



Citizens' Assembly
on Trade and Climate

Harnessing trade for climate action



“

We believe that trade policy offers a practical solution to address the climate crisis.

”

December 2024



The Assembly statement



We the Assembly believe that in the face of an existential climate crisis it is imperative that the UK harness all available trade policy tools to urgently mitigate its environmental impact and promote sustainable development.

The UK Government must show world leadership by collaborating with trade partners to develop and apply an approach to policy that is meaningful, balanced and viable.

Our expectation is that the actions of the UK Government will be transparent, binding and enforceable and

that it will hold itself and others accountable for benchmarking progress on international climate change responsibilities and maintaining commitments to net zero. The UK needs to embed support for UK industries and developing nations and international partners in efforts towards an equitable and just transition to a greener and healthier planet for all.

We believe that trade policy offers a practical solution to address the climate crisis and we feel strongly that the UK Government should use these recommendations to deliver material change.



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Introduction

In June 2024, Trade Justice Movement, Queen Mary University of London and MutualGain hosted the world's first Citizens' Assembly on Trade and Climate, bringing together 59 members of the public to explore how the UK Government should respond to climate change through its trade policies. The Assembly heard from experts, engaged in discussions, and developed principles and recommendations for the government. This comes at a critical time, as the UK is facing criticism for its lack of climate action, with the Climate Change Committee calling progress “worryingly slow” and the High Court ruling that the UK’s climate plan fails to meet legal standards. While there are calls for the UK to lead on green trade, key questions remain about what a Green Trade Strategy should focus on and how the public can be involved in shaping these policies.

The UK Government is not doing enough to tackle climate change. The Climate Change Committee has described the pace of climate action as “worryingly slow” and called on the government to “regain its international climate leadership”.¹ This view is backed up by the High Court, which in May 2024 found the UK’s climate plan failed to meet legal minimum standards.²

At the same time, increasing focus is being given to the overlap between climate policy and international trade policy. Everyone from government ministers, to the UK Board of Trade to civil society has made the case for the UK to show leadership on green trade.³ However, two vital questions remain unanswered.

Firstly, what kinds of policies should be prioritised in a Green Trade Strategy?

Trade policy is broad, encompassing everything from bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTA) to interactions with the World Trade Organisation. Trade rules shape what goods are traded, how much they cost and what standards they have to meet. They go further too, guiding how governments can

subsidise their domestic industries, the protections given to foreign investors, and how public bodies procure goods and services.

Secondly, what are the views of the UK public on this issue?

Trade and climate are complex policy areas, while the opacity around trade policy-making in the UK means ordinary people have little opportunity to influence the government’s position. Indeed, the UK’s lack of public consultation on the environmental impacts of the UK-Australia FTA has led to a formal complaint under the Aarhus Convention.⁴ This points to an urgent need for public discussion of the government’s priorities around trade and climate.

It is in this context that Trade Justice Movement, Queen Mary University of London and MutualGain convened the world’s first Citizens’ Assembly on Trade and Climate. This research project, which took place in June 2024, brought together 59 members of the UK public to consider the key question: **“How should the UK Government respond to climate change through its trade policies?”**. In doing so, the Assembly heard from a range of expert evidence-givers, engaged in discussion, and came up with a set of principles and detailed recommendations for the UK Government.

¹ <https://www.theccc.org.uk/publication/2023-progress-report-to-parliament/>

² <https://www.ft.com/content/f57e608b-f230-44c9-97f8-44c5c60f3ccb>

³ See, for example, https://www.wwf.org.uk/sites/default/files/2022-09/Labours-Roadmap-for-Green-Trade_v2.pdf; <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/leading-the-way-on-green-trade>; <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/board-of-trade-report-green-trade>

⁴ <https://greenallianceblog.org.uk/2023/05/23/whats-the-aarhus-convention-and-why-does-it-matter-that-the-uk-has-breached-it/>

1. Designing, funding and developing the Assembly

The project team

The Assembly was conceived by the Trade Justice Movement and Liam Campling, Professor of International Business and Development at Queen Mary University of London. Following a robust and competitive tendering process, MutualGain were selected as research partners.

The project team took a collaborative approach; each of the three partners played an active role in designing the research process, running the Assembly itself, and analysing the outcomes of the research.

The Assembly was possible due to the generous support of Queen Mary University of London's Impact Fund, [UNISON](#), the [Waterloo Foundation](#) and the [Samworth Foundation](#).

Why run a citizens' assembly?

The project team identified a citizens' assembly as the preferred method for engaging the public on the complex issue of the impact of trade policy on climate change.

A citizens' assembly is a diverse group of people brought together to learn, deliberate and discuss key issues, to reach informed conclusions about what actions or policies should be taken forward. This method enables participants to evaluate evidence from expert speakers representing a spectrum of perspectives and engage with the positive and negative aspects of different approaches. This process is designed to result in policy recommendations which reflect the collective knowledge, experience and considered views of a representative sample of the public.



Citizens' assemblies are an increasingly popular research method internationally. In the UK, high-profile citizens' assemblies have covered a range of complex topics, including climate change and Brexit.

A thorough literature review, conducted by the Trade Justice Movement in advance of the design of the Assembly, offered five main insights into the current state of public opinion on trade and climate issues:

- When asked in isolation, UK citizens will pick economic growth as the most important objective for UK trade policy.
- But when presented with specific trade-offs, people prioritise protecting the environment over stimulating economic growth through increased trade flows.
- People want 'fairness' to be a key tenet of how the UK approaches trade, and this extends to how trade impacts on the environment.
- In general, the UK public is very concerned about climate change and sees tackling this as much more important than maximising international trade opportunities.
- A relatable and tangible example of how the trading system and FTAs interact with the environment is through the possible reduction (or increase) of food standards.

Given these conclusions, the project team felt the research question for the Citizens' Assembly on Trade and Climate should focus on how the UK Government approaches trade. After consultation with the project Advisory Board, the final question was: "*How should the UK Government respond to climate change through its trade policies?*"

The structure and content of the Assembly was decided by the project team with the support of the Evidence Committee and the Advisory Board (see below).

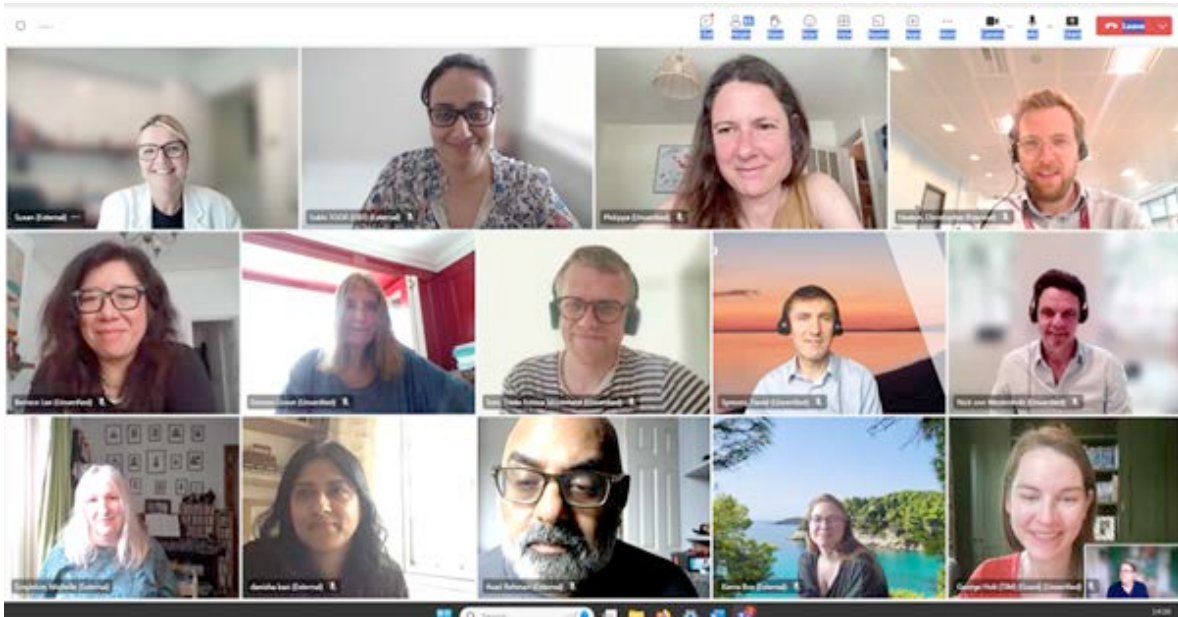
The Assembly was delivered over 9 sessions, conducted during weekends and weekday evenings in June 2024. It followed a logical structure designed to support the learning and comprehension of Assembly members, leading to rich discussions and a set of recommendations.

This included an introductory session during which Assembly members had the opportunity to hear from the project team, to share their initial observations and to learn about the process for the rest of the Assembly.

Subsequent learning sessions offered the Assembly the opportunity to hear presentations from a range of expert witnesses, to ask questions, and to discuss what they had learned. The project team decided to structure this phase around four 'trade policy tools': tariffs, standards, subsidies and public procurement. This approach ensured the Assembly was presented with a full range of potential policy interventions and negated the risk that the Assembly became excessively focused on a narrow sub-division of trade policy.

Finally, the Assembly met in-person for discussion and to agree the recommendations and summary statement.

2. Project governance and oversight



The Advisory Board's second meeting on 13 May 2024

The project team convened two governance bodies, an Advisory Board and an Evidence Committee, to support and oversee the project, ensuring the evidence presented to the Assembly was accurate and balanced.

Advisory Board

The Advisory Board functioned as the principal oversight body for the Assembly. This included duties such as refining the key research question, helping to make sure the information discussed by participants was accurate and balanced, and to help ensure the recommendations are considered by stakeholders and policymakers. It met three times over the course of the project to shape and approve the project team's approach to the research questions and sortition process, the evidence phase, and reporting and dissemination. In addition, a number of Advisory Board members attended the Assembly itself, either as expert evidence-givers or as observers.

The project team made a concerted effort to bring together an Advisory Board composed of trade and climate experts drawn from a

variety of experiences and perspectives, from civil servants and representatives of business to climate and social justice campaigners and union officials.

Members of the Advisory Board:

- **Jeremy Anderson**, Director of Just Transition and Sustainable Transport, International Transport Workers' Federation
- **Kierra Box**, Lead on Trade and Environmental Regulation, Friends of the Earth
- **Doreen Grove**, Head of Open Government, Scottish Government
- **Chris Heaton**, Deputy Director of Trade Policy and Negotiations, Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs
- **Danisha Kazi**, Senior Economist, Positive Money
- **Tania Kumar**, Net Zero Director, Confederation of British Industry
- **Bernice Lee**, Research Director, Chatham House
- **Philippa Nuttall**, Deputy Editor of Sustainable Views, Financial Times

- **Asad Rehman**, Director, War on Want
- **George Riddell**, Trade Strategy Director, EY
- **Liz Snape**, Assistant General Secretary, UNISON
- **Chris Southworth**, Secretary General, International Chamber of Commerce
- **David Symons**, Director, Aldersgate Group; Future Ready Global Lead, WSP
- **Sukhi Toor**, Head of Multilateral Green Trade Policy, Department of Business and Trade
- **Nick von Westenholz**, Director of Strategy, National Farmers' Union

There were three formal Advisory Board online meetings of 1.5 hours on 4 March, 13 May and 15 July 2024. Each meeting was quorate. An optional meeting was held on 25 March to discuss case study selection for the learning phase in more detail. Meeting minutes were circulated to Board members after each meeting and the project team reported via email on their responses to Board recommendations and provided project updates.

Evidence Committee

The Evidence Committee was convened to provide support to the project team in ensuring Assembly members were presented with accurate, accessible information representing a diversity of perspectives. They are experts with a deep subject knowledge of international trade and climate change.

Members of the Evidence Committee:

- **Ruth Bergan**, Head of Policy and Advocacy, Transform Trade
- **Maddie Harris**, Senior Evidence Specialist, Joint Nature Conservation Committee
- **James Harrison**, Professor of International Economic Law, University of Warwick
- **Luke Maxfield**, Senior Analyst, Carbon Budgets Team, Climate Change Commission
- **Ludivine Petetin**, Reader in Law, Cardiff University

Assembly methodology

In designing the Assembly, the project team adhered to industry-leading standards, amalgamating the OECD's eleven 'good practice' principles for deliberative processes with the standards for citizens' assemblies created by UK public participation charity [Involve](#) along with practitioners in the field. This resulted in ten criteria: clear purpose, sufficient time, representative, inclusive, independent, transparent, balanced information provision, structured deliberation, collective decision-making and skilled facilitation. How these criteria were met is described in greater depth below:

1. Clear purpose

The overarching question was initially framed by the project team as "*How should the UK Government respond to the climate crisis through trade policy?*". This was reviewed by the Advisory Board, which recommended the use of more neutral language, avoiding activist framings which might have alienated some Assembly members. This resulted in a simple and focused overarching question - "*How should the UK Government respond to climate change through its trade policies?*".

Initially, the project team proposed structuring the learning phase of the project around the experience of the consumer, via relatable topics such as food, electric cars and heating the home. However, to ensure the recommendations were comprehensive and directly addressed the core research question, the Advisory Board advised structuring the learning phase around the trade policy tools which could be used to address climate change. This emphasis on policy tools (tariffs, standards, subsidies and public procurement) rather than sectors or products ensured the Assembly engaged with the broad scope and potential of trade policy.

The research question and overarching purpose of the Assembly was clearly

communicated to participants at the start of every session to ensure Assembly members understood the focus on policy tools.

2. Sufficient time

Participants spent a total of 35 hours in the Assembly, with 21 hours dedicated to the learning phase where they heard from [experts in trade and climate issues](#). This phase took place in seven three-hour sessions spread over ten days to allow Assembly members time for reflection and the opportunity to carry out their own research.

3. Representative

The Assembly was representative of the wider UK population. To select Assembly members, the project team contracted the [Sortition Foundation](#), a not-for-profit social enterprise which specialises in supporting citizens' assemblies with recruitment, and uses a gold standard, two stage, [random selection methodology](#) to ensure a fair and representative recruitment process.⁶ A total of 21,000 invitations were sent out, resulting in 336 expressions of interest. Random stratified sampling was used to select a cohort of 70 individuals which mirrored the UK population, both in terms of demographics (gender, age, ethnicity, education, occupation, and UK region) and attitude (level of interest in trade and level of concern about climate change, based on government data).

In the course of the selection and organisation ten individuals dropped out due to changes in their availability and personal circumstances. One further participant had to withdraw after the learning phase, resulting in a final total of 59 participants. The final demographic breakdown, illustrating the representativeness of the assembly, is detailed in Annex 1.

4. Inclusive

The learning phase of the Assembly was delivered online, with the deliberation and recommendation phases held in-person.

MutualGain ensured the process was digitally inclusive by providing Chromebooks to those participants without a laptop or tablet. MutualGain also offered one-to-one support to participants, including home testing of the equipment, in-person training for using it, and further testing sessions in advance of the go-live date to ensure all participants were ready to participate. During each session, a dedicated member of staff and a separate phone line were available to provide support.

In addition to technological support, each participant received a £500 payment at the end of the Assembly. This was offered to encourage broad participation and ensure Assembly members were compensated for their time and efforts. Travel to the in-person sessions was covered by the project, and accommodation was provided by Queen Mary University of London.

The support provided before and during the Assembly included putting measures in place to support those participants for whom mental and physical health provided a barrier to participation. The team was then able to take steps to ensure inclusion, for example by allowing some participants to join the final in-person weekend online.

This comprehensive support system helped to create an inclusive Assembly to which all members could meaningfully contribute.

5. Independent

The project team gave significant consideration to ensuring the research was independent. The Assembly was overseen by an independent [Advisory Board](#) composed of 16 individuals drawn from a range of sectors. The insights of the Advisory Board directly shaped the Assembly question and overall design of the learning phase. It also took the responsibility of ensuring that evidence-givers reflected a broad spectrum of political views and experiences. Following each Advisory Board meeting the project team shared detailed minutes setting out actions and next steps.



Similarly, the [Evidence Committee](#) provided balanced advice on which evidence to use, the identification of evidence-givers, and the overall pedagogical design of the learning phase. The Assembly benefitted in particular from the involvement of officials from two statutory advisory bodies to the UK Government and devolved administrations: the Climate Change Committee and the The Joint Nature Conservation Committee.

The independence of the Assembly was also bolstered by the involvement of MutualGain, chosen to facilitate the Assembly. As a specialised provider of assemblies and deliberative processes, MutualGain has not taken a position on issues relating to trade and climate change. This impartiality was vital in reassuring participants that the process was unbiased.

Additional measures to ensure independence included transparent procedures for selecting participants and public documentation of the Assembly's processes and funding sources.

Collectively, these steps reinforced the neutrality and credibility of the Assembly.

6. Transparent

Project details, including partners, funding sources, Advisory Board membership, and methodology were publicly available on [the project website](#), hosted by Queen Mary University of London, throughout the project. Since the conclusion of the project the website has been updated to include the video evidence and Assembly recommendations.

7. Balanced information provision

The Advisory Board and Evidence Committee guided the project team in who to invite to provide evidence. Participants heard from a range of experts who were each asked to provide a short film in which they addressed different aspects of the research question, weaving in their experience and knowledge. The films were reviewed and compiled by the project team, resulting in a final [29 short videos which were made available to participants](#). A number of evidence-givers were also able to attend sessions in person, allowing participants to ask them questions directly.

8. Structured deliberation

The deliberation process of the Assembly was structured to ensure a rich and inclusive discussion. Throughout the learning phase, the discussion was captured using Zoom recordings from both the main sessions and small group break-outs. The research team transcribed these recordings and used AI tools to identify key thematic positions, noting areas of convergence and divergence among participants. These findings were reviewed with facilitators and developed into a resource for participants to read and reflect upon as they embarked upon the recommendation-setting process.

Participants brought their reflections to small facilitated groups, and the summary of the learning phase was repeated during a role-play scenario in which members of the project team responded to various trade-offs as if they were policy-makers.

This preparation ensured that participants entered the deliberation phase well-informed and ready to engage in meaningful discussions, ultimately leading to well-rounded and actionable recommendations.

9. Collective decision-making

The final nine hours of the Assembly were dedicated to decision-making. This was held in-person to maximise engagement and discussion.

The collective decision-making process involved the Assembly members submitting draft recommendations, discussing them in groups, voting on their favourites, and working to refine recommendations. Each of the four policy tools (tariffs, standards, subsidies and procurement) was examined by at least two small groups, meaning further discussion and collective decision-making was required to merge and refine recommendations.

The process of deciding recommendations was designed to emulate the processes at the World Trade Organisation. Each small group nominated a representative to visit other groups, identifying opportunities for merging recommendations or negotiating differences. This approach not only facilitated consensus-building but also mirrored real-world trade negotiations, providing a practical and engaging experience for participants. By structuring the final phase in this way, the Assembly ensured that the recommendations were thoroughly reviewed and collaboratively developed.

10. Skilled facilitation

MutualGain provided a lead facilitator, who developed the sessions with the project team, as well as a team of trained and experienced facilitators. Facilitators were responsible for ensuring that discussions were productive and inclusive, guiding participants through complex topics and helping them to articulate their views effectively. The facilitators' expertise created a supportive environment where participants felt comfortable expressing their opinions and engaging in meaningful deliberations.

In each break-out session, whether online or in-person, each facilitator was supported by a scribe who would type into shared Miro boards or write on large sheets which were pinned on display boards. This careful facilitation was particularly important in this Assembly as views were diverse and at times strongly at odds. By employing experienced professionals, the Assembly maintained a high standard of facilitation, ensuring that all voices were heard and that the collective decision-making process was fair and efficient.



3. Structure of the Assembly

The Assembly process lasted a total of 35 hours, split across 9 sessions. In addition, participants were given a small number of homework tasks.

The learning phase consisted of online discussions held on Zoom. Evidence was provided to the main group with time for exploration of facts and clarifications before breaking off into small group discussions in parallel breakout rooms. Each small group was supported by a facilitator to guide discussion and a scribe who recorded written summaries on the online collaboration platform Miro for participants to see and amend. The project team worked with evidence-givers to ensure videos were accessible and concise. This was guided by rules set by the Advisory Board and the Evidence Committee for sharing information with Assembly members:

1. Make the information easy to understand.
2. Personalise information to make it relatable for Assembly members.
3. Make sure everyone knows exactly what information is being included and excluded.
4. Stay focused and consistent on the trade policy options.
5. Make sure Assembly members can easily see the pros and cons of each option.

During the in-person deliberation phase, the format consisted again of a mix of plenary sessions and breakout sessions consisting of eight tables, each with a facilitator and a scribe to capture handwritten summaries. A ninth online-only group of participants was supported by a facilitator and scribe and interacted with the main group in real time using a large screen for all to see.

The Assembly at a glance

Session	Date	Content
1	15 June (9.30pm- 12.30pm)	Welcome and introduction to the project
<i>Learning phase</i>		
2	15 June (1.30pm-4.30pm)	An introduction to international trade
3	16 June (9.30pm-12.30pm)	International trade and climate change
4	16 June (1.30pm-4.30pm)	How does the UK approach trade?
5	18 June (6pm - 9pm)	'At the border' standards on trading goods
6	20 June (6pm - 9pm)	'At the border' measures, subsidies and green goods
7	25 June (6pm - 9pm)	Subsidies, public procurement and decarbonisation
<i>Deliberation phase</i>		
8	29 June (9am - 4pm)	Deliberation and develop assessment criteria
9	30 June (9am - 1pm)	Review and present recommendations

Session 1

Session 1 provided an opportunity for Assembly members to get to know each other, share recent news articles on trade and climate change, and ask questions of clarification and comprehension about terminology in the welcome pack and pre-read materials.

Introducing international trade and climate change (Sessions 2, 3 and 4)

These sessions offered Assembly members the opportunity to hear from an initial set of experts with deep knowledge of international trade from different perspectives, who were able to provide high-level overviews of trade policy and its interrelation with the climate agenda.

Session 2

Title	Speaker
2.1 A basic introduction to international trade	Professor Alan Winters, University of Sussex
2.1 A business perspective on international trade	Chris Southworth, Secretary General, International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) UK
2.1 Fairness in the international trade system	Ruth Bergan, Head of Policy and Advocacy, Transform Trade
2.2. The winners and losers of international trade	Professor Alan Winters, University of Sussex & Chris Southworth, ICC
2.2. How trade impacts workers	Rosa Crawford, Policy Officer, Trades Union Congress (TUC)
2.3. Wider impacts of trade and trade policy	Ruth Bergan, Transform Trade and Chris Southworth, ICC
2.4. How are international trade rules made?	Professor Emily Jones, Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford

Session 3⁶

Title	Speaker
3.1. Trade and emissions: Part one	Kierra Box, Friends of the Earth
3.2. Trade and emissions: Part two	Chris West, Senior Research Fellow, York Centre of the Stockholm Environment Institute
3.3. Introduction to trade policy and climate change	George Riddell, Trade Strategy Director, EY Rob Davies, former South African Minister for Trade and Industry Jennifer Hillman, Professor from Practice, Center on Inclusive Trade and Development, Georgetown University Law Center
3.4. What are some of the trade policy options for fighting climate change?	Rob Davies and Jennifer Hillman

⁶ The UK General Election was announced on 22 May 2024, to take place on 4 July 2024. The rules around the actions of public bodies in the pre-election period prevented the Climate Change Committee (CCC) and the Joint Nature Conservation Committee (JNCC) from giving evidence; Kierra Box, Friends of the Earth and Chris West, York Centre of the Stockholm Environment Institute, stepped in to present their otherwise unchanged evidence.

Session 4: How does the UK approach trade policy?

Title	Speaker
4.1 How does the UK approach trade?	Greg Messenger, Professor of Trade Law & Policy, University of Bristol Law School

Trade policy tools to mitigate climate change (Sessions 5, 6 and 7)

Session 5: 'At the border' measures

Title	Speaker
5.1 Trade policy tools - Options for combating climate change	Jennifer Hillman, Professor from Practice and Co-Director of Center on Inclusive Trade and Development, Georgetown University Law Center
5.2 A Unilateral trade policy measure: core environmental standards	Jack Simpson, Senior Trade Policy Advisor, WWF UK
5.3 The impact of unilateral policy measures on developing countries	Ranja Sengupta, Senior Researcher, Third World Network Vicente Paolo Yu, International Lawyer and Independent Consultant
5.4 What is a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM)?	James Harrison, Professor of International Economic Law, University of Warwick
5.5 Perspectives on the impact of a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism	Faten Aggad, Director, African Future Policies Hub Sarah Williams, Head of Strategic Partnerships, Green Alliance

Session 6: Trade policy tools, including subsidies

Title	Speaker
6.1 Tariffs and the trade in green goods	Dmitry Grozoubinski, Executive Director, Geneva Trade Platform
6.2 Tariffs and the UK auto industry	David Bailey, Professor of Business Economics, Birmingham Business School
6.3 Subsidies and 'green goods': Challenges for the UK and the transition to electric vehicles	David Bailey, Professor of Business Economics, Birmingham Business School
6.4 Fossil fuel subsidies in trade agreements	Jonny Peters, Chief of Staff, E3G
6.5 Fossil fuel subsidies in the UK, and reform efforts at the WTO	Peter Wooders, sustainable energy expert

Session 7: Trade policy tools, including public procurement

Title	Speaker
7.1 Energy subsidies and the case for subsidising renewables	Katherine Quinn, Institute for Sustainability Leadership, University of Cambridge
7.2 Subsidies to new renewable energy - an industry view	Adam Berman, Deputy Policy Director, Energy UK
7.3 Subsidies to new renewable energy industries	Jake Molloy, RMT Offshore Energy Branch
7.4 Introduction to procurement as a trade tool	Jennifer Hillman, Georgetown University Law Center David Symonds, Future Ready Global Lead, WSP
7.5 Using subsidies and procurement to green UK homes	Juliet Phillips, Energy Lead, E3G
7.6. What trade policies are the Biden Administration using to combat climate change?	Isabel Estevez, Deputy Director of Industrial Policy and Trade, the Roosevelt Institute
7.7 How procurement works and options for greener choices	David Symonds, Future Ready Global Lead, WSP
7.8 Circular economy and the trading system	Jack Barrie, Senior Research Fellow, Environment and Society Centre, Chatham House
7.9. Other international trade policy tools: ISDS (Investor-State Dispute Settlement)	Tom Wills, Director, Trade Justice Movement

Speakers



Professor Alan Winters,
University of Sussex



Chris Southworth,
Secretary General,
International Chamber
of Commerce (ICC) UK



Ruth Bergan,
Head of Policy and
Advocacy,
Transform Trade



Rosa Crawford,
Policy Officer,
Trades Union Congress
(TUC)



Professor Emily Jones,
Blavatnik School of
Government,
University of Oxford



Kierra Box,
Lead on Trade and
Environmental
Regulation,
Friends of the Earth



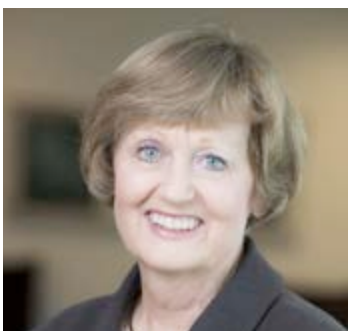
Chris West,
Senior Research Fellow,
York Centre of the
Stockholm Environment
Institute



George Riddell,
Trade Strategy Director,
EY



Rob Davies,
former South African
Minister for Trade
and Industry



Professor Jennifer
Hillman, Center
on Inclusive Trade
and Development,
Georgetown University
Law Center



Greg Messenger,
Professor of Trade Law
& Policy, University of
Bristol Law School



Jack Simpson,
Senior Trade Policy
Advisor, WWF UK



Ranja Sengupta,
Senior Researcher,
Third World Network



Vicente Paolo Yu,
International Lawyer and
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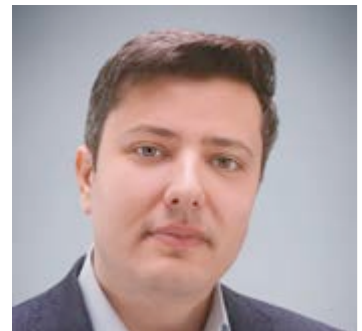
James Harrison,
Professor of International
Economic Law, University
of Warwick



Faten Aggad,
Director,
African Future Policies
Hub



Sarah Williams,
Head of Strategic
Partnerships,
Green Alliance



Dmitry Grozoubinski,
Executive Director,
Geneva Trade Platform



David Bailey,
Professor of Business
Economics, Birmingham
Business School



Jonny Peters,
Chief of Staff, E3G



Peter Wooders,
sustainable energy expert



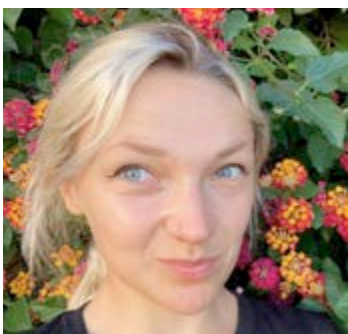
Katherine Quinn,
Institute for Sustainability
Leadership, University of
Cambridge



Adam Berman,
Deputy Policy Director,
Energy UK



Jake Molloy,
RMT Offshore Energy
Branch



Juliet Phillips,
Energy Lead, E3G



Isabel Estevez,
Deputy Director of
Industrial Policy and
Trade, the Roosevelt
Institute



David Symons,
Future Ready Global Lead,
WSP



Jack Barrie,
Senior Research Fellow,
Environment and Society
Centre, Chatham House



Tom Wills,
Director, Trade Justice
Movement

4. Findings

A note on the analytical methodology

This part of the report uses thematic analysis to systematically summarise participants' discussions in the learning phase of the Assembly, and to draw out insights and cross-session themes.

The source data for this analysis was collected during each session of the Assembly, and was recorded in four different forms:

1. Facilitated breakout room

discussions: Most of the transcripts analysed are from breakout room discussions. These were the main opportunity for Assembly members to discuss the expert evidence and express their views. Breakout room discussions usually occurred directly after expert video evidence was presented to the Assembly. Assembly members were assigned into eight different breakout rooms composed of 7-8 members, a facilitator and a scribe, and lasting 8-15 minutes. Participants were given prompting questions before they went into the breakout rooms. Trained facilitators ensured all participants had the opportunity to speak and that conversations stayed on topic.

2. Miro boards: To complement these discussions visually, scribes made notes on 'boards' accessed via the virtual collaboration platform Miro. Scribes documented key insights, emerging themes, and any outstanding questions on the Miro boards, allowing for transparent tracking of conversations and a shared reference point for all participants. This proved an interactive and accessible method for organising and reviewing the content of discussions throughout the Assembly.

3. Main group discussions: Some of the transcripts analysed are from 'main group' discussions. These were discussions that

occurred in the main group of the Zoom call with all 59 participants, eight facilitators, the project team and sometimes guest speakers. Some discussions were moments of reflection, during which Assembly members voiced their responses to the Assembly and the expert evidence. Other discussions were part of 'teaching moments', where the project team would open up the floor to participants' questions. A third category was Q&A sessions with guest speakers who joined the session following the presentation of their own pre-recorded evidence, giving Assembly members the opportunity to ask clarifying questions or press speakers further.

4. Zoom chat discussion: Some discussions took place over the Zoom 'chat' function. This was open to all Assembly members to post questions and reflections. This was helpful in allowing Assembly members to ask quick questions, add their reflections during busy moments and contribute when they were less comfortable speaking into the mic. The chat was widely used throughout all of the sessions, to contribute, clarify and share resources.

Transcripts of a small number of individual breakout room discussions were not recorded due to technical errors. This gap was mitigated by the availability of facilitator summaries and the Miro boards from the discussions in question.

Participants are not named for reasons of identity protection. Instead, each person is assigned an individual code from #1 onwards. Note that we reference more than the final #59 participants because of the attrition of participants through the process. The unique number identifier is followed by session number/group number/breakout number.

For example, if person #1 made a comment in session 1, group 1, breakout discussion 1, then the reference reads #1 1.1.1. Occasionally, the participant speaking cannot be identified from the transcript, in which case the identifier becomes a generic X; however, the location of the transcript data is still referenced, e.g. #X,1.1.1.

Over the course of the learning phase, the knowledge and understanding of participants was built up considerably. This progression was reflected in the quality of discussions between participants, the detail and acuity of the questions they were asking, and the movement away from questions about definitions towards discussion around policy detail.

Over the course of the learning phase, analysis reveals six key themes of discussion, many of which were reflected in the eventual recommendations and Assembly statement.

1. Trade policy is complex; addressing climate change through trade increases that complexity further

In sessions 1-4, expressions of confusion at the content of the Assembly were frequent amongst discussions and even blocked some participants from contributing (#45 2.1.1, #35 2.1.1, #57 2.1.3, #13 2.1.3). Participants frequently sought clarification on technical terms after viewing video evidence (#47 2.1.1, #28 2.8.1, #23 2.8.1, #54 2.1.1). Many participants also demonstrated misconceptions about trade and climate, such as the popular notion that international trade is more harmful than domestic supply because of the GHG emissions associated with the transportation of goods (#35 3.2.1, #5 3.MG1, #37 3.MG1, #16 3.4.1).

Many participants vocalised that trade was a complex topic:

“ You’d need degrees to understand what’s going on with the World Trade Organisation. We question it. I don’t know if it’s particularly a question. It’s so confusing, everything that I’m learning. ” (#45 2.1.2)

“ But it seems that it’s so complex, where do you start? I don’t think we’ve even touched the tip of the iceberg on where we should start... where do we start? ” (3.6.1)

Participants noted that trade policy involves numerous competing priorities. The growing awareness that other countries have competing and sometimes contradictory agendas only increased this complexity. Some expressed concern that integrating climate change initiatives into this already complex process could be challenging. They emphasised how difficult it is to address climate change within the crowded and complicated landscape of trade policy (#20 2.2.2). At this early stage some participants were sceptical that it was possible for the Assembly to come up with any workable recommendation (#12 3.MG1, #24 3.2.2, X 3.6.1, X 3.6.1, #51 3.MG1):

“ I’m just wondering how on earth we can sort of make a recommendation when it seems like every rule has an exception. Everything is just so much more complicated than it would appear in terms of what’s the more environmentally-friendly thing to do. ” (#12 3.MG1)

However, sessions saw a constant stream of useful and insightful questions about trade and the ways that climate change initiatives could be integrated into trade policy. Assembly members consistently showed a desire to grasp and engage with the content necessary



What must we remember?

RULES + REGULATIONS

GOVERNMENT TRANSPARENCY

Net Zero

Bilateral Trade Partnerships (Climate-Test)
- Learning example -
what/when/why

What are the...
What are the...
What are the...

What are the...
What are the...
What are the...

What must be...
What must be...
What must be...

What other sign...
What other sign...
What other sign...

N. B. EU...
N. B. EU...
N. B. EU...

to answer the question at hand. This only strengthened throughout, as participants became more equipped with the information needed to produce recommendations.

2. Greater urgency is needed in responding to the climate crisis

The need for urgent action to combat climate change was a sentiment expressed by many Assembly members. It was present from Session 1 and remained a constant throughout the Assembly. Many participants expressed that they believed climate change to be an existential threat and that the time for substantive action 'is running out' (#16 S6 Chat, X 3.6.1). Many participants expressed concern that the UK, other countries and international institutions are not responding sufficiently quickly, nor placing enough priority on combating climate change through trade policy, and that they wished to see more urgent action (#3 2.3.2, X 2.3.3, X 3.1.1).

After reviewing evidence on the current landscape of international trade, the discussions amongst Assembly members turned to identifying places where they thought the current international trade regime fell short in combating the current climate crisis with the urgency required. Some Assembly members expressed that the international trade system, and in particular the WTO, had processes which are too slow and complex to address the urgent threat of climate change (X 3.4.2, X2.5.2, #3 2.3.2; #44 2.2.2, X 2.3.3).

Other Assembly members attributed a lack of urgency as a problem of priorities in UK trade policy. Many identified the primary objective of the UK and other countries' trade policy as 'chasing profits often to the detriment of environmental policy' (X 2.3.1, #14 2.3.1, #20 2.2.2, #53 6.3.1). Others went further and said this was a wider problem of the international trade system and that WTO rules uphold free

trade and economic growth over all other priorities (#41 2.2.1, #10 2.8.1). Assembly members were shocked that trade rules at the WTO hadn't been updated for 30 years (#9 2.2.2). Some suggested that these rules, which may have been fit-for-purpose 30 years ago, did not adequately align with initiatives to combat climate change today (#5 2.3.1).

Assembly members suggested that the UK needs to reorder its priorities in trade policy to reflect the priorities of the contemporary imminent crisis of climate change, with climate change having great weight in UK policy. There were also calls on the UK to engage in international cooperation to ensure more urgent and meaningful action (#14 3.MG1, #26 2.3.2):

“ Things [haven't] changed for 30 years and even longer. This climate change is happening so quickly. We really need to get on with changing something. ” (#14 3.MG1)

3. There are inherent trade-offs within trade and climate policy and a range of policy tools should be used

The Assembly initially responded receptively to the potential of using individual trade tools to combat the climate crisis. However, it was also quick to identify their shortcomings. Many expressed that it was imperative for the UK Government to use a range of policy tools to address climate change, a sentiment later expressed in the Assembly's guiding statement: 'We the Assembly believe that in the face of an existential climate crisis it is imperative that the UK harness all available trade policy tools to urgently mitigate its environmental impact and promote sustainable development'. While it was generally agreed that climate should be a priority for trade policy, many suggested the

tools should be used intelligently in a way that 'balances' priorities by considering trade-offs (#31 5.1.1, #60 5.5.1, #16 5.chat, #62 5.5.1).

Assembly members often gravitated towards discussing broad ideas rather than technical detail, and were usually more favourable to ideas that seemed to support the priorities of all interest groups and that did not recognise the inherent tensions among these interests. In other cases, Assembly members articulated very effectively the trade offs between interest groups. Discussions sometimes encountered contradictions and inherent tensions. For example, many participants favoured international collaboration and the provision of support to developing countries in trade-climate policies. While others took a more isolationist turn, such as supporting UK industry by raising tariffs and ensuring government procurement prioritised domestic production.

4. International collaboration is vital

A consistent cross-session theme was that responding to climate change is a global effort that requires collaboration between governments, businesses and other communities (X 2.8.2, #60 5.5.1). Many Assembly members highlighted that active fostering of international collaboration should be an important feature of UK trade policy.

Assembly members identified tensions in trade policy and climate change early on (from Session 2 onwards), and that action to combat climate change required the cooperation of many parties with different agendas. Many members expressed that combating climate change won't work 'on a region-by-region basis', rather it had to be a 'joint effort' involving international collaboration from governments and businesses on trade agreements and global agreements on standards and trade practices (#5 2.3.1, #24 3.2.2, #2 3.8.2, #5 5.6.1, #48 3.2.1). Assembly members recognised that this would only

work if governments were on the same page and were serious about holding themselves and each other accountable, and that this would require some commercial interests to be sacrificed in the interests of the greater good such as the removal or phasing out of the Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism, which the Assembly felt undermined some governments' attempts to pursue environmental policy.

Many participants supported the introduction of greener standards on goods but recognised that these required wide sign-up of countries to be effective. The Assembly reflected that the UK needs to invest in developing countries or provide subsidies to support developing country exporters in meeting climate-related standards (X 3.8.2, #55 5.1.1).

5. Fairness should be a key consideration when addressing climate change

Fairness was a constant theme in Assembly discussions, with a focus on who bears what share of the responsibility for climate change and who should pick up the cost of trade and climate initiatives. For example, the Assembly was acutely aware that imposing higher tariffs and providing more generous subsidies could result in higher consumer prices and costs to the taxpayer (#8 S6 Plenary, #18 3.5.4).

Some members said they were happy to 'make sacrifices' and bear the slight increase in costs to the consumer if it meant combating climate change (#56 3.1.1, #40 5.1.1). Others were quick to point out that poorer parts of the country may not be able to bear the brunt of increasing costs (#18 3.5.4). For example, when many in Session 7 supported the idea that fossil fuel subsidies should be phased out more quickly and redirected to renewable energy companies, other Assembly members pointed out that there could be a cost for the least wealthy in society and that a transition should take that into account (#37 6.2.1).



In Session 5, while there was general support for upholding high standards on carbon leakage and the introduction of a CBAM, many pointed out that it was unreasonable to penalise developing countries for failing to meet the highest green standards (5.7.1, X 3.7.1). A suggested compromise was to provide support and investment in developing countries to comply with CBAM requirements (#52 5.7.1, #43 5.8.1, #37 5.8.1, #3 5.8.1, #57 5.MG, #25 5.8.1, #55 5.1.1), such as ringfencing CBAM revenues to be used in providing investment and support to developing countries (#52 5.7.1, #25 5.8.1, #2 5.4.1). Assembly members pointed to the UK's historical position of power, as a developed country which has already undergone industrial transformation, and called on the UK to bear responsibility and help developing countries through the global transition (X 5.7.1, #47 5.8.1, #37 5.8.1).

6. The UK should develop green industries

An important focus for the Assembly was considering the role of UK industry in responding to climate change. This included asking how trade policy tools could be used to support a green transition in UK industry. Assembly members took a long-term perspective, recognising that trade policy decisions taken now can shape the green transition for UK workers and communities in the years to come.

The Assembly explored trade and industrial policy in relation to the manufacture of EVs and the transition to renewable energy sources. A significant portion of the Assembly felt that trade tools should be used to support UK manufacturing to develop green industries and domesticate the supply chains of renewable energy production. Explicit motivations for these types of policies included retaining and creating UK jobs, and reducing reliance on foreign sources of energy and strategic technologies. Assembly members also resonated with the idea of a 'just transition' and engaged with ideas such as the reskilling of workers.

5. Recommendations and the Assembly statement

Assembly members were brought together at Queen Mary University of London for the final phase of the Assembly, focused on providing the opportunities for the Assembly to deliberate on and agree recommendations face-to-face. This was an effective way of facilitating rich and complex discussion and compromise, which might have been more challenging online.

The Assembly was split into eight groups, with two working on recommendations relating to each policy tool. This resulted in a range of detailed recommendations which were then cross-referenced against each other to create a set of non-duplicative and mutually compatible recommendations, which were then refined further and subject to an approval vote by the whole Assembly. The Assembly agreed that any recommendation receiving

the approval of 80% or more of the Assembly members would be taken forward.

In advance of the final session the project team reflected that the emerging recommendations, while engaging successfully with the research question, did not provide an accessible summary of the general position of the Assembly. Therefore, each of the eight groups was asked to nominate a representative to work on an 'Assembly statement' – a passage which expressed the broad position of the Assembly on how UK trade policy should engage with climate change, and which could be used as an introduction to the list of recommendations. This statement was then presented to the entire Assembly, discussed and approved via the approval of 80% of the Assembly members.



Assembly statement



We the Assembly believe that in the face of an existential climate crisis it is imperative that the UK harness all available trade policy tools to urgently mitigate its environmental impact and promote sustainable development.

The UK Government must show world leadership by collaborating with trade partners to develop and apply an approach to policy that is meaningful, balanced and viable.

Our expectation is that the actions of the UK Government will be transparent, binding and enforceable and

that it will hold itself and others accountable for benchmarking progress on international climate change responsibilities and maintaining commitments to net zero. The UK needs to embed support for UK industries and developing nations and international partners in efforts towards an equitable and just transition to a greener and healthier planet for all.

We believe that trade policy offers a practical solution to address the climate crisis and we feel strongly that the UK Government should use these recommendations to deliver material change.



Assembly recommendations

Tariffs, quotas and trade agreements

1. Adopt red line conditions on climate in new free trade agreement negotiations:
 - a. Environmental standards must be agreed to prior to opening any negotiations.
 - b. There is no provision for ISDS.

On this basis, preferential market access should be provided for:

- a. Goods with low carbon manufacture or reparability (product lifecycle).
 - b. Goods with minimal or no impact on the environment.
2. The UK Government shall review and assess the impact of ISDS in existing trade agreements with a view to ensuring that it does not undermine international climate change commitments.
 - a. As a first step our expectation is that no new ISDS treaties will be entered into if they negatively impact on our domestic and international climate goals.
 - b. As a second step the government should work with our OECD partners to develop a waiver on ISDS-related treaties.
 - c. We would also like to see an alternative dispute resolution mechanism in respect of trade provisions that would undermine trading partner climate obligations.
 3. The UK should have a set of environmental red lines it asks new trading partners to sign up to, and engage with existing trading partners to tighten existing environmental chapters. The red lines will include a binding commitment to the Paris Agreement and working towards net zero. The UK should work with trading partners to produce a common definition

of green goods and a measurement system of environmental impact.

4. Implement a greenhouse gas tariff based on the lifetime emissions of a product or service The tariff will:
 - a. Be implemented on greenhouse gas-intensive products first, and later on all goods (with exceptions on environmental or strategic need).
 - b. Be escalated over time if greenhouse gas targets are not met and reduced if targets are if met or exceeded.
 - c. Have a significant percentage remitted to least developed countries to assist in the green transition (with robust safeguards). This complements environmental standards.
5. No tariffs on goods important to the green transition with strategic and industrial exceptions. Through industrial strategy to grow and protect through tariffs prioritising the green transition In all other cases remove tariffs on goods important to the green transition. This sits alongside the recommendation relating to greenhouse gas tariffs.

Subsidies

6. Redirect fossil fuel subsidies for renewable energy development within companies by 2035:
 - a. 3rd party NGO to review annually.
 - b. Tax break for hitting targets.
 - c. Tax increase for not hitting targets.
 - d. Target for renewables is 80%.
7. Redirect current UK Government fossil fuels subsidies to support green tech and companies engaged in R&D. We propose that the UK Government redirect fossil fuel subsidies to the following three avenues:
 - a. Subsidising the consumer by supporting the poorest households in the UK via means-tested household grants.

- b. Subsidising UK companies leading in green tech to drive innovation within the UK by:
 - i. Harnessing the existing expertise and success in producing wind and tidal energy for increased economic activity in the UK.
 - ii. Reskilling the UK workforce and allowing skilled workforce from the fossil fuel industries to be retrained and redirected into renewable energy companies.
 - c. Collaborating with foreign companies by subsidising new R&D initiatives to take place in the UK fostering innovation and development in strategic industries.
8. The government should subsidise domestic EV infrastructure manufacturers to facilitate the roll out of a UK wide EU network by 2035. Subsidies to be paid to charging point manufacturers. Local authorities should allocate areas of need for charging network, with the goal of providing charging point access to 80% of the road network. Possible source of income is CBAMs.
 9. The government should offer a consumer subsidy on electric vehicles that are sourced domestically or from a UK trading partner. New buyers will be limited to one car per person. Owners of internal combustion engine cars will be offered a part-exchange on existing vehicles. Owners of electric vehicles will be offered a reduced subsidy, decided with the DVLA and capped.
- c. Prioritising sourcing in the UK.
 - d. Creating a specialist government committee to scrutinise and advise, set targets, provide expertise and streamline decision making.
11. Government purchases should be transparent and published in the public domain. Key points:
 - a. The procurement decision-making criteria and decisions should be transparent.
 - b. There should be transparency about the green standards being applied in invitations to tender.
 - c. The carbon footprint of all goods and services purchased should be shown.
 - d. All public information should be easily accessible in plain English (including the names of departments responsible for each decision).
 - e. An independent governing body should be set up to scrutinise procurement decisions and practices, with the powers to ensure consequences for misconduct.
 12. Combating climate change using green goods and services, where appropriate, should be a major consideration in government procurement and all procurement involving public funds.
 13. Government procurement should invest in and reward organisations which prioritise collaboration, innovation and partnership and those that are willing to invest in research and development focused on sustainable solutions for combating climate change.
 14. Government procurement should adhere to key priorities:
 - a. It should prioritise the greenest and most cost effective products and services rather than the cheapest.
 - b. And it should use a criteria or scoring system that includes:

Public procurement

10. Where appropriate, the government should purchase goods and services which can remain in the circular economy and offset their own carbon footprint. This should include:
 - a. Targeted investment in R&D in the UK.
 - b. Stimulating British manufacturing to support reskilling and jobs.

- i. Environmental impact: Lower carbon footprint, reduced pollution, and minimal ecosystem disruption.
- ii. Resource efficiency: Using fewer raw materials, energy, or water in production and use.
- iii. Sustainability: Made from renewable or recycled materials, and designed for longevity or recyclability.
- iv. Non-toxic: Free from harmful chemicals or substances that could damage the environment or human health.
- v. Biodegradability: Ability to decompose naturally without leaving harmful residues.
- vi. Ethical production: Manufactured using fair labour practices and responsible supply chain management. Energy efficiency: Consuming less energy during use or operation. Packaging: Minimal, recyclable, or biodegradable packaging.

Standards

15. The Right to Repair. The UK should create a standards-based approach to reducing waste, promoting the circular economy and avoiding the dumping of electronic waste in the Global South. A “Right to Repair” standard on all products that are in mature product classes (e.g. washing machines). These products must be repairable. The repair should be provided by the company, or its agent, at or close to cost price; OR by making the design and necessary Intellectual Property available so that people can make their own spares (e.g. by 3D printing). Manufacturers will be responsible for removing and recycling or repurposing items that cannot be repaired.

How will it work?

Some of the subsidies currently being used for fossil fuels should be directed to equalising the price of fully repairable goods with those that have planned obsolescence. There should be a process by which product classes are defined as ‘mature’ or ‘new’, which should involve representatives of consumers, industry and environmental concerns. This will create benefits to the UK by creating a network of repair facilities, increasing skills and creating employment. Consumers will benefit from longer-lasting products. This will be phased in from 2030 to be complete by 2045.

What about disposable products?

Disposable products will be banned unless being disposable is a fundamental requirement of the product (e.g. PPE). This will be done by product class, starting immediately for products like disposable vapes.

Who will enforce it?

The Department for Business and Trade will be responsible for enforcing standards, the Competition and Markets Authority and Trading Standards will be responsible for enforcement.



6. Evaluation of the Assembly

A total of 50 Assembly members (85%) responded to an emailed evaluation emailed to them following the completion of the Assembly.

The key findings of this survey were:

- Participants gave the overall experience of taking part in the Citizens' Assembly an average score of 4.2 out of 5.
- 98% of respondents said that their understanding of how trade could support climate change had either “significantly improved” or “improved” as a result of the Assembly.
- 94% of respondents said they would recommend signing up for a random selection process again.
- Respondents rated the quality of input they received during the learning phase 4.3 out of 5.
- 73% of respondents said they were able to discuss the content of the Assembly with people in their social networks; of those, 22 people reported having spoken to more than 5 others about their experience.

Annexes

Annex 1: The composition of the Assembly

	TARGET	RESPONDENTS	SELECTED (ORIGINAL)	SELECTED (FINAL COHORT)
	<p>Non- 0.4%</p> <p>Male 48.8%</p> <p>Female 50.8%</p>	<p>Non- 1.8%</p> <p>Male 50.3%</p> <p>Female 47.9%</p>	<p>Non- 1.4%</p> <p>Male 48.6%</p> <p>Female 50.0%</p>	<p>Non- 3.4%</p> <p>Male 45.8%</p> <p>Female 50.8%</p>
AGE	<p>65-99 23.6%</p> <p>18-29 18.6%</p> <p>30-44 25.1%</p> <p>45-64 32.7%</p>	<p>65-99 20.9%</p> <p>18-29 14.9%</p> <p>30-44 23.9%</p> <p>45-64 40.3%</p>	<p>65-99 22.9%</p> <p>18-29 18.6%</p> <p>30-44 25.7%</p> <p>45-64 32.9%</p>	<p>65-99 25.4%</p> <p>18-29 18.6%</p> <p>30-44 22.0%</p> <p>45-64 33.9%</p>
ETHNICITY	<p>White 75.8%</p> <p>White 7.0%</p> <p>Asian or Black or Mixed or 8.7%</p> <p>Black or 3.8%</p>	<p>White 64.0%</p> <p>White 13.1%</p> <p>Asian or Black or Mixed or 11.0%</p> <p>Black or 3.3%</p> <p>Other 1.8%</p>	<p>White 75.7%</p> <p>White 7.1%</p> <p>Asian or Black or Mixed or 4.3%</p>	<p>White 71.2%</p> <p>White 10.2%</p> <p>Asian or Black or Mixed or 8.5%</p> <p>Black or 3.4%</p>
EDUCATION	<p>Apprenti 4.4%</p> <p>Level 4 40.3%</p> <p>Level 1 12.0%</p> <p>Level 2 10.7%</p> <p>Level 3 17.5%</p> <p>No 15.2%</p>	<p>Apprenti 4.8%</p> <p>Level 4 53.6%</p> <p>Level 1 6.8%</p> <p>Level 2 8.6%</p> <p>Level 3 12.8%</p> <p>No 6.8%</p>	<p>Apprenti 4.3%</p> <p>Level 4 41.4%</p> <p>Level 1 14.3%</p> <p>Level 2 10.0%</p> <p>Level 3 17.1%</p> <p>No 14.3%</p>	<p>Apprenti 5.1%</p> <p>Level 4 44.1%</p> <p>Level 1 10.2%</p> <p>Level 2 11.9%</p> <p>Level 3 15.3%</p> <p>No 13.6%</p>
OCCUPATION	<p>Skilled Service 14.9%</p> <p>Professio 29.4%</p> <p>Not in the 23.0%</p> <p>Operator 8.9%</p> <p>Not in the 14.2%</p>	<p>Student 8.6%</p> <p>Skilled Service 12.8%</p> <p>Professi 34.2%</p> <p>Not in 22.0%</p> <p>Operator 3.0%</p> <p>Not in 13.4%</p>	<p>Student 4.3%</p> <p>Service 15.7%</p> <p>Professi 28.6%</p> <p>Not in 24.3%</p> <p>Operator 8.6%</p> <p>Not in 14.3%</p>	<p>Student 10.2%</p> <p>Skilled Service 18.6%</p> <p>Professio 28.8%</p> <p>Not in the 22.0%</p> <p>Operator 5.1%</p> <p>Not in the 11.9%</p>
CLIMATE CONCERN LEVEL	<p>Don't 2.0%</p> <p>Very 39.0%</p> <p>Not at 4.0%</p> <p>Not very 12.0%</p> <p>Fairly 43.0%</p>	<p>Don't 0.9%</p> <p>Very 58.6%</p> <p>Not very 4.2%</p> <p>Fairly 35.4%</p>	<p>Don't 2.9%</p> <p>Very 40.0%</p> <p>Not at 2.9%</p> <p>Not very 11.4%</p> <p>Fairly 42.9%</p>	<p>Don't 0.9%</p> <p>Very 45.8%</p> <p>Not at 2.9%</p> <p>Not very 5.1%</p> <p>Fairly 47.5%</p>
TRADE ATTITUDE	<p>Not At 8.0%</p> <p>Not Very 23.0%</p> <p>Fairly 47.0%</p> <p>Very 22.0%</p>	<p>Not Very 4.8%</p> <p>Fairly 44.3%</p> <p>Very 50.3%</p>	<p>Not At 2.9%</p> <p>Not Very 18.6%</p> <p>Fairly 48.6%</p> <p>Very 30.0%</p>	<p>Not Very 18.6%</p> <p>Fairly 45.8%</p> <p>Very 35.6%</p>
GEOGRAPHY	<p>Scotland 8.2%</p> <p>South 8.5%</p> <p>South 13.9%</p> <p>London 13.1%</p> <p>North 11.1%</p> <p>Yorkshir 8.2%</p> <p>West 8.9%</p> <p>East of 9.5%</p>	<p>Scotland 8.3%</p> <p>South 8.9%</p> <p>South 9.8%</p> <p>London 21.7%</p> <p>North 11.0%</p> <p>Yorkshir 5.1%</p> <p>West 9.2%</p> <p>East of 10.7%</p>	<p>Scotland 8.6%</p> <p>South 8.6%</p> <p>South 12.9%</p> <p>London 14.3%</p> <p>North 10.0%</p> <p>Yorkshir 8.6%</p> <p>West 10.0%</p> <p>East of 10.0%</p>	<p>Scotland 11.9%</p> <p>Wales 6.8%</p> <p>South 6.8%</p> <p>South 15.3%</p> <p>North 10.2%</p> <p>Yorkshir 8.5%</p> <p>West 11.9%</p> <p>East of 13.6%</p>

Annex 2: Session summaries

Summaries of each of the main themes covered in the learning phase of the Assembly, both by speakers and by discussions between participants, are below:

Session 1: Introductions

Session 1 provided an opportunity for participants to get to know each other and the project team, as well as running through the structure of the Assembly, setting out expectations and tackling logistical issues. At the beginning of Session 1, participants were asked how they thought trade and climate change connected. Their answers tended to focus on the direct carbon emissions from transport, with emphasis on supply chains such as out-of-season food. The interaction was mainly seen as negative, with international trade framed as part of the problem of climate change. At this point in the process only a few Assembly members thought trade policy could offer positive solutions.

Session 2: Introduction to international trade

Session 2 was designed to familiarise Assembly members with international trade, its essential dynamics, rules and institutions. Assembly members were introduced to free trade agreements and the World Trade Organisation. Some speakers provided perspectives on the wider impacts of trade policy, explaining that interest groups, such as workers, consumers and the Global South, can sometimes benefit and sometimes lose out. This provided Assembly members with vital context for thinking about the diversity of competing interests relevant to trade policy.

During this session participants were exposed to a lot of new information and many left the session with more questions than answers. Conversations orientated around fairness and how capable the international trade system is of delivering jobs and workers' rights in the UK and supporting developing countries.



There was broad agreement that the current trade system and the WTO seemed outdated and need to be reformed if they are to reflect modern priorities, in particular climate change. While some members asked questions about how the system could be reformed, others took a more pessimistic approach, questioning whether the Assembly could have an impact on what seemed like such a complex, rigid and politically complex system.

Session 3: Trade and climate change

Session 3 explored the relationship between climate change and international trade in greater detail. Participants engaged with two sets of presentations. The first, split into two parts, explained the UK's role in land-use change emissions and addressed misconceptions about the primary sources of greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in international trade, challenging the belief that transportation is the largest contributor (3.1. and 3.2). The second focused on the potential of trade liberalisation in addressing climate change, offering diverse perspectives on its potential benefits and drawbacks (3.3 and 3.4).

This session represented a steep learning curve for the Assembly, challenging the views of many participants that international trade is necessarily detrimental to climate action. Two main discussions emerged across the breakout groups and in the main room: one on the greenhouse gas (GHG) implications of international trade in goods, and the other on how trade liberalisation might contribute positively or negatively to climate change.

Trading goods and greenhouse gas emissions

In the first breakout session, participants expressed surprise at new information, including the fact that GHG emissions associated with trade-related land use contribute more to global emissions than emissions from trade-related transport. This revelation prompted discussions on the UK's historical responsibility for global GHG emissions and how the country could reduce its emissions.

Many participants leaned toward solutions involving increased domestic production and reduced imports, viewing this as a way to bolster domestic industries and enhance food security and self-sufficiency in the face of climate change and other global challenges. Others, in contrast, argued for the necessity of imports, indicating the tension between self-sufficiency and the benefits of international trade. Throughout these discussions, participants frequently identified the pursuit of profit as a major driver of environmental harm. They noted that the international trade system, driven by profit motives and unregulated corporate behaviour, often prioritises economic gains over climate concerns, exacerbating issues like deforestation and GHG emissions.

Benefits and drawbacks of trade liberalisation in combating climate change

In the second breakout discussion, the conversation shifted to the concept of trade liberalisation and its role in the climate crisis. Participants sought clarity on what trade liberalisation entails and debated its implications. A recurring concern was that trade liberalisation often prioritises profit over fairness and environmental sustainability, particularly in developing country contexts. The political influence of multinational corporations was a focal point, with many participants advocating for stronger government regulation and pressure on businesses to align their practices with climate goals.

Despite these concerns, some participants highlighted the potential benefits of trade liberalisation, particularly in promoting the global dissemination of green technologies. They emphasised the importance of international trade in fostering innovation and aiding developing countries in their green transitions. The session concluded with a recognition of the potential advantages of international trade and collaboration between countries for combating climate change.

Session 4: UK approach to trade and climate

Session 4 saw the participants grapple with how the UK currently approaches trade policy and climate change. The session consisted of a presentation which introduced the UK's current approach to trade policy, including a description of the various departments influencing and enacting trade policy (4.1). This was followed by a role-play activity focused on electric vehicles in which Assembly participants were invited to consider the viewpoints of interest groups who could either gain or lose out from the UK's policy on electric cars and to think through how the positions of the various groups might be reconciled.

How trade policy is set and managed

After learning about the competing interests at the heart of UK trade policy and the different departments involved with shaping that policy, one participant raised the question, 'how do they [the government] manage to get things done?', not only with all the coordination of 'different government departments needed', but also with negotiations with partner countries (#42 S4MG1). This broader international focus was reflected by other participants, as multiple participants drew on their knowledge of the international trade system acquired from Session 2 and questioned how much power and policy space the UK Government has on trade policy to produce meaningful action on climate change, given international considerations such as the need to follow WTO rules on non-discrimination (#24 S4MG1), the influence of politics on trade policy (#56 S4MG1), and the UK's limited capability to hold influence over multinational corporate interests (#40 S4MG1).

Participants noted that on top of domestic complications and competing interests, the UK's capacity for promoting meaningful environmental policy is limited by further competing interests on the international stage.

The balancing of priorities of different interest groups

The second half of the session saw the Assembly engage in a role play activity, designed to encourage an understanding of competing priorities in the international trade system and the problem of identifying and assessing trading-offs. Each group was assigned a key stakeholder with a brief on their interests in relation to the trade in electric vehicles. The groups were as follows:

- UK consumers
- UK workers/trade unions
- UK car-makers
- The UK Climate Change Committee
- Future generations in the UK
- Chinese car-makers
- Communities in cobalt mining areas of the Congo Basin
- Planet Earth

Groups discussed their positions before presenting back to the main group and taking questions. Groups were asked to imagine what their negotiating red lines were and where they might be willing to compromise.

This exercise was foundational in setting the mode of engagement for the rest of the Assembly. Participants were encouraged to consider the contradictory priorities of multiple competing interest groups involved in international trade and to focus on trade-offs and potential solutions.

Trade policy tools (Sessions 5-7)

This section gives some context to the recommendations, allowing the reader to understand how participants came to the suggestions that they did. It also allows some space to show the areas of consensus and difference on the tools - the recommendations had to be endorsed by the majority, so they were a compromise, but it is insightful to show the variety of views amongst the group. For example, there was quite a spread of views

as to whether fossil fuel subsidies should be immediately removed or gradually phased out.

Sessions 5-7 focused on four tools which the project team had identified as potential ways through which trade policy could be used to respond to climate change: tariffs, subsidies, standards and procurement. Expert speakers contributed their perspectives via short videos, focusing on issues including the UK's proposed Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism and the concept of using trade policy to set core environmental standards for goods.

These sessions also aimed to explore the trade-offs associated with using specific trade policy tools for climate mitigation. The primary trade-offs focussed on by the participants were impacts on consumer cost, UK jobs and domestic production capacity, and developing countries. The Assembly was also regularly prompted to think about what effect trade-offs would have for them and their family and friends.

Session 5: At the Border standards on trading goods

Session 5 focused on 'at the border' tools: tariffs and standards. The Assembly considered two examples of how these trade tools could be used to support climate policy: the application of core environmental standards for goods, and Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms (CBAMs). Two sets of videos were shown on the potential impacts of these environmental policies: on the potential impact of CBAMs on consumer costs and on developing countries; and on the impacts that unilateral environmental standards may have on UK farmers, consumers, national climate commitments, and developing countries. Discussions in this session were wide-ranging, as participants used the expert stimulus to discuss the trade-offs involved in a wide range of policy interventions.

Conversations consistently gravitated away from the implications of trade policy on participants' own lives, and towards a more

global perspective. Assembly members expressed concern around the impact various trade policy tools could have on social equity, especially for poorer communities in the UK and developing countries. A focus on 'at the border' measures led to many Assembly members engaging with the trade-offs between providing cheap goods for consumers and supporting high-quality domestic jobs. The following sets out in more detail the key themes covered during Session 5:

A global perspective and support for developing countries

Many participants agreed with the general principle of a CBAM, and some also noted that tariffs would be good for protecting small UK businesses. The Assembly was also strongly in favour of the UK maintaining high domestic standards for goods.

Yet participants also acknowledged that introducing higher tariffs and standards for imports could have a detrimental impact on developing countries. There was widespread support for the UK and other developed countries to provide active support to developing countries to meet new trade and climate standards, including offering exemptions, gradual implementation and providing investment and technical support. Many Assembly members held the view that the UK and other developed countries carry a responsibility to shoulder more of the costs of climate adaptation and mitigation globally.

There were also concerns that unilaterally implementing CBAMs and other climate-related tariffs may result in retaliation from trading partners, potentially undermining multilateral efforts. Many Assembly members noted international cooperation is important for combating climate change and favoured a collaborative approach to trade policy.

Concern over tariffs increasing costs for the less wealthy

Some discussions picked up on individual costs and multiple participants expressed

concerns that new tariffs would result in higher prices for consumers. Multiple participants, in considering the notion of a CBAM, expressed that if it was a good thing for combating climate change and they would be happy to take on a small increase in individual cost. However, there was widespread acknowledgement that this is a difficult trade-off for the less wealthy in the context of a cost of living crisis.

Standards and balancing trade policy tools

The Assembly broadly agreed that setting high environmental standards on traded goods could support climate action. Many expressed the view that standards are beneficial to British businesses and ensure product safety and quality for the consumer. Many also suggested the UK should provide financial and technical support to developing countries which might otherwise lose out from such a policy.

The debate over standards was an inflection point at which participants started to talk about using a range of trade policy tools to counteract the fact that individual trade policy tools inevitably create winners and losers. Many proposed the use of tariffs and subsidies in conjunction, and expressed the view that a trade policy which responds effectively to climate change would require the use of all available trade tools: tariffs, subsidies, regulations, and public procurement, while constantly evaluating their impact and making adjustments as needed (#60 S5).

Session 6: 'At the border' measures on green goods and subsidies

Session 6 continued to focus on 'at the border' measures, introducing the concept of trade in 'green goods' before introducing a new focus on subsidies. The first part explored debates on trade in green goods, using the example of electric vehicles (EVs). Participants were presented with a range of potential solutions, with one proposal focused on keeping competition high and costs low via minimal tariffs and the other exploring

protecting domestic jobs and strategic industries in the UK via higher tariffs (videos 6.1 and 6.2). The discussion then examined the relationship between tariffs and subsidies on trade in EVs (videos 6.2 and 6.3). The third part examined the how the UK subsidises fossil fuel production and consumption, and how subsidies can be used to support UK production of electric vehicles (6.3, 6.4, 6.5). Participants debated how subsidies could best facilitate the green transition, support domestic industry and protect consumer prices.

Debating green goods and where to target subsidies

The Assembly considered whether to encourage or restrain the Chinese EV industry in the UK. Groups engaged with the broader geopolitical and economic context of relations with China, as well as expressing concerns around labour standards (#55 S6G1, #8 S6G3). Three groups also engaged in vigorous debate around whether to place tariffs on green goods from China and whether to subsidise the UK production of green goods to promote domestic industry and respond to climate change. In all three groups there was a fairly even split of arguments.

In support of subsidising the UK EV industry and placing tariffs on Chinese imports, some participants cited the benefits of creating local jobs and producing a 'snowball' effect of encouraging auto-parts industries to go green and create more green jobs (#46 S67, #3 S6G8, #13 S6G8). Others raised concerns relating to resilience, arguing the UK should be more self-sufficient in the face of global supply chain instability (#61 S6G6, #39 S6G5).

At the same time, many others were receptive to maintaining low tariffs on Chinese EVs. Some participants were concerned that placing tariffs on Chinese EVs undermined global efforts of combating climate change via the production of green goods. Furthermore, some expressed concern that retaliation from China could lead to a trade war, ultimately

further inhibiting the international trade of green goods. Other Assembly members suggested that subsidising UK domestic EV manufacture was a waste of resources, since China is a global leader in the production of cheap EVs. They suggested the UK could instead focus its subsidies on alternative green industries where there is a real prospect of assuming global leadership. All sides of this debate had a strong focus on ensuring UK subsidies of green goods were carefully targeted.

A small number of participants proposed a compromise: to offer market access to Chinese EVs while developing more specific industries for EVs in the UK, such as public transportation and the 'luxury side' of the EV industry. This was advanced as a solution to protecting domestic industries while ensuring UK subsidies support quality jobs and respond to climate change (#55 S6G1, #26 S6G6, #47 S6G8).

Debating fossil fuel subsidies

Fossil fuel subsidies evoked passionate responses from Assembly members. One participant said fossil fuel subsidies seemed "a bit ridiculous" and another said that "it's mad that lots of wealthy consumers are subsidised for their fossil fuels" (#48 S6G2; #37 S6G2). Others commented on the scale of government subsidy, criticised that large companies were having their profits bolstered by government support (#48 S6G2, #31 S6G1, #3 S6G4), raised the risk that such subsidies lead to overconsumption (#30 S6G1), and suggested that government should be spending money in a more targeted manner if the intention is to support energy-poor households (#48 S6G2, #9 S6G5).

There were suggestions across multiple groups that fossil fuel subsidies should be ended all together (#28 S6G1, #51 S6G5), while others favoured their reduction (#21 S6G1, #30 S6G1). The majority suggestion was that fossil fuel subsidies should be more targeted for "the least well off" or "the people who are hit the

most who can't afford heating" (#37 S6G2, #51 S6G5, #28 S6G1, #48 G2, #31 S6G1, #5 S6G6). At the same, many participants grappled with the complexities and logistics of removing fossil fuel subsidies, noting that targeting subsidies could be a complex and bureaucratic exercise with administrative costs (#24 S6G2, #48 S6G2) and that oil companies may leave the UK market if subsidies were removed (#36 S6G1, #51 S6G5). The main point of convergence was that the UK government should target energy subsidies better and have greater transparency in its subsidy provision.

Session 7: Subsidies, public procurement and decarbonisation

Session 7 explored the role subsidies and public procurement of green goods can play in supporting the UK's journey to net zero. The session explored ideas including how public investment could support the development of the UK's renewable energy sector, the potential of subsidising UK households to switch to using heat pumps, and how public procurement rules can funnel support into the green goods and services needed for the energy transition.

There was a particular focus on the role of public procurement as a powerful tool to shape the UK's green industries. The session explored the idea that government procurement which prioritised buying green goods manufactured in Britain could create benefits for local industry, albeit potentially at the expense of the speed of the energy transition.

During this session, the Assembly heard from speakers of the UK renewable energy industry, policy strategists from E3G and Energy UK and an ex-trade union official who worked in the offshore energy sector. Finally, the Assembly heard from a speaker who introduced the concept of the Green New Deal and detailed the trade and climate dimensions of President Biden's Inflation Reduction Act. This offered a concrete example of large scale public

investment in green economic transformation, paired with the goal of job creation and building high quality physical infrastructure.

Assembly participants were especially engaged with the notion that the government should use procurement policies to the advantage of renewable energy and domestic green industries. Some were particularly focused on creating a renewable energy transition which brought benefits to UK-based workers and local communities, and the concept of the 'just transition' resonated with many.

Procurement and subsidies in the UK renewable energy industry

The Assembly discussed how the UK Government should use procurement and subsidies in UK renewable energy to support and shape the UK energy transition. Many discussions focused on the opportunities which long term government investment could bring to industry and local communities. Some participants criticised the current approach to subsidies for renewable energy, stating that they can often lead to tunnelling public money into "the hands of cronies" or "foreign companies" (#44 S7G2, S7G2) and they were often given to big corporation so there is "rarely fair investment all round" (#18 S7G4). One group focussed discussion on the issue of the UK Government selling off public assets to private companies rather than investing in industry. Many groups expressed the desire for a more long term strategy that saw the government invest in the UK renewable energy industry in multiple ways over a sustained period of time to produce long term benefits and "make the green transition work long term for us" (#33 S7G2).

Assembly members wanted the government to invest in greener energy as opposed to just paying for it (#22 S7G5, #51 S7G5). Some wished to see the procurement process prioritise not only green standards but British contractors and public ownership (#21 S7G1, #18 S7G4). There were many ideas surrounding

public ownership. Many suggested taking public ownership of renewable energy companies. (#51 S7G5, #21 S7G1, #34 S7G5). Some advocated for the government retaining a golden share or part ownership (#24 S7G2, #55 S7G1). Many cited government investment and public ownership as opposed to subsidies to private firms as a means to gain more long term public benefits from renewable energy (#22 S7G5, #9 S7G5), because public enterprise "could work more effectively for the public good" (#34 S7G5), and "the money being made helps promote the needs and jobs of everyday people in the communities" (#21 S7G1).

Benefits for UK workers and local communities as part of a just transition

There was considerable talk on the theme of opportunities for work and employment, including job quality. This included public subsidies and procurement being oriented to domestic industry and local communities in the UK's green transition, as well as the provision of training and the reskilling of workers in green jobs to benefit UK workers in the transition towards renewable energy. Assembly members promoted the idea that long-term planning in UK trade and investment policy could include localising ownership and encouraging a vested interest in the transition.

Annex 3: The Advisory Board meeting protocol

The protocol for the Advisory Board, shared with all members when they were approached to take part and at the beginning of each meeting, was:

1. It is not our ambition for the Advisory Board to come to a complete consensus about all topics and questions raised. Instead, it is a forum for discussion and respectful challenge.
2. Quorum for a meeting of the Advisory Board will be met if 60% or more of the Board members are present.
3. The Chatham House rule applies.
4. If an Advisory Board member is unable to attend a meeting, it will be possible for the member to send a delegate representative from the same organisation in their absence.
5. Advisory Board meetings will be minuted and the unattributed meeting notes will be circulated to all members.
6. If an Advisory Board member is unable to attend a meeting, project team members are happy to arrange a separate meeting on request to cover the content and conclusions of the meeting.

Time commitment

We anticipate the Board to meet three times through the project lifecycle. These are likely to be:

1. An introductory meeting with the project team to introduce the concept of citizen's assemblies, discuss draft project structure, review participant selection process, and to suggest expert evidence providers.
2. A critical review of the pre-final evidence to be presented to participants.
3. A final meeting in advance of the report publication to discuss recommendations.

Annex 4: The Evidence Committee meeting protocol

The meeting protocol for the Evidence Committee was:

Membership

1. The Evidence Committee will be a mix of topic experts on both trade and the environment.
2. The Evidence Committee will normally consist of not more than 10 members.
3. The membership of the Evidence Committee will be published on the project website, as well as listed in the acknowledgements of the final project report.

Time commitment

1. We anticipate the Committee to meet 3-5 times during the evidence creation phase of the project. These are likely to be in Spring 2024, at fairly frequent intervals, such as every 2-3 weeks.
2. In order to meaningfully discuss the evidence, members will need to read/watch draft evidence submissions in advance of meetings, which will be circulated by the project team.

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- Kierra Box, Lead on Trade and Environmental Regulation, Friends of the Earth
- Doreen Grove, Head of Open Government, Scottish Government
- Maddie Harris, Senior Evidence Specialist, Joint Nature Conservation Committee
- James Harrison, Professor of International Economic Law, University of Warwick
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- Philippa Nuttall, Deputy Editor of Sustainable Views, Financial Times
- Ludivine Petetin, Reader in Law, Cardiff University
- Asad Rehman, Executive Director, War on Want
- George Riddell, Trade Strategy Director, EY
- Liz Snape, Assistant General Secretary of UNISON
- Michelle Singleton deputising
- Chris Southworth, Secretary General, International Chambers of Commerce UK
- David Symons, Director, Aldersgate Group/ Future Ready Global Lead, WSP
- Sukhi Toor, Head of Multilateral Green Trade Policy, Department of Business and Trade
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**TRADE JUSTICE
MOVEMENT**

The Trade Justice Movement is a network of nearly 60 organisations, including trade unions, environmental groups and justice campaigns, who push for trade policy that works for people and planet.

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