigger industry crash doesn't lie ahead."

#### **Retrofitting the region**

Buildings contribute 37% of UK carbon emissions; two thirds of that is residential. Despite the remarkable co-benefits of radically improving the energy efficiency of the building stock, including lower bills, reduced fuel poverty, savings to the NHS and half a million jobs,<sup>61</sup> there has been a "systemic failure in tackling this challenge" according to the UK Green Buildings Council. <sup>62</sup> The result is that belated investments have not been delivered at pace due to shortages in the requisite skills and qualifications. Investment levels also need to reach more than double the Government's recent £3 billion annual investment in energy efficiency.

Research by the New Economics Foundation proposed an area based delivery approach to retrofit that regenerates local areas, including a £50 million programme of public funding for retrofit focused education courses, academic qualifications and apprenticeships each year. <sup>63</sup> As well as increasing numbers of electricians, window fitters, general builders and labourers, gas engineer, carpenters, and plasterers this will include the creation of far more employment as solar installers and renewable heat specialists, as well as a new role to project manage the process: retrofit coordinators. The latter are calculated to require around £2.4 million additional funding per 100,000 homes to local authorities to fulfil this local coordination and leadership role, based on data from the Retrofitworks initiative.

Retrofit of homes and public sector buildings can provide alternative employment for many of those employed in various roles at Gatwick including ground crew and maintenance, vehicle operation, production and maintenance management and logistics, as well as the workers delivering its £200 million per year capital investment programme of new buildings and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> New Economics Foundation (2020) A Green Stimulus for Housing. https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/Green-stimulus-for-housing\_NEF.pdf

<sup>62</sup> UKGBC (2020) The Retrofit Playbook: Driving retrofit of existing homes – a resource for local authorities. https://www.ukgbc.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Retrofit-Playbook-Version-1.0.pdf

<sup>63</sup> New Economics Foundation (2020) A Green Stimulus for Housing.

infrastructure.<sup>64</sup> Further skills exist in the aerospace industry, which counts several businesses in the Gatwick Diamond and is facing similar challenges to aviation.

Many of these workers are used to following detailed technical instructions and completing or overseeing work to strict quality standards, with a high degree of accuracy, precision and consistency that is required due to the safety requirements of aviation and aerospace. There is a wide breadth of tasks, so the workers need to be both skilled in specific processes and also able to plan and perform quite different and varied operations. These skills will make such workers desirable to the construction sector when it comes to building passive-standard housing and retrofitting existing buildings to this standard.

Despite Gatwick's pretensions to being an engine of employment, creating these retrofit jobs will create far more employment than existing capital investment plans for the airport. Rather than capital flowing into machinery, fuel and materials alongside labour, more of the investment will support livelihoods of workers. Analysis suggests that shifting from these large infrastructure programmes to spending the same amount on building retrofit will employ three times as many people.<sup>65</sup>

#### **Engineers: a scarce resource**

Some of the job losses at the Gatwick Airport, and others in the aerospace sector in the surrounding area, will be highly-skilled engineering jobs – a key area needed to underpin a rapid transition to zero carbon. These include:

- Mechanical Engineers: specialising in disciplines such structural mechanics, aerodynamics, thermodynamics, acoustics/noise, fluid systems, thermal management systems, designing and manufacturing aircraft, engines.
- Electrical Engineers: electrical power systems, electronics, control systems.
- IT Engineers: telecommunications, computer systems, data analysis.
- Civil Engineers: airport buildings, runways, highways and associated services.

https://www.gatwickairport.com/globalassets/business--community/growing-gatwick/master-plan-2019/gatwick-master-plan-2019.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> GAL (2019) Gatwick Airport Master Plan 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Forbes et al. (2012) Forecasting the number of jobs created through construction. In Proceedings of the 28th Annual Conference of the Association of Researchers in Construction Management (pp. 317-26). http://www.arcom.ac.uk/-docs/proceedings/ar2012-0317-0326\_Forbes\_El-Haram\_Horner\_Lilley.pdf: Tables 1 and 4.

These workers have technical skills (and either university degrees or apprenticeship training) that make them highly employable. Any engineers who work on the design, manufacture, assembly and maintenance of aircraft and airport systems have skills that are readily transferable to similar activities related to low-carbon technology and services. For example: renewable power generation, electric vehicles and electric charging points, renewable energy storage, hydrogen fuel vehicles, passive-heating buildings and low-energy heating systems like air and ground source heat pumps. Indirect engineering jobs at firms located within the 'Gatwick Diamond' and elsewhere could be put to low-emissions alternatives to flying such as electric bikes, cars or buses. Those employed to monitor data from aircraft and engines would be well suited to monitoring fleets of wind turbines, solar installations, or electric autonomous vehicles on the ground.

# Piloting in a crisis

Since the pandemic struck Europe, an estimated 10,000 pilot jobs have been lost with a further 5,000 at risk - roughly 1/5 of all pilots in Europe. The vast majority of these losses have been amongst those who have atypical or 'self-employed' contracts. This means that if their contract is to be terminated they do not require any notification periods or prior consultation with unions, nor do they receive any unemployment benefits from the company. For many new pilots the financial debts of the training process are significant and now with the rate of job losses in the profession, they cannot wait the four or five years it will take for the industry to return to pre-COVID levels.

In New Zealand and Switzerland, pilots who have lost their jobs to COVID-19 have been retrained as train drivers. Peter Lensink, Managing Director of Transdev said, "We only hire highly skilled people and airline pilots have got similarities to the skills and competencies required as a train driver". He went on to say "Both the airline and rail sectors have a strong safety culture and require specific skills, including concentration".<sup>69</sup> In Switzerland, Swiss Federal Railways are in

<sup>66</sup> Personnel Today (2020) 'Don't begin pilot training – there aren't any jobs,' warns union. https://www.personneltoday.com/hr/dont-begin-pilot-training-there-arent-any-jobs-warns-union/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> European Cockpit Association (2020). Redundancy tracker: European pilots losing their jobs. https://www.eurocockpit.be/news/redundancy-tracker-european-pilots-losing-their-jobs

<sup>68</sup> BBC News (2020) Covid 19: I've lost my job, should I retrain? https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-54552132

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> New Zealand Herald (2020) COVID 19 coronavirus: Jobless pilots becoming train drivers in Auckland. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/covid-19-coronavirus-jobless-pilots-becoming-train-drivers-in-auckland/YGWFZ 43XIDB3O7X73CXLB5OPTU/

A Green New Deal for Gatwick

24

talks with Swiss International Airlines to employ redundant pilots as train drivers. As the necessary skills as a pilot fulfil the requirements needed to train as a train driver, retraining the pilots can begin immediately. In Switzerland there is a shortage of train drivers, making the switch common sense.<sup>70</sup>

The situation in the UK is remarkably similar; train staff shortages are estimated to cause 1/10 delays across the country. A spokesperson for Thameslink Railway said, "We do not have enough train crew to carry out both day-to-day operations and the large amount of training required to enable long-term passenger service improvements, without asking train crew to work rest days". A Green New Deal for Gatwick could assist the UK's railways to become more efficient further encouraging people to use them, while leaving fewer pilots left unemployed and new opportunities for secure and fulfilling work.

#### A worker's view: A commercial pilot based at Gatwick

"It has been my lifelong dream to fly. Many of us join this industry having sacrificed previous careers and are burdened with huge training debts. To face up to losing this massive part of our lives is incredibly scary; to lose our job is like losing a part of ourselves.

But as pilots, we must use our threat and error management skills to identify this existential threat to our careers, natural world and our lives. If this was an emergency in flight we would have diverted to a safe destination to save lives long ago. We can't just fly blindly to the planned destination as the flight deck fills with smoke.

Our industry's impact on global emissions is irrefutable. The so-called solutions to 'green' the industry at its current scale are decades away and are not globally or ecologically 'just'. With environmental consciousness rising, much like other fossil fuel industries, the aviation sector will either shrink by design, through a 'Just Transition' for workers, or by disaster.

We must find a way to put workers at the forefront of the green revolution that makes sure all training debts are settled, and we have the option to be retrained into the green jobs of the future."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Flying Insight (2020) Swiss Pilots to Possibly Retrain as Train Drivers. https://www.flyinginsight.com/2020/10/04/swiss-pilots-to-possibly-retrain-as-train-drivers/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> BBC News (2016) Why do crew shortages cause one in 10 train delays? https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-35293307

#### A care-led recovery

The Women's Budget Group reports that there are a total of 122,000 vacancies in adult social care and 1.4m older people with unmet care needs.<sup>72</sup> Rather than skills shortages though, as the Government's Migration Advisory Committee has noted for several years, "the fundamental problem is that these jobs are not attractive to enough UK residents at current terms and conditions".<sup>73</sup> There is likely to be an even greater shortage of care workers as this is currently not in the area of exemptions when free movement with the EU is due to end this year.<sup>74</sup>

Despite their incredible benefits to wider society, there is a long-standing failure in national government to recognise and reward childcare and social care, leaving underfunded councils to preside over a woefully underprovided sector notorious for unaffordability, poor pay and endemic staff turnover. A Green New Deal for Gatwick would be part of the national funding solution recently called for by the Surrey Care Association, "reinventing" the social care sector, changing its culture and perceptions, and delivering proper pay, terms, conditions and benefits.

That many aviation workers, particularly those in customer-facing roles, would bring value to such a reformed environment is without question. A scheme has already been established between care company Cera and Airlines UK to train and certify airline personnel, workers that Cera co-founder Dr Mahiben Maruthappu described as having skills "highly transferable to social care". The Government clearly recognises as much, with the Work and Pensions Secretary suggesting the drawing out of "transferable skills that [aviation workers] have, and that could be working in social care." But an immediate intervention in and proper financing of the sector must underpin any fantasies of transition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Women's Budget Group (2020) A Care-Led Recovery from Coronavirus. https://wbg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Care-led-recovery-final.pdf

Migration Advisory Committee (2020) Review of the Shortage Occupation List.
 https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/927352/SOL\_2\_020\_Report\_Final.pdf
 Eichler, W (2020) Carers added to list of occupations hit by migration restrictions. 30 September 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Eichler, W (2020) Carers added to list of occupations hit by migration restrictions. 30 September 2020 https://www.localgov.co.uk/Carers-added-to-list-of-occupations-hit-by-migration-restrictions/51160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Surrey Care Association (2020) Reinventing Social Care. https://www.surreycare.org.uk/news/reinventing-social-care

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> iNews (2020). 'I want to make a difference': 1,000 cabin crew staff to be retrained as carers. https://inews.co.uk/news/real-life/airline-staff-jobs-carer-retrain-coronavirus-british-airways-442846

# 3. Green New Deal

#### **Public sector leadership**

As detailed in Section 1, the existing Government response is hamstrung by its refusal to engage in direct job creation, at scale, in areas of future need. This type of response is indicative of the failure of current leadership to grasp the situation and how to progress from it. £238 million spent on job coaches for the unemployed,<sup>77</sup> for example, falls well short of the mantra of building back better. Matching skills in theory is one thing, but without investment in retraining the existing workforce and creating new employment opportunities then there will be no just transition.<sup>78</sup>

There is, unfortunately, an all-too pervasive view that mass unemployment is simply the inevitable result of a downturn in demand - that 'there is no work', and that the Government is powerless to act. Recent polling showed only 17% of the public believed the Government could reduce the unemployment triggered by the pandemic, even though 73% feared the crisis would increase inequality.<sup>79</sup>

And yet, as a plethora of recent analyses of the potential for a green recovery have shown, the Government can invest at scale - indeed there is no better time to do so. A Green New Deal UK report found that while the pandemic posed a structural threat to almost 1 million jobs in the next two years, a total of 1.2 million jobs could be created in that same period - jobs that would tackle the crises of environment, social care and inequality all at the same time. Public sector leadership in a decade that will be defined by these crises needn't mean 'make-work' - it means fulfilling employment centred around community, care and climate. If the public sector can focus on investment in these areas, then a Just Transition is well within reach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> BBC News (2020) Covid-19: Government launches £238m scheme for jobseekers. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-54412574

<sup>78</sup> Scott, D. & Richardson, T. (2020) Green New Deal Would Reshape Blue-Collar Jobs, Training. Bloomberg Law. https://news.bloomberglaw.com/daily-labor-report/green-new-deal-would-reshape-blue-collar-jobs-training

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> The Mirror (2020) Two million jobs at risk in coronavirus crisis, warns Build Back Better campaign. https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/two-million-jobs-risk-coronavirus-22999363

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Green New Deal UK (2020) Green Jobs for All Report.

# Work that needs done - green jobs potential across the 'Gatwick Diamond'

Much of the work to transition the UK to a zero-carbon society is yet to be done. Talk of a 'zero carbon army' is not hyperbole - a fair Paris Agreement pathway for the UK will necessitate "a scale of change in physical infrastructure reminiscent of the post-Second World War Marshall Plan".<sup>81</sup> A non-exhaustive set of sectoral data on the jobs potential of this transition in the Gatwick Diamond is set out in Table 3.

The direct job creation potential we find is a total of 16,100, almost matching the total of 18,125 aviation-linked jobs that existed before the crisis (as shown in Table 1). Given that neither infrastructure jobs (such as construction of public transport) nor supply chains (manufacture of insulation materials) are included within the scope of this analysis, these figures demonstrate the extraordinary jobs potential of investment in a Green New Deal for Gatwick.

Table 3: Summary of Job Potential of a Green New Deal for the Gatwick Diamond

	Total		
Sector	During 10-year Transition	Long Term	
Reuse & Recycling	431	864	
Transport	1251	2466	
Building Retrofit	4843	659	
Renewable Energy	390	79	
Training and Support	484	339	
Nature restoration	820	-	
Care	7,881	24,156	
Total	16,100	28,565	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Anderson et al. (2020) A factor of two: how the mitigation plans of 'climate progressive' nations fall far short of Paris-compliant pathways. <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14693062.2020.1728209">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14693062.2020.1728209</a>

See Annex 1 for more details. Note: transport and reuse & recycling transition jobs are estimated as mid-way through the transition to a zero-carbon future. The care jobs figure relates to the next two years. Some of the different types of jobs required to shift the Gatwick Airport area to a zero carbon future are summarised as follows:

- Home Energy Retrofits. These jobs include both insulation improvements and retrofitting renewable energy technologies (e.g. solar hot water, solar PV, heat pumps) on domestic homes. This is a standard rate of retrofit for the 10 year transition then caretaking/maintenance works thereafter. There will be additional jobs created retrofitting commercial and public sector buildings.
- Sustainable Transport. This is based on the modal shift in Zero Carbon Britain. <sup>82</sup> It accounts for jobs lost in private vehicle maintenance (as electric vehicles require less maintenance) as well as jobs gained in driving and maintaining trains and buses. Jobs in infrastructure (e.g. building cycle routes, electrifying the Gatwick-Reading train line, installing vehicle charging points) are not included. The jobs will increase as the modal shift occurs. The transition estimate is mid-way to the long-term total.
- Renewable Energy Generation. This is jobs in renewable energy generation based on national estimates scaled according to the size of areas classed as rural within the Gatwick Triangle. The estimate assumes a steady rate of wind and solar PV installation over the ten-year period.
- Reuse and Recycling. This assumes a transition to reduce waste, increase reuse and recycling in line with the Green Alliance and WRAP's high-ambition scenario.<sup>83</sup> The estimate is of the additional jobs created by a shift to 90% recycling rates achieved by higher-value recycling in the commercial and construction sectors, and a combination of waste reduction, reuse and recycling through better sorting and new local enterprises to create a circular economy that captures most household waste. The modelling includes additional jobs in recycling collection and jobs lost in landfill. Additional jobs in reuse and remanufacturing are not included. The transition job estimate is that midway to the long-term shift.
- Nature Restoration. There is a real opportunity to better care for our natural environment, including woodland management and improving flood resilience and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Allen, P. et al (2013) Zero Carbon Britain; Rethinking the Future, Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Morgan, J. and Mitchell, P., (2015) Employment and the circular economy: Job creation in a more resource efficient Britain. Green Alliance.

- biodiversity. This estimate is scaled from NEF figures for the UK as a whole of 48,000 jobs for reforestation and 20,000 jobs for flood defences.<sup>84</sup>
- Food and Farming. Whilst local sustainable food and farming practices and increased local production and sale of fruit and vegetables are crucial to a shift to a sustainable future, they have not been included as the job creation potential of this is difficult to estimate.
- Training and Support. Additional jobs will be required in training such as at the proposed Crawley Innovation Centre, Crawley and East Surrey College and on-the-job training. Support workers are required to ensure that work is accessible to all.
- Care: Analysis of adult social care data by Green New Deal UK finds that a total of 646,000 care jobs could be created in the UK over the next two years and 1.98 million by 2030; these have been scaled to the Gatwick Diamond. See 'A Care-led recovery' in Section 2 for more on this element of the transition.
- Teaching and Nursing. Investment into these understaffed and overworked roles is an essential contribution to any low-carbon economy of the future. Like care work, poor conditions and pay cause high turnover. Despite the foundational nature of this work and repeated government commitments to recruitment and recognition, there remain significant numbers of vacancies. However we have been unable to obtain accurate vacancy figures for the Gatwick region and so they are not included in the table above.

#### Not just jobs: The co-benefits of a Green New Deal for Gatwick

- 1. Stronger communities through properly rewarded care services
- 2. Better local environment and reduced pollution
- 3. Reduced carbon emissions of homes and businesses
- 4. Warmer, more cost-efficient homes and workplaces
- 5. Stronger and more resilient local economies
- 6. More local employment: reducing commuting costs and time
- 7. Reduced carbon intensity of work
- 8. Opportunities align with growing interests in sustainability and care

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Figures cited in Green New Deal UK (2020) Green Jobs for All. Scaled for the Gatwick Diamond on the basis of a population of 813,562, or 1.22% of UK total. The figure is therefore a crude estimate, however it compares favourably to a National Nature Service 'Crawley Rangers' case study which proposed the creation of 250 jobs in Crawley alone. Available upon request: <a href="https://www.nationalnatureservice.org/">www.nationalnatureservice.org/</a>

<sup>85</sup> Green New Deal UK (2020) Green Jobs for All. Scaled as in Footnote 84.

#### **Delivery options**

The total funding package to deliver this ten-year Green New Deal for Gatwick is an annual cost of up to £287-532 million each year. This reflects an estimated £122 million for the 7,881 new jobs in care work and £165-410 million for the traditional green jobs of reuse and recycling through to nature restoration (based on public wage costs of £20,000 - £50,000 government subsidy being required per job).<sup>86</sup> In some cases these jobs will be self-sustained once created, whilst in other cases some level of ongoing subsidy is needed to sustain them.

This Green New Deal for Gatwick is at a far greater scale than that so far committed by the UK Government. For example, the scale of home retrofit for the Gatwick Diamond (48,000 job years over a ten year period) is contrasted with the 140,000 job-years of effort so far funded for retrofitting homes and public buildings across the UK.<sup>87</sup> So, whilst £3 billion has so far been committed for the UK as a whole, at least £1 billion would be required for the complete retrofit of all homes in the Gatwick Diamond's seven borough and district council areas. The two million green jobs for the whole UK promised by 2030<sup>88</sup> are required now if we are going to have a green recovery that builds back better following jobs lost during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The indicative public wage cost of £287-532 million each year is more than ten times the £19.2 million stimulus allocated to the Coast to Capital LEP through the national Getting Building Fund,<sup>89</sup> and the £25m made available to Crawley Borough Council through the Government's Towns Fund.<sup>90</sup> The sum is close to the annual £600m the Government's commitment to a National Skills Fund and a 'Right to Retrain' across the entire UK.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Care cost estimate based on Green New Deal UK (2020) Green Jobs for All analysis. A total of £20 billion for two years is halved to annualise and then scaled as in Footnote 84. The public wage costs estimate is consistent with this estimate and that noted in BEIS (2020) UK government launches taskforce to support drive for 2 million green jobs by 2030.

https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-government-launches-taskforce-to-support-drive-for-2-million-green-jobs-bv-2030

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> BEIS (2020) UK government launches taskforce to support drive for 2 million green jobs by 2030. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-government-launches-taskforce-to-support-drive-for-2-million-green-jobs-b

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>y-2030</u> 88 ibid.

 $<sup>^{89}</sup>$  Coast to Capital (2020) Coast to Capital awarded £19.2 million Getting Building Funds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Crawley Borough Council (2020) Crawley Town Investment Plan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> FE Week (2019) Conservatives announce manifesto pledge of £3bn for national skills fund. https://feweek.co.uk/2019/11/23/conservatives-announce-manifesto-pledge-of-3bn-for-a-new-national-skills-fund/

However, the cost would be less than half, and as little as a quarter, of Gatwick airport's share of the annual tax break granted to UK aviation (£1.25 billion in 2019). Thus, the level of funding to deliver a ten-year Green New Deal programme to decarbonise the Gatwick Diamond could be funded by halving the level of net subsidy (fuel duty and VAT exemptions less air passenger duty) received by the airport. While the cost would be 60% greater than Gatwick's share of the 12-month removal of APD, a further tax break called for by industry, its direct job creation potential of 16,100 jobs is 13 times that of Gatwick's share of the national aviation jobs resulting from the APD cut. Instead of even more tax breaks to an industry that has failed to protect its workers so far, the government could fund a green recovery, creating sustainable jobs for the wider local area.

This strategy could be delivered by a Green New Deal taskforce, to oversee the way that the transition to net-zero in the Gatwick Diamond areas provides new employment pathways for local residents. This should include representation from trade unions and those whose jobs have been lost or are under threat, in line with the TUC's proposal of local Corona Reconstruction and Recovery panels. This should include a link to and representation from the Coast to Capital LEP's new Employment and Skills Board (as proposed to be established by Coast to Capital).<sup>94</sup>

Some of these jobs are shovel-ready, others are not, and will require retraining. Sufficient education and skills delivery and funding (supported by national government, funded via local authorities) is needed to enable existing workers to be redeployed into new jobs. Such retraining and upskilling to shift employment to these new areas should be a focus for the Gatwick Diamond's adult education colleges – including Crawley College and East Surrey College - as well as for the proposed new (Green) Innovation Accelerator centre in Crawley / Manor Royal. But any commitment to embrace these new opportunities locally must be matched by a commitment from the Government to invest to create and sustain these jobs.

<sup>92</sup> See Footnote 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Airlines UK (2020) The Demand and Connectivity Impact of a 12 Month Air Passenger Duty Waiver. https://airlinesuk.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Airlines-UK Demand-and-Connectivity-Impact-of-a-12-Month-Air-Passenger-Duty-Waiver.pdf. Figures are scaled to Gatwick based on passenger data (see Footnote 38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Coast to Capital LEP (2018) Gatwick 360°: The Coast to Capital Strategic Economic Plan 2018-2030. https://www.coast2capital.org.uk/storage/downloads/coast to capital strategic economic plan 2018-2030 pdf-15 35099447.pdf

# Making it happen

This is just the outline of a proposal and an indication of the scale of opportunity and feasibility, to prompt discussion around Gatwick's future and the need for a new way forward - with workers and the community in the driving seat. Building on a similar consultation undertaken by Platform, engaging North Sea Oil Workers about the prospect for a Just Transition from oil to renewable energy jobs, 95 we envisage a process that enables airport workers to draft policy demands for a transition that works for them, and identify which of the jobs created by a Green New Deal they want to work in. We now welcome the opportunity to work with local stakeholders to take this plan further, and see a Green New Deal for Gatwick become a reality.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Platform, Friends of the Earth Scotland and Greenpeace UK (2020) OFFSHORE: Worker's views on industry conditions and the energy transition. <a href="https://foe.scot/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Oil-Gas-Workers-Report-Final.pdf">https://foe.scot/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Oil-Gas-Workers-Report-Final.pdf</a>

# **Annex 1 - Further tables**

Table A1. Green Jobs Potential for the Gatwick Diamond (10 year zero carbon plan)

	East Surrey		West Sussex		Total	
Sector	Transition	Long Term	Transition	Long Term	Transition	Long Term
Reuse & recycling	184	370	247	494	431	864
Municipal solid waste	64	129	86	172	150	301
Construction, commercial and industrial waste	768	1535	1532	3029	2300	4564
Transport	644	1253	607	1213	1251	2466
Local bus drivers and bus maintenance	333	668	322	563	655	1231
Railway and long distance bus operation and maintenance	644	1290	622	1240	1266	2530
Vehicle maintenance (net reduction in non-electric vehicles)	-350	-705	-337	-671	-687	-1376
Building retrofit	2796	380	2047	279	4843	659
Energy efficiency improvements	1199	see	877	see	2076	see
Solar thermal, PV and heat pumps	1597	total	total 1170 total 27	total	2768	total
Renewable energy	166	31	224	48	390	79
Onshore wind	107	28	166	43	273	71
Ground mounted PV	56	0	51	0	107	0
Training and Support	264	179	218	160	482	339
Total	4054	2213	3343	2194	7397	4407

Table A2. Unemployment and benefit claimant rates for the Gatwick Diamond, October 2020

County/District	Out of work benefits claimants (18-24)*	Out of work benefits claimants total	Unemployment rate total
<b>Surrey County</b>	6.2%	4.2%	3.1%
Mole Valley	6.6%	3.8%	2.3%
Reigate & Banstead	8.3%	4.3%	2.3%
Tandridge	8.6%	4.6%	2.8%
Epsom & Ewell	6.2%	4.0%	2.6%
West Sussex County	9.4%	5.5%	3.0%
Horsham	8.1%	4.3%	2.5%
Mid Sussex	6.9%	3.8%	2.3%
Crawley	12.9%	7.9%	4.1%
UK	9.4%	6.5%	3.9%

<sup>\*</sup> There is limited to no recent data on youth unemployment on a local authority level.

