STUC

'PEOPLE'S RECOVERY'

TRADE UNION EDUCATION PROGRAMME

COST-OF-LIVING POLITICAL EDUCATION PILOT COURSE

Course contents

This course is designed so that the modules can be run in a day or over four separate sessions. Materials for the modules are openly accessibly online through a website called Padlet via the following hyperlink.

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Introduction from Roz Foyer, General Secretary, STUC

We live in an age of misinformation and fake news. With the majority of the media still owned by corporate interests and the right, the ability of trade unionists to win our political and economic case, relies on our ability to counter the propaganda of the right and to have workplace conversations which arm our members and activists with the arguments they need. It also requires trade union leaders and reps to listen to workers and to build our understanding of the issues they face.

Nowhere is this truer than in building our response to the current cost-of-living crisis. We know that the current economic crisis is a product of bad policy as well as of the deeply entrenched inequalities of power and wealth which scar our society. We also know that there are alternatives to austerity, to wage depression and to the politics of fear.

There is a growing collectivism among workers. Workers are leading strikes and engaging in broad-based working-class campaigns around the cost-of-living. A key priority for our movement is to translate these high levels of solidarity and activity into the growth of a sustainable and angry movement for change.

At the height of the COVID 19 pandemic, the STUC published its "People's Recovery" manifesto, stating that "When trade unionists speak of recovery, we do not mean reverting to life in 2019. We mean recovering, for working class people, the income, wealth and sense of collective purpose stolen from them by decades of political bias towards the rich and powerful." What was true then is even more true now.

This course examines the history and causes of the cost-of-living crisis specifically and of our political economy more generally. It includes examination of the key global and local factors as well as the arguments, strategies and tactics we need to collectively win the case for change. It is particularly useful for workers involved in current disputes and campaigns, but also looks at how we as a movement, can broaden our reach and engage in joint community campaigns by building a shared analysis and vision of the alternative.

Their class is powerful and well-funded, but we have the advantage of numbers. When we are educated, agitated and organised we are more powerful than they dare to imagine. This course, and future courses we hope to run, will help to further build that power and the movement we need to deliver change.

Course guidelines

The STUC exists to co-ordinate, develop and articulate the views and policies of the trade union movement in Scotland.

The trade union movement is particularly distinguished by its commitment to equality and social justice and to openness, fairness and equity - in all of its dealings.

The trade union movement therefore places the highest value on those personal behaviours that embody courtesy, respect and sensitivity to others – and which seek to create an environment that is both inclusive and welcoming.

It is our collective duty not just to promote, but to model those standards of behaviour that nurture and encourage contribution from all sectors of our movement.

We want you to get the most out of our courses and to feel that whatever your background, you are comfortable and safe. That's why we're committed to equal treatment regardless of sex, race, disability, sexual orientation, religion/belief or age.

We want all voices to be heard so please engage fully whilst listening to others. The tutors will try to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to contribute, but we encourage self-awareness to ensure that one or two people do not dominate the conversation.

Module 1 - What is driving the cost-of-living?

Activity 1 – Introduction to the course (20 mins)

The aim of this activity is to find out who is on the course.

The tutor will introduce the course and course guidelines and then ask you to briefly tell us your name, union or group, and what worries you about the cost-of-living crisis.

Activity 2: The Price is Right (15 mins)

The aim of this task is to understand the role of prices in driving inflation.

The tutor will lead an exercise asking participants to guess the rate of inflation for the following items.

Annual inflation rates for the UK, December 2021-December 2022 (note: figures in CPI unless otherwise stated)	
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	
Bread	
Low fat milk	
Clothing and footwear	
Furniture and household goods	
Electricity, gas and other fuels	
Consumer Price Index (CPI) rate of inflation for all items	
Retail Price Index (RPI) rate of inflation for all items	

Further reading/listening

ONS, inflation indices:
https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices
Which inflation measure: CPI, CPIH or RPI?
https://www.incomesdataresearch.co.uk/resources/news/which-inflation-measure-cpi-cpih-or-rpi

Activity 3: Pay Up (15 mins)

In a group, discuss how much your pay or income has increased in the last year, as a percentage. You can calculate this as an individual or as a household and you can include wages only or additional income such as social security benefits. Feedback the highest percentage increase, the lowest percentage increase, and the group average percentage increase to the wider group.

The tutor will lead a discussion.

Further reading:

ONS pay data:
https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours

TUC pay analysis: https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/economy-jobs-and-pay/pay-trends

Activity 4: The Wall of Shame (10 mins)

Write down on post-its the reasons your employer has given as to why they can't afford a higher pay rise. Place these on flipchart paper on a wall.

Activity 5: The ruling class response (15 mins)

The tutor will play a short video of the Bank of England Governor talking about inflation and then lead a discussion about the Bank of England's approach to tackling inflation.

Dig: Inflation Politics with Tim Barker
https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/jacobin-radio/id791564318?i=1000530286257

Activity 6: Company profits (15 mins in small groups, 25 mins in wider plenary discussion)

The aim of this activity is to understand the ways in which businesses extract profits and drive up prices.

In small groups work through one of the following case studies.

Once you have worked through the questions, the tutor will facilitate feedback and discussion.

Company Profile - Barchester

Four Hills Care Home, Ruchill, Glasgow

Founded in the Cotswolds in 1992, Barchester has grown to provide care to over 11,000 residents across 200 care homes in the UK. It is Scotland's third-largest for-profit provider of care home places. The company is owned by Jersey based private equity company Grove Ltd, of which the largest shareholders of Grove Limited sit behind companies in the British Virgin Islands, where the owners of companies are not on public record. It is reportedly controlled by three billionaire Irish businessmen: Dermot Desmond (also the largest shareholder in Celtic FC), JP McManus, and John Magnier.

Barchester	**2003**	**2015**	**2020**
Revenue	£60m	£523m	£663m
Number of staff	3200	11000	15000
Staff pay	£7,600	£13,400	£17,400
Overall staff costs	£22.63m	£147.4m	261m
Reported operating profits	£12.7m	£22.1m	£19.2m
CEO pay	£307,000	£699,000	£2.27m
Dividends	Info N/A	£9.1m	£0
Gov grants to deal with Covid-19	N/A	N/A	£12.5m
Payments of rent & interest to companies owned by the same owners	Info N/A	Info N/A	£133m

In small groups calculate and discuss the following:

1. Where does Barchester's revenue come from?
2. What did Barchester spend on staffing, as a proportion of overall revenue, in 2020. (Clue: divide overall staff costs by revenue and multiply by 100)
3. What is Barchester's remaining revenue after paying for staff? (Clue: subtract staff costs from revenue). Where do you think this money goes?

Further Reading:

- Berry et al for the STUC (2022) 'Profiting from care: Why Scotland can't afford privatised social care': https://stuc.org.uk/files/Policy%20Papers/Profiting_from_Care_Report.pdf

Company Profile - Eversholt Trains


Eversholt's 'Class 318', Scotrail train

Eversholt is one of three Rolling Stock Leasing Companies (ROSCOs) that own around 87% of the UK's trains. They were handed British Rail's stock of trains on privatisation and have continued to dominate the train leasing market ever since. The ROSCOs lease their vehicles to the train operating companies who run the railway network franchise, including ScotRail which is now run by the Scottish Government.

Alongside 5 directors, Eversholt employs about 100 technical and administrative staff. The company is registered in Luxembourg and owned by UK Rails S.a.r.l who, until this year, were jointly owned by CK Infrastructure Holdings Limited and CK Hutchison Holdings Limited, a Hong-Kong based multinational registered in the Cayman Islands who own Felixstowe Ports and some of UK's energy networks. UK Rails S.a.r.l. is now the controlling party.

Eversholt Rail Holdings Ltd

£(000)	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**	**Average**	**Total**
Revenue	£379m	£375m	£443m	£439m	£426m	£412m	£2.06bn
Profits	£43m	£40m	£42m	£42m	£42m	£42m	£208m
Dividends	£44m	£40m	£44m	£10m	£55m	£38m	£192m
Dividend as a % of profit	101%	100%	106%	23%	131%	92%	N/A
Eurobond Loan (14% interest	£48m	£48m	£48m	£48m	£48m	£48m	£240m
New rolling stock	£249m	£262m	£404m	£81m	£22m	£203m	£1.02bn

In small groups calculate and discuss the following:

1. What percentage of Eversholt's revenue is reinvested in new rolling stock? (Clue: divide new rolling stock by revenue and multiply by 100). What impact do you think this might have on Scotland's rail services?
2. What percentage of Eversholt's revenue is extracted for shareholders in the form of dividends and Eurobond loan interest? (Clue: add dividends plus Eurobond loan, then divide by revenue and multiply by 100).
3. What impact do you think this might have on railway workers pay?

Further reading

RMT (2021) 'Policy Briefing - A Great Sucking Sound' https://www.rmt.org.uk/news/public-document-library/rmt-policy-briefing-a-great-sucking-sound/

Company Profile - Scottish Power

Iberdrola Chairman Ignacio Galan & Nicola Sturgeon at ScottishPower's HQ in Glasgow

Scottish Power is an energy company based in Glasgow. Founded in 1990 as part of the Tories energy privatisation, it is now owned by Spanish multinational Iberdrola. The company, which employs around 5,600 staff, has paid out £7 billion in dividends since it was taken over by Iberdrola in 2007. It is 'vertically integrated' meaning it has a retail division, selling energy to households and businesses; a generation division - Scottish Renewables; and a transmission and distribution arm.

In Scotland the entire electricity transmission and distribution network, is controlled by two companies: Scottish Power & SSE. Scottish Power control the network for central and southern Scotland. SSE control the network for Northern Scotland. These companies took over the grid from the South of Scotland Electricity Board and the North of Scotland Electricity Board when it was privatised. Scottish Power also run some of the regional distribution networks in England.

Scottish Power Profitability (Earnings before interest, tax, depreciation & amortisation)

	2022 (first 6 months)	Change on previous 12 months
Overall	£924.6m	2.60%
Retail	£54.3m	-60%
Renewables	£386.7m	27%
Transmission and Distribution	£464.9m	4.50%

In small groups discuss:

1. Why might profits in the retail side be down in the first six months of 2022? Why might profits in the renewables side be up?
2. Why might transmission and distribution be so profitable?
3. Has Scotland's move to renewable energy created jobs or benefited local communities?

Further reading:

- STUC (2020) 'Scotland's Renewables Jobs Crisis' https://stuc.org.uk/files/Policy/Research-papers/Renewable_Jobs_Crisis_Covid-19.pdf
- Commonwealth (2022) 'Profiting amid the Crisis' https://www.common-wealth.co.uk/reports/profiting-amid-the-crisis

While the tutor will lead a discussion on the answers, we have also detailed these below for future reference.

Barchester Answers

Where does Barchester's revenue come from?

It comes from service users (people in care homes) and it comes from the Scottish Government (ie our taxes).

What did Barchester spend on staffing, as a proportion of overall revenue, in 2020. (Clue: divide overall staff costs by revenue and multiply by 100)

Barchester spent 39% of their revenue on staffing in 2020.

Why does this matter? It matters because the public and not-for-profit sectors spend 75% of their revenue spent on staffing. The result of outsourcing social care to large private care home companies like Barchester is:

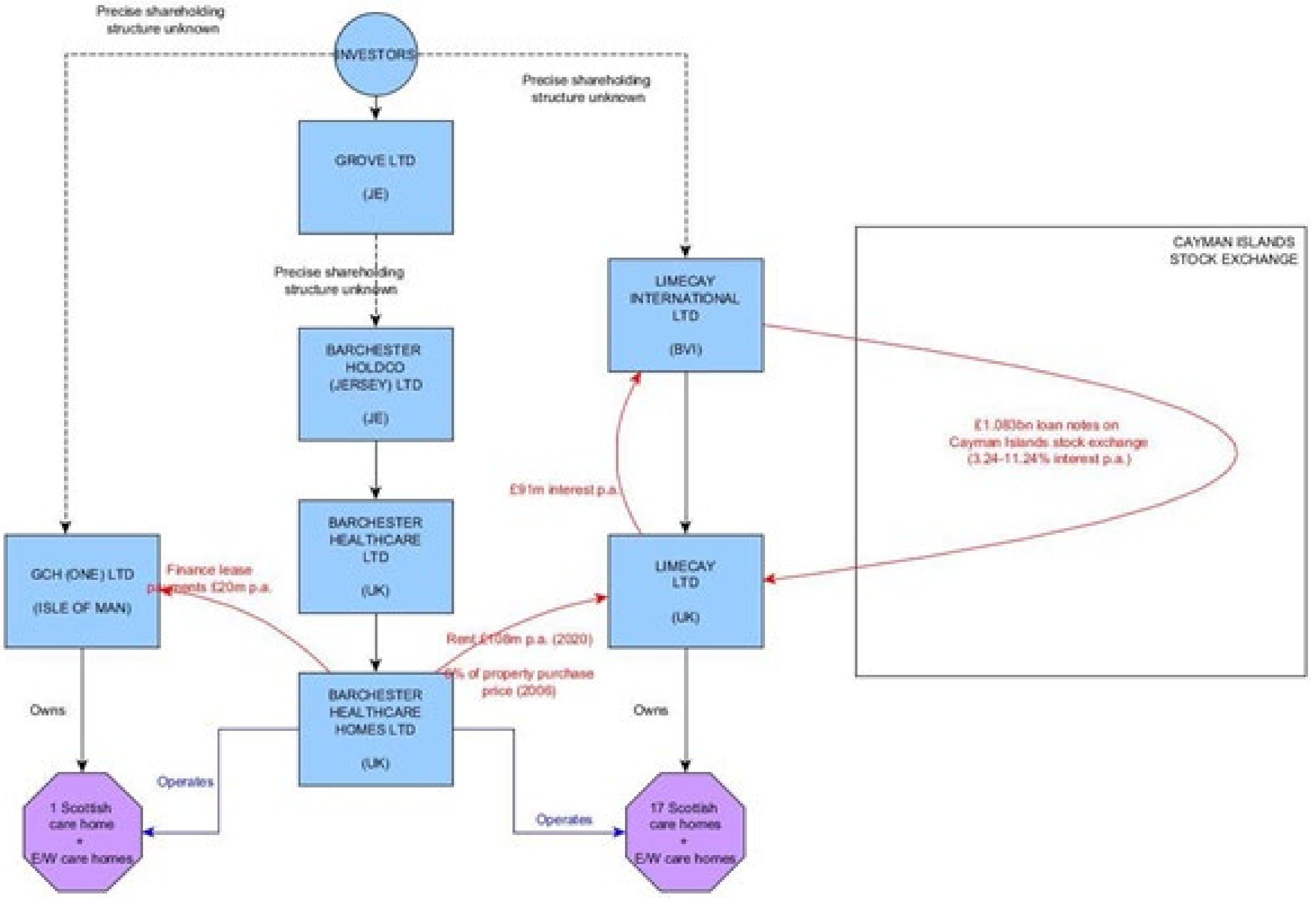
- lower wages: on average private sector care homes pay £1.60 an hour less than public sector care homes.
- lower staffing ratios: staffing ratios in the private sector are 20% worse than in the private and not-for-profit sectors.
- Poorer care quality: Nearly 25% of care homes run by big private providers had at least one complaint upheld against them in 2019/20, compared to 6% in homes not run for profit.

Essentially, the company is squeezing wages, squeezing staffing ratios, and squeezing the quality of care, in order to boost profits.

What is Barchester's remaining revenue after paying for staff? (Clue: subtract staff costs from revenue). Where do you think this money goes?

Barchester's remaining revenue after paying for staff was £402 million in 2020. While some of this will be invested in equipment and in buying or building new properties/care homes, much of this goes into dodgy financial engineering – primarily inter party loans, rents to companies with same owners, and tax avoidance.

The table below shows that Barchester split the property company from the healthcare company and pay rent and interest between them in places like the Cayman Islands and the British Virgin Islands. This structure ultimately means that although Barchester nominally makes only around 2.6% profit on paper, in fact around 20% of their residents' fees – approximately £9600 per bed per year - goes not on the costs of their care, but as payments to Barchester's owners or to companies which they control through rent payments and interest payments on loans.


Precise shareholding structure unknown
INVESTORS
Precise shareholding structure unknown
GROVE LTD
(JE)
Precise shareholding structure unknown
BARCHESTER HOLDCO (JERSEY) LTD
(JE)
BARCHESTER HEALTHCARE LTD
(UK)
BARCHESTER HEALTHCARE HOMES LTD
(UK)
LIMECAY INTERNATIONAL LTD
(BVI)
CAYMAN ISLANDS STOCK EXCHANGE
£1.080bn loan notes on Cayman Islands stock exchange (3.24-11.24% interest p.a.)
£91m interest p.a.
LIMECAY LTD
(UK)
GCH (ONE) LTD
(ISLE OF MAN)
Finance lease payments £20m p.a.
Rent £108m p.a. (2020)
6% of property purchase price (2006)
Owns
Owns
Operates
Operates
1 Scottish care home + E/W care homes
17 Scottish care homes + E/W care homes

Eversholt Answers

What percentage of Evershot's revenue is reinvested in new rolling stock? (Clue: divide new rolling stock by revenue and multiply by 100). What impact do you think this might have on Scotland's rail services?

Only 49-50% of Evershot's revenue is reinvested in new rolling stock. Bear in mind the company only employs 100 people so doesn't have large staffing costs.

The impact on Scotland's rail services is old trains! Rolling stock companies want us believe that they are innovative investors in new trains. Yet left to their own devices, they have presided over an ageing fleet and failed to invest in new rolling stock, preferring to sweat old assets.

What percentage of Evershot's revenue is extracted for shareholders in the form of dividends and Eurobond loan interest? (Clue: add dividends plus Eurobond loan and then divide by revenue).

20-21% of Evershot's revenue is extracted for shareholders in the form of dividends and Eurobond loan interest.

The Eurobond Loan is a £340 million loan from Eversholt's owner, UK Rails S.a.r.l. The bond has a maturity date of June 2055 and carries a coupon of 14.06% meaning that the UK company must pay an interest payment on the principal of £48 million every year to its Luxembourg parent company. Over the term of the loan it will pay £1.8 billion in interest payments on a loan worth £340 million. In other words, this debt is simply another way of extracting dividends by another name. It has the benefit of meaning Eversholt avoid paying £363 million in tax to the UK Treasury that would otherwise be due.

What impact do you think this might have on railway workers striking for a pay rise?

Dividends and profit extraction like the Eurobond Loan, is money that disappears out of the system and is lost to workers and the public. The Rolling stock companies have paid out £2.7 billion in dividends to their owners in the last 10 years. The more money that the Train Operating Companies (like Scotrail) have to pay to Rolling Stock companies, the less is available for railway workers. The cost to the training operating companies of leasing rolling stock is growing faster than any other cost (including staff costs). It now consumes 23% of train operator spending, up from 13% in 2013/14.

Scottish Power Answers

Why might profits in the retail side be down in the first six months of 2022? Why might profits in the renewables side be up?

Profits in the retail side are down because the price of energy (and wholesale gas in particular) has increased (Ukraine war, post-pandemic demand, Russian and middle east trade wars). Coupled with Ofgem's price caps, this limits the margins that suppliers can charge. However, the UK Government energy package to freeze average prices at £2,500 comes with additional funding for energy suppliers, so that the squeeze on profits shouldn't be too bad moving forward.

Also, profits from retail have always been smaller than profits from other parts of the business while the increase in prices squeezes profits from retail, it boosts profits from generation, transmission and distribution.

Profits in the renewables side are up because the price of energy (and wholesale gas in particular) is up. In privatised electricity markets such as the UK's, the most expensive generator (gas) sets the price. So while renewables are now much cheaper than gas, the high price of gas is a windfall for Scottish Power which has a high portfolio of renewable energy.

Why might transmission and distribution be so profitable?

The transmission and distribution networks are natural monopolies. Transmission are the big lines that go from generation plans or windfarms to sub-stations. Distribution are the smaller lines that go from sub-stations to our homes. Collectively they are known as the grid. Alongside Portugal, the UK is the only country in Europe that has fully privatised the grid.

As natural monopolies, the grid and the gas network are regulated by Ofgem, which sets prices and is supposed to act in the interests of consumers and work towards environmental improvement and improved energy security. Yet the energy grid monopolies have extremely high profits and have been slow to invest in green infrastructure. Research shows the profit margins for distribution network operating companies to be in the region of 40%. Across the UK, £3.63 billion in dividends was paid out by these companies between 2017-2021. This makes the distribution network the most profitable sector of the UK economy.

The 10 Industries with the Highest Profit Margin in the UK, 2022	
Industry	**Profit Margin**
1. Electricity Distribution	42.5%
2. Gas Distribution	42.3%
3. Private Equity	34.7%
4. Open-Ended Investment Company Activities	33.8%

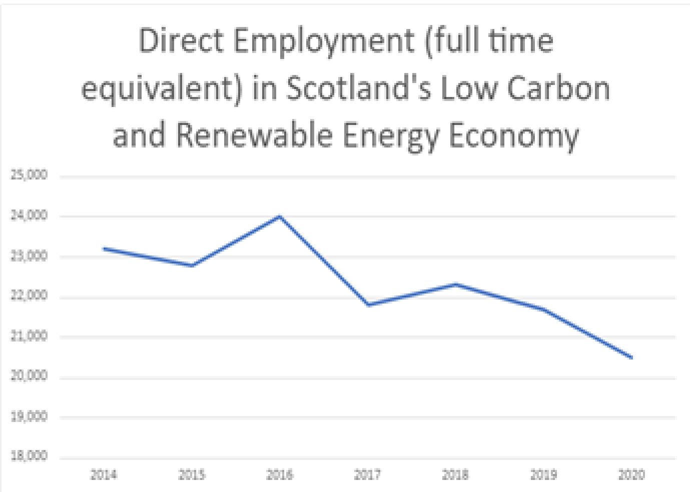
5. Search Engines	33.6%
6. Commercial Real Estate Agents	33.4%
7. Legal Activities	33.3%
8. Water Collection, Treatment & Supply	32.1%
9. Whisky Production	31.2%
10. Audiobook Publishing	31.2%

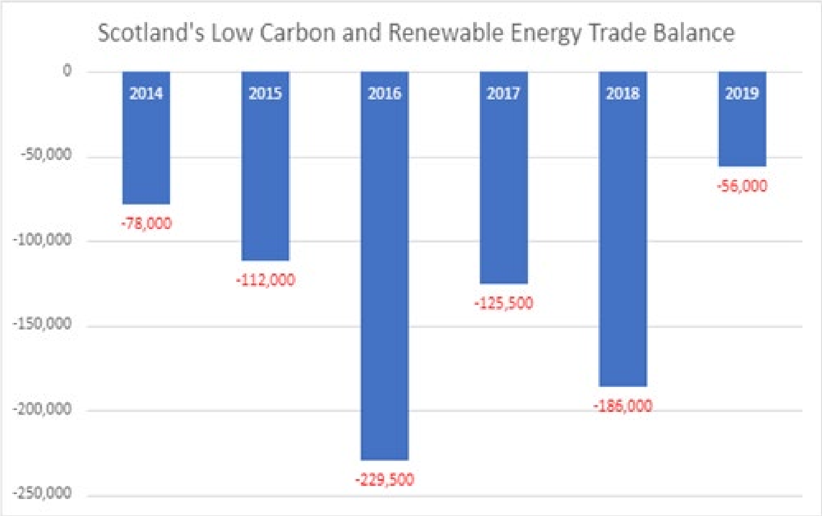
Source: IbisWorld

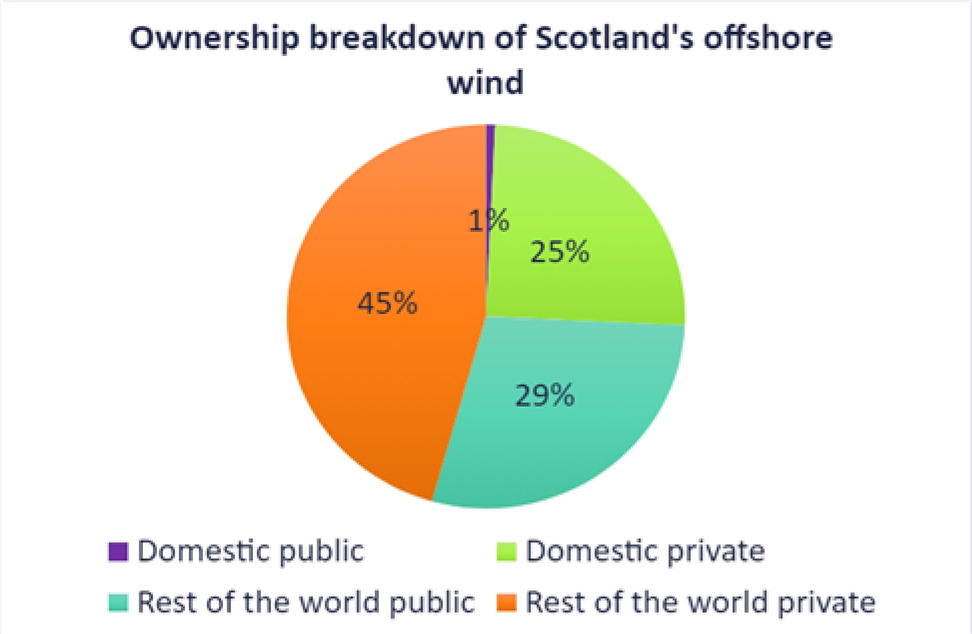
Has Scotland's move to renewable energy created jobs or benefited local communities?

Scotland's move to renewable energy, while very much needed, hasn't really led to job creation or benefits to local communities.

The tables below show that low carbon and renewable energy employment is falling, that we import more renewable energy goods and services than we export, and that is due to a sector dominated by overseas multinational companies, who use pre-existing global supply chains to import the goods and services from overseas. This means the turbines are made in Denmark, the towers in Spain, and the jackets (foundations) in China or Indonesia. Scottish Power itself is a Spanish company and uses yards in Spain and elsewhere for much of its renewable energy.

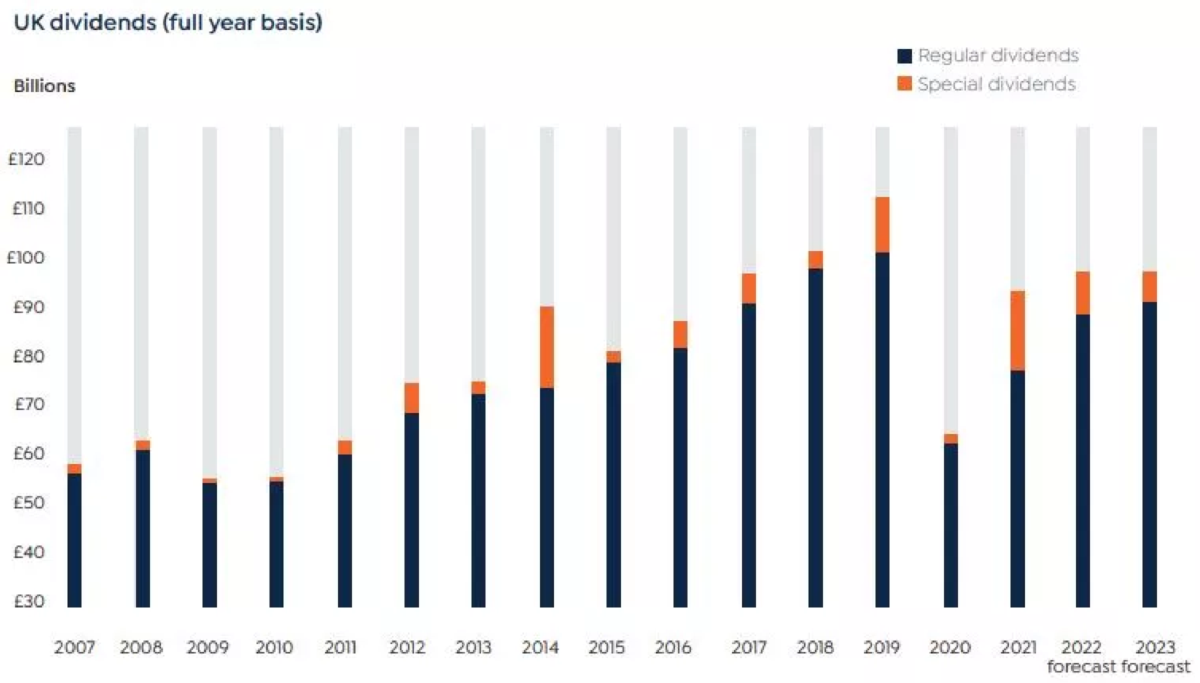



Scotland's Low Carbon and Renewable Energy Trade Balance
0
-50,000
-100,000
-150,000
-200,000
-250,000
2014
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
-78,000
-112,000
-229,500
-125,500
-186,000
-56,000


Ownership breakdown of Scotland's offshore wind
1%
25%
45%
29%
Domestic public
Domestic private
Rest of the world public
Rest of the world private

Activity 7: The Rich (5 mins)

The tutor will outline that while real wages have been falling, dividends paid out to shareholders are increasing. Research by Unite estimates that the profit margins of FTSE 350 companies in 2021 were 73% higher than pre-pandemic levels in 2019.



The result is a super-rich, in Scotland, the UK and around the rest of the world. The wealth of Scotland's richest 20 families is greater than the bottom 30% of the population combined.

Scottish Rich List 2022			
Individual/family	**Industry/business**	**Net wealth**	**Change on previous year**
Anders Holch Povlsen	Online retail, ASOS, Bestseller, Jack and Jones	£6.5bn	+£500m
Glenn Gordon and family	Drinks distillery, William Grant & Sons	£3.395bn	-£200m
Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw and John Shaw and family	Pharmaceuticals, Biocon	£2.496bn	-£446m

Sir Ian Wood and family	Oil and Gas, Wood Group	£1.819bn	No change
Mohamed Al Fayed and family	Retail, Harrods	£1.699bn	-£1m
Mahdi al-Tajir	Highland Spring	£1.685bn	-£2m
The Thomson family	Media & Journalism, DC Thomson	£1.585bn	+£314
Sandy and James Easdale	Transport and property	£1.363bn	New entrant
Lady Philomena Clark and family	Arnold Clark	£1.267bn	+£126m
Trond Mohn and Marit Mohn Westlake and family	Industry – shipping pumps	£1.245bn	-£14m
Richest 10, Scotland	**N/A**	**£23.054bn**	**+2%**
Richest 250, UK	**N/A**	**£710.723bn**	**+8%**
Scottish GDP	**Annual economic output**	**£160 bn**	
Scottish Budget	**Annual Scottish Government spending**	**£60 bn**	

Further reading:

- Unite Investigates (2022) https://www.unitetheunion.org/news-events/news/2022/august/on-eve-of-new-price-cap-unite-research-confirms-rampant-corporate-profiteering-fuelling-soaring-energy-bills/
- Source News (2018) 'Analysis: Scotland's 11 billionaires – did they really get rich 'through their vision and tireless endeavours'?' https://sourcenews.scot/analysis-scotlands-11-billionaires-did-they-really-get-rich-through-their-vision-and-tireless-endeavours/

Activity 8: Fighting back (10 mins)

The aim of this activity is to consider the language being used by those who are fighting back against the cost-of-living crisis.

The tutor will show a short video clip of those fighting back against the cost-of-living crisis.

What strikes you about the clip? What did you think of the language used?

Module 2 – The People's History

Activity 9: 1940-2023 - photo-history (45 mins)

The aim of this activity is to consider and discuss the significance of key Scottish and UK political events since WW2.

You will be given a number of images, which, as a group, you have to plot on a timeline of 1940 to the current day.

The tutor will facilitate a discussion.

Activity 10: Boom and Bust (55 mins)

The tutor will play a video clip of Trademark's Stiofán Ó Nualláin who gave a talk at the STUC in January 2023.

Mid-way through the presentation you will split into three groups to discuss the pros and cons of three periods: the social democratic post-war consensus; New Labour; and Devolution. Discuss what was good and bad about these periods for working class people. Agree one good thing, one bad thing and one key lesson to feedback.

Further reading/listening:
https://trademarkbelfast.com/

Activity 11: Culture and Creativity (15 mins)

The aim of this activity is to create a poster, cartoon, song, poem or artefact about the cost-of-living crisis.

The working class have always created art, such as banners, songs, cartoons and poems to provoke thought and meaning. Using the images, cuttings and stationary on the table, create a political poster, cartoon, song, poem, or image. You may want to think about something you have learned during the course. Or you may want to think about your experience of the pandemic and the cost-of-living crisis: how does it compare with the experience of Scotland's rich?

The creations will be compiled together into a magazine or booklet.

Module 3 – Show us the money: mapping wealth and power

Activity 12: An Introduction to Community Wealth Building (5 mins)

The tutor will introduce this module and then play a short video clip to introduce the concept of community wealth building.

Activity 13: Mapping financial flows (20 mins)

The aim of this task is to consider how money flows in and out of your community.

Using post-its, write down all the money that comes into a local economy and then re-circulates, and all the money that is extracted from the local economy. Your local economy could be a town, village, city, or a street.

Place these on the wall and then once all the post-its are up identify if any of sources of money listed could be described as:

- **Spiders** (which capture the money before it goes anywhere else)
- **Multipliers** (which recirculate within the local economy)

The estimate of the **multiplier** from buying local is eight. While money spent with a large multinational corporation tends to leave your community right away, heading straight to corporate headquarters or offshore, if you buy from a local business it tends to stays local and is spent a further eight times, circulating and recirculating.

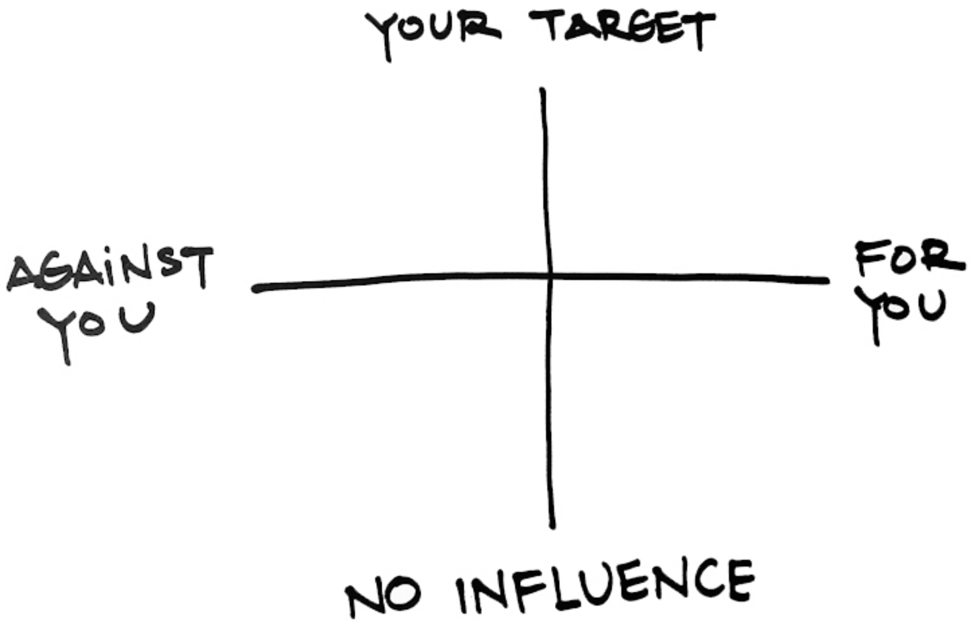
Activity 14: Scotland's Budget (15 mins)

The tutor will give a short presentation on the Scottish Government Budget and the potential ways which the Scottish Government and Local Government could raise money for frontline public services.

Further reading:
https://stuc.org.uk/files/Reports/Scotland_Demands_Better_Fairer_Taxes_for_a_Fairer_%20Future.pdf

Activity 15: Influencing decision makers (30 mins)

Overleaf are three case studies on local economic activity. In groups, using these case studies or your own campaign, map out the key local and national decision makers that could intervene to ensure wealth is retained by working class people in the local community. In your group, complete the power map and questions below.



- Who are your decision makers? Who influences them – financially or otherwise?

- Where are decisions made?

- What do we need to find out more about?

- How might you influence these decision makers to prevent money flowing out of the community and how can we capture more of it locally?

- What might you do if the decision makers ignore you?

Case study 1 – Wyndford Flats

The Wyndford Flats are high-rise tower blocks in Maryhill, Glasgow. Built in the 1960s, they consist of 600 flats, and are owned by Glasgow Housing Association (GHA). Nearby, Maryhill Road has a large Tesco as well as a number of local shops.

GHA say that the one and two-bedroom flats are outdated, have low levels of occupancy and high rates of turnover. They are planning to knock down the flats and invest £73 million in building 300 new energy-efficient homes in the area.

GHA say that an eight-week consultation showed 85% of Wyndford tenants supported the regeneration plans, with 87% of tenants living in the four 26-storey blocks earmarked for demolition also in favour.

Some tenants that want to stay have recently occupied the tower blocks. They say that it is a good place to live, despite a concern that people have been housed without support, leading to high turnover. They also say that the environmental impact of the demolition and rebuild is nearly twice that of retrofitting the flats. The flats already have an EPC Rating of C, set against the Scottish average of D. Their campaign has also won the support of heritage architects who view the flats as of historical importance.

The planned 300 replacements will be for mid-market rent, at asking prices and due to its proximity near the West End will likely attract a higher-income than the 600.

The new development would be undertaken by a large multinational construction consortium. It isn't known who would undertake retrofitting.

Case study 2 – Oxgangs School meals

Week 1	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
SOUP	Lentil (V)	Potato and leek (V)	Minestrone soup (V)	Tomato and rice (V)	
CHOICE ONE	Wholemeal cheese and tomato pizza with peas, carrots and crusty bread (V)	Salmon fish finger and chips with sweetcorn and green beans	Chicken casserole with new potatoes, cauliflower and broccoli	Dressed fish and chips with peas, carrots and baked beans	Sandwich with a choice of chicken, cheese, egg or tuna filling
CHOICE TWO	Wholemeal pitta bread with filled Quorn Bolognaise (V)	Plain omelette and chips with sweetcorn and greens beans (V)	Vegetarian sausage casserole with new potatoes, cauliflower and broccoli (V)	Vegetable risotto with peas, carrots and baked beans (V)	
CHOICE THREE	Baked potato with Quorn Bolognaise (V)	Baked potato with tuna mayo	Egg mayo roll or sandwich (V)	Baked potato with beans (V)	
DESERTS	Seasonal fruit Sugar free yogurt	Seasonal fruit Sugar free yogurt	Seasonal fruit Sugar free yogurt	Seasonal fruit Sugar free yogurt	Seasonal fruit Sugar free yogurt
Notes	*All soups are homemade *Milk or water provided daily *Salad pots and a selection of wholemeal bread available daily *All sandwiches/rolls are wholemeal				

Oxgangs primary school in Edinburgh has 340 pupils. The school meals provision is currently a breakfast club, which 25% of the children attend, and lunches which are currently available free for primary 1 to 5 and are paid for by children in primary 6 & 7.

Currently, approximately 80% of children access free school meals. The uptake significantly reduces from P6 onwards. The school meals food and staff are provided by Amey, a multinational company through a contract with Edinburgh City Council.

Most of the school meals are externally provided and delivered into Oxgangs primary school daily and heated up on the premises. All food supplies and equipment are provided for centrally by the private company.

The workers employed by the school meals contract provider in Oxgangs Primary School are paid the Scottish living wage but are employed on poorer terms and conditions than other workers in Edinburgh City Council.

The Scottish Government have funded Councils to expand school meals to all primary school aged children, but Edinburgh City Council say they can only afford to do this if they enter into a 5-year contract with Amey.

Case study 3 – Care Homes in Aberdeen

Fairview House Care Home in Aberdeen accommodates 103 elderly residents. It employs a general manager, a number of care staff, as well as a team of cooks and domestics.

The care home charges approx £769 a week for residential care. Of this, up to £719 is paid for by the local authority to those entitled to a funded place.

The care home employees who directly provide care (practitioner, support worker, supervisor, or personal assistant) receive an hourly rate of £10.50 (Adult social care workers minimum pay). Excluding those in managerial roles, most other staff are paid between £9.50 & £10.40 ph.

The care home, owned by Barchester, has an occupancy rate of 85%.

Aberdeen joint health and care partnership are currently approaching care homes in the area to place patients who may be stuck in hospitals and blocking beds. They intend to approach Fairview and ask them to consider the expansion of the current service to allocate 15 beds for this purpose.

Further watching / reading

- https://www.common-wealth.co.uk/reports/democratic-by-design
- https://www.north-ayrshire.gov.uk/council/community-wealth-building/community-wealth-building.aspx
- https://peoplesmomentum.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/CWB_MTM_11_April.pdf
- https://www.youtube.com/live/cQVACa-1DAw

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Further information
For further information about this booklet or the course more generally, please contact Francis Stuart, Senior Policy Officer, STUC, fstuart@stuc.org.uk, 07972847536.