

SCOTTISH ANTI POVERTY REVIEW



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A PARLIAMENT FOR SOCIAL
JUSTICE?: 20 YEARS OF
HOLYROOD



EDITORIAL TEAM

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The Poverty Alliance

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ABOUT THE POVERTY ALLIANCE

The Poverty Alliance is a network of community, voluntary, statutory and other organisations whose vision is of a sustainable Scotland based on social and economic justice, with dignity for all, where poverty and inequalities are not tolerated and are challenged.

Our aim is to combat poverty by working with others to empower individuals and communities to affect change in the distribution of power and resources. To do this we:

- Work with people and communities experiencing poverty to empower them to address poverty
- Work with organisations to build a strong anti-poverty network in Scotland
- Support the development of policies which promote social justice and combat poverty
- Raise awareness about poverty and encourage debate

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WELCOME

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EDITORIAL

“What do the people want of the place? They want it to be filled with thinking persons as open and adventurous as its architecture. A nest of fearties is what they do not want. A symposium of procrastinators is what they do not want. A phalanx of forelock-tuggers is what they do not want.”

The words of Edwin Morgan’s *Open the Doors!* – commissioned to mark the opening of the new Scottish Parliament building in 2004 – were very much written in the spirit of the age. The re-establishment of the Parliament in 1999 and the subsequent opening of the Holyrood building both took place amid a sense of optimism and renewal in Scottish political and civic life; a belief that devolution could lead to new possibilities for a more socially just Scotland.

There was realism about what the Parliament could achieve with its – at that point – still relatively limited powers, but there existed the pervading sense that it provided the opportunity of a bolder and more radical political environment; one that brought power closer to communities across Scotland and that offered up a different way of doing politics.

While the Scottish Parliament has not always lived up to these lofty ambitions, there has been some landmark legislation passed and some clear policy divergence. As Rachel Le Noan of SCVO makes clear in edition of the Scottish Anti-Poverty Review, the third sector has been at the forefront of a number of the Parliament’s most significant and progressive moments, like the passing of the Social Security Act, and we should not overlook the impact that the sector has had in shaping the Parliament in the last two decades. We should also not overlook the ways in which the Parliament has fostered and facilitated the development of a more participative approach to politics and to policy development, including anti-poverty policy development. This has reflected, as Professor John McKendrick sets out in his regular column, the growing importance of research into the lived experience of poverty in Scotland in the last 20 years; a dynamic that has, in turn, ensured greater participation of people with experience of poverty in anti-poverty policy-making. We need much more of this in the years to come. That there have been failings, though, cannot be ignored.

The Parliament has, as Rebecca Marek from the Coalition of Racial Equality and Rights analyses, given less focus to issues of racial inequalities as the years have went on. And it is impossible to ignore the fact that – despite the Parliament’s first decade coinciding with declining poverty rates, its second decade has been marked by more and more people across Scotland being pulled into poverty.

That this has been largely driven by UK Government policies is incontestable, but the extent to which the Scottish Parliament has acted as a “conveyer belt” for austerity rather than a bulwark against it – as argued by Stephen Low of UNISON in this edition’s Trade Union Comment – remains an issue of fierce political debate.

What is clear though – and what should be welcomed – is the extent to which the Scottish Parliament now dominates and is the primary focus of Scottish political life. Its absence would now be unthinkable, and indeed a generation of young people in Scotland has now never known a Scotland without the Parliament. And with a raft of new powers over social security and taxation, the Parliament is now better equipped than ever to act in the name of social justice and to take the steps that will loosen the grip of poverty on people’s lives in communities across Scotland.

The challenge now and in the years ahead is to meaningfully realise that spirit of ambition that existed in the Parliament’s early days. Those of us in the anti-poverty movement must continue to keep the flame burning, but it is our political leaders in the Scottish Parliament – each of whom set out their reflections in this edition – who are the ones that can most powerfully enact its founding mission.

So let’s celebrate 20 years of the Scottish Parliament. But let’s also use it to think of, in the words of Edwin Morgan, what we want from the place. And what those of us who believe in social justice want is simple; a Parliament that reflects our shared values of justice and compassion. A Parliament that – in its next 20 years – creates a Scotland of equality, a Scotland where every child has every chance, and a Scotland that is finally free from the grip of poverty. To quote from Sue Lyons’ contribution to this edition: “how good would that be?”



RESEARCH COMMENT

Twenty Years of Researching The Lived Experience of Poverty in Scotland

In his regular column, Professor John McKendrick of Glasgow Caledonian University reflects on the growing prominence and centrality – in the last 20 years - of research into the lived experience of poverty in Scotland.



Much has changed since the Scottish Parliament was re-convened on May 12, 1999, after a hiatus of almost 200 years. Wikipedia was founded (2001), Facebook was launched (2004), the first generation iPhone was released (2007) and Scotland reached the finals of a World Cup football tournament (SWNT in France, 2019). It has also been an eventful period for those concerned to eradicate poverty in Scotland: each iteration of the Scottish Government (previously Executive) has presented an overarching plan to tackle poverty in Scotland; there have been some stellar successes in specific anti-poverty activity, strategy and policy; the anti-poverty sector has matured and grown from strengthen-to-strength; and the first decade of the Scottish Parliament was one in which the economy and policy worked in tandem to significantly reduce the number of people living in poverty in Scotland, particularly children and pensioners. Yet, in another sense, we have all failed; poverty is rising in Scotland (as with the rest of the UK) and the latest Scottish Government figures estimate that more than one million of our people are living in poverty in Scotland.

While there is no room for complacency and while it would be inappropriate to be celebratory, on reaching the twentieth anniversary of the Scottish Parliament, it is appropriate to reflect on one success. Throughout the period, the voice of lived experience has grown and is increasingly one that those in positions of power and influence take into account.

Enacting policy on people experiencing poverty is being replaced by policy that is devised and implemented in partnership with people experiencing poverty. The Poverty Alliance (along with organisations such as ATD Scotland, The Poverty Truth Commission, and the like) has championed this cause. However, it is worth acknowledging that the wider research community has been supportive throughout, finding ways to share the voice of lived experience to better understand the nature of the challenge and the to respond more effectively to them.

Listed below are 21 examples of published research that is based on the lived experience of poverty in Scotland, one for each year in which the modern iteration of the Scottish Parliament has functioned.

1999 MacKay, A., Scott, G., Sawers, C., & Harris, R. (1999). What Can We Afford? A Women's Role in Money Management in Low Income Households. Report Prepared for Glasgow City Council. Scottish Poverty Information Unit: Glasgow.

2000 Johnston, R., & McIvor, A. (2000). Pushed into social exclusion: asbestos-related disability and relative poverty on Clydeside. *Scottish Affairs*, 32(1), 95-109.

2001 Tett, L. (2001). Health Concerns in Communities and the Wider Benefits of Learning. Perspectives from Practice in Scotland.

2002 MacKenzie M, McLanders G, MacReady L, Milne Jim, Reid D and Thain D (2002) Poverty in Dundee: An Account of People's Views and Experiences, Dundee Anti Poverty Forum: Dundee



RESEARCH COMMENT Cont'd

- 2003 McKendrick, J. H., Cunningham-Burley, S., & Backett-Milburn, K. (2003). Life in low income families in Scotland. Scottish Government.
- 2004 Moray Against Poverty Network (2004) Voices from the Edge.
- 2005 Mooney, G., & Poole, L. (2005). Marginalised voices: resisting the privatisation of council housing in Glasgow. *Local Economy*, 20(1), 27-39.
- 2006 Turner, K., & Seaman, P. (2006). Parenting and children's resilience in disadvantaged communities. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- 2007 Green, M. (2007). Voices of people experiencing poverty in Scotland. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the Poverty Alliance.
- 2008 Sime, D. (2008). Ethical and methodological issues in engaging young people living in poverty with participatory research methods. *Children's Geographies*, 6(1), 63-78.
- 2009 McCormack, C., & Pallister, M. (2009). The wee yellow butterfly. Argyll Publishing.
- 2010 Lindsay, K., Gillespie, M., & Dobbie, L. (2010). Refugees' Experiences and Views of Poverty in Scotland. Scottish Refugee Council.
- 2011 De Lima, P., Arshad, R., Bell, A., & Braunholtz-Speight, T. (2011). Community consultation on poverty and ethnicity in Scotland. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- 2012 Watt, G., Brown, G., Budd, J., Cawston, P., Craig, M., Jamieson, R., ... & Mullin, A. (2012). General Practitioners at the Deep End: The experience and views of general practitioners working in the most severely deprived areas of Scotland. Occasional paper (Royal College of General Practitioners), (89), i.
- 2013 De Haro, M. T., & Koslowski, A. (2013). Fuel poverty and high-rise living: using community-based interviewers to investigate tenants' inability to keep warm in their homes. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 21(2), 109-121.
- 2014 O'Brien, R., Wyke, S., Watt, G. G., Guthrie, B., & Mercer, S. W. (2014). The 'everyday work' of living with multimorbidity in socioeconomically deprived areas of Scotland. *Journal of Comorbidity*, 4(1), 1-10.
- 2015 Douglas, F., Sapko, J., Kiezebrink, K., & Kyle, J. (2015). Resourcefulness, desperation, shame, gratitude and powerlessness: Common themes emerging from a study of food bank use in Northeast Scotland. *AIMS Public Health*, 2(3), 297.
- 2016 Pemberton, S., Fahmy, E., Sutton, E., & Bell, K. (2016). Navigating the stigmatised identities of poverty in austere times: Resisting and responding to narratives of personal failure. *Critical Social Policy*, 36(1), 21-37.
- 2017 Mould, R., & Baker, K. J. (2017). Documenting fuel poverty from the householders' perspective. *Energy research & social science*, 31, 21-31.
- 2018 Treanor, M. (2018). Falling through the cracks: the cost of the school day for families living in in-work and out-of-work poverty. *Scottish Affairs*, 27(4), 486-511.
- 2019 Inglis, G., McHardy, F., Sosu, E., McAteer, J., & Biggs, H. (2019). Health inequality implications from a qualitative study of experiences of poverty stigma in Scotland. *Social Science & Medicine*, 232, 43-49.



RESEARCH COMMENT Cont'd

Clearly, this list confirms that there has been a sustained effort from the research community to learn from lived experience of poverty in Scotland. Some of authors are well known to the anti-poverty community (Cathy McCormack in 2009, Fiona McHardy in 2019), and some are from leading members of the Scottish academic community, past (Gill Scott in 2009) and present (Morag Treanor in 2018). But many contributors are less well known, suggesting that the research expertise and interest is wider than perhaps we realise. We are better informed on a wide range of issues as a result of this work, e.g. school (2018), fuel (2017), food (2015), health (2014), refugees (2010), housing (2005), work (2000) and money management (1999). The approaches to capturing 'lived experience' are varied; from the book-length autobiography of Cathy McCormack (2009) to capturing lived experience from those working with people living in poverty (GPs in 2012).

What this list does not convey is the prominence that is currently being given to lived experience at the current time. There is now an expectation that the annual Local Child Poverty Action Reports of each local authority/local NHS Board will engage lived experience; ATD Scotland is about to publish a think-piece on understanding poverty, based on working with people experiencing poverty for the last few years; earlier this year, the Poverty and Inequality Commission published a review of work in Scotland that has engaged lived experience of poverty in Scotland over the last ten years; a new PhD research project is about to start in the Scottish Poverty and Inequality Research Unit at Glasgow Caledonian University that will consider the impact of lived experience on poverty policy and strategy in Scotland; and Professor Sharon Wright of the University of Glasgow and Ian McIntosh of the University of Stirling have recently published a paper thinking through the problems and challenges of what it means to engage 'lived experience'.

As with the wider field of anti-poverty activity in Scotland, in terms of learning from lived experience, much has been achieved, but there is much still to do.



TRADE UNION COMMENT

What has the Scottish Parliament done for workers? And to what extent has the Scottish Parliament lived up to the expectations of the trade union movement, which played such a key part in campaigning for its creation. Stephen Low, Policy Officer at UNISON Scotland, answers these questions.

Looked at from a trade union perspective, the two-decade long history of the Scottish Parliament presents a mixed picture. There are unquestionably achievements and accomplishments but equally, there are failures and disappointments.

Trade unions have been frequent and welcome visitors to the Parliament since its opening. It is rare for a week to go by without at least one committee hearing from either the STUC or one of its affiliate unions as part of either an inquiry of their own or as consideration of some piece of legislation. Whether in person or in writing there have been no shortage of opportunities to engage with the Parliament. There is of course, as we have found sometimes to our cost, a difference between being heard and being listened to.

This has been the case regardless of the changing composition of the Parliament. Indeed, what is perhaps the most remarkable aspect since devolution has been the continuity of outlook regardless of party balance. We've seen that whoever is in government there has been a willingness to treat trade unions as valid actors, but we have also seen a continued reliance on PFI, an undermining of Local Government, a further complication of the public service landscape through outsourcing and privatisation, and a far greater willingness to demand more powers for their institution than fully utilise the powers they currently have.

An early and enduring success has been the partnership model of working in the NHS in Scotland. Officially announced in July 1999 it became the cornerstone of industrial relations in the NHS. It has had periodic updates over the years, but it still underpins all staff governance in the NHS in Scotland. It is given tangible form by a number of bodies at local and national level – some tripartite featuring the Scottish Government alongside trade unions and NHS employers.



All HR policies for NHS Scotland are developed in full partnership, and an independent review by Nottingham University described the partnership as having 'matured into probably the most ambitious and important contemporary innovation in British public sector industrial relations.'

If NHS Partnership represents the most durable achievement for the workforce of the Parliament's first ten years, in the second the most significant has probably been the Scottish Government's Fair Work Convention, which was intended to raise the quality of working lives (and, naturally productivity and national prosperity). Fair work is defined as being work that offers effective voice, opportunity, security, fulfilment and respect; that balances the rights and responsibilities of employers and workers and that can generate benefits for individuals, organisations and society. These are indeed fine words (something else the parliament produces in abundance) and the task is to turn them into tangible gains for working people.

There have been a few of these; the Scottish Living Wage for workers in care services and for those employed by businesses in receipt of grant funding spring to mind. The key here, though, lies in its potential for future policy.



These principles are inherently trade union-friendly – it is difficult to conceive ‘voice’ for workers as being meaningful without collective bargaining. Opportunity and security are hardly compatible with a precarious workforce and so on.

But if successes, and significant ones, can be pointed to, perhaps the single greatest hope of the trade unions placed in the Scottish Parliament has not been fulfilled. Trade unions were early advocates of a Scottish Parliament and a key part of the campaigns for devolution. Some of this support stems from principles of decentralisation and democratic participation that come pretty much naturally to trade unions. In addition, some unions came to the perception of a necessity for more firmly based regional economic development mechanisms. What turned these sentiments from being expressed in pious motions at the STUC Congress into urgent campaigning were the depredations of the Thatcher and Major era. It was then that the idea of Scottish Parliament as a defence and bulwark against a Westminster government seeking to solve economic problems through cuts to jobs and services whilst letting the public realm wither on the vine gained credence. It was this more than anything else that the trade union movement looked for.

It is in this respect that the Scottish Parliament has most disappointed. As local government haemorrhaged jobs, successive Finance Ministers passed on cuts from Westminster at the same time as imposing a blanket (and highly undemocratic) Council Tax freeze. It's not true to say that councils were left entirely powerless. They were given the power to lower, but not raise, business taxes (indeed that they would be given this power faster than George Osborne was planning for English councils was announced by John Swinney at an SNP conference). When austerity hit, the Scottish Parliament was less a shield than a conveyer belt.

The result for the vast bulk of workers in public services and well beyond was a decade of falling real wages. There was, to be sure, some protection for the very lowest paid – the Scottish Government and COSLA deserve some credit for acceding to the arguments for the Living Wage which is now paid across Scotland's public services.



Most workers, though, saw not just the value of their wage eroded across the decade but their job become harder. For many, demand for the services they provided rose, while the team tasked with delivering those services got smaller. What we hoped for was a shield, and what we got was a conveyer belt. There can be no question that the Scottish Parliament has failed to live up to the challenge of austerity.

The Scottish Parliament may not have delivered on all of the hopes that were placed on it by those who looked for its creation. It is, however, a permanent part of our landscape and has delivered some key improvements. The first twenty years, perhaps reflecting the New Labour era when it was established, were marked by a tendency to declare the mildest of reforms as the most radical of measures. Hopefully in the next twenty years - and if the climate crisis cannot compel it then nothing will - we will see a closer correspondence between the reality and the rhetoric.



THIRD SECTOR COMMENT

Tackling poverty in the voluntary sector: 20 Years and counting!



The voluntary sector undoubtedly plays a key role in influencing policy at the Scottish Parliament, including around anti-poverty policy. Here, Rachel Le Noan of SCVO summarises some of the campaigns from the last 20 years that highlight the sector's power in bringing about significant policy change."

The urgency to tackle poverty is an issue the voluntary sector has been campaigning on for many years. Today it remains a significant challenge. In fact, some may even wonder whether any progress has been achieved when child poverty rates continue to rise across the UK. As the UN Special Rapporteur, Philip Alston, notes in his latest report: "child poverty in twenty-first century Britain is not just a disgrace, but a social calamity and an economic disaster."

Poverty continues to affect too many people across Scotland and addressing its causes has been a constant ask from voluntary organisations over the past two decades. This is becoming an even more complex task as austerity is also affecting the sector which must often operate in difficult circumstances to say the least.

We know more must be done, and we will keep on informing and challenging policymakers. However, as we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Scottish Parliament, it is also important to recognise the contribution and achievements of the voluntary sector in improving people's lives so far.

Earlier this year the Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) published a book entitled *Charities, Scotland & Holyrood: Twenty Years Delivering Change*.

The book 'celebrates the last 20 years of the sector working with – while also being prepared to challenge, debate, persuade and influence – the Scottish Parliament. It highlights 20 key voluntary sector campaigns which resulted in legislation being created for the benefit of people in Scotland and celebrates the various and often hard-won successes of the voluntary sector'.

Below are examples of a few campaigns that illustrate the power of persuasion and the tenacity of voluntary organisations in tackling poverty:

- Debt arrangement scheme: 'Citizens Advice Scotland (CAS) wanted to introduce a plan which allowed a person's debt to be managed and to reduce the use of bailiffs. Susan McPhee, head of policy and public affairs at CAS, said: "Before the Scottish Parliament it was difficult to get any Scottish legislation through, it was exceptionally hard to lobby Westminster from Edinburgh."



THIRD SECTOR COMMENT Cont'd

Tackling poverty in the voluntary sector: 20 Years and counting!

Consumer credit is reserved but diligence (the legal term for debt protection) became devolved so we saw that as a way of changing policy". The Debt Arrangement and Attachment (Scotland) Act 2002 introduced the Debt Arrangement Scheme (DAS) in November 2004 as a debt management tool to allow debtors to repay multiple debts over an extended period, free from the threat of legal action or diligence (debt enforcement) from their creditors. There have been almost 26,000 DAS approved schemes since the act's introduction' .

- Scottish Welfare Fund: 'the Scottish Welfare Fund (SWF) was launched in 2013 to provide crisis grants for living expenses in the event of an emergency and community care grants to enable and support independent living. It is a national scheme delivered by Scotland's 32 local authorities on behalf of the Scottish Government and replaced the discretionary Social Fund previously run by the UK Department for Work and Pensions, which provided crisis loans for vulnerable people. The Welfare Funds (Scotland) Act 2015 placed a statutory duty on local authorities to provide welfare funds. Peter Kelly, director of the Poverty Alliance, said: "The act, by establishing the Scottish Welfare Fund on a statutory footing, has had an important impact on the lives of people experiencing poverty across Scotland and was brought about in no small part thanks to the voice of the third sector" .

- Free school meals: 'the Scottish Government introduced free school meals for all children in primary one to three in January 2015. The initiative was the result of a long-fought Scottish Free School Meals Campaign, led by Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) in partnership with other organisations including One Parent Families Scotland, the Poverty Alliance and other children's charities. This was an extension to the previous policy of offering free school meals to children and young people from families on low incomes in receipt of certain means tested benefits. The universal provision of free, healthy school meals has proven benefits in relation to uptake, family budgets, educational attainment, public health and addressing inequality. It also removed the stigma of means testing for children from low income families' .

- Social security: most recently the Scottish Government has pledged to build a new social security system that will be person-centred, with dignity and respect at its heart. The Social Security (Scotland) Act 2018 states that social security is an investment in the people of Scotland and aims to contribute to reducing poverty in Scotland. The new system thus gives more opportunities to voluntary organisations to influence processes that will be put in place to deliver new services. The announcement back in June that the Scottish Child Payment will be delivered by Social Security Scotland to all eligible children under 16 by 2022 was welcomed by the voluntary sector. It followed a campaign by organisations across the sector which saw this payment as a chance to free children and families from poverty. The first payments for children under 6 will start by the end of 2020, and it will work towards the Scottish Government's commitment to eradicate poverty for good.

The voluntary sector is not only essential to help people throughout Scotland receive the support they need; it is also crucial in ensuring that people's voices are heard by policymakers. The Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government have shown that they are ready and willing to listen and that should be acknowledged.

Nevertheless, as figures from the Scottish Government indicate, 20% of people in Scotland were living in relative poverty after housing costs in 2015-18 . In a climate fraught with fear and anxiety over what tomorrow will bring, the role of voluntary organisations is therefore more important than ever to tackle poverty.

SCVO plays a key role in supporting the voluntary sector and we will continue to foster collaboration and encourage partnership between all organisations. Dignity and respect are at the core of the new Scottish social security system and this is an important step forward. The work of the voluntary sector and its partners now is to make sure that dignity and respect indeed become reality.



20 Years of Race (In)equality in Holyrood

People from black and minority ethnic backgrounds are at significantly higher risk of experiencing poverty, so efforts to eradicate racial inequalities are intrinsic to tackling poverty. Here, Rebecca Marek of the Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights (CRER) reflects on what the Scottish Parliament has done in the last two decades to address race inequalities.

In the 20 years since the Scottish Parliament opened in 1999, what has been done? Overall, a lot. Approximately 300 bills have been passed, 1700 public petitions have been lodged, 8500 committee meetings have been held, and 660 FMQ sessions have taken place¹. When we consider what precisely has been done for race equality, though, the answer is a bit trickier.

CRER has conducted an overview of how race has been considered in the past two decades of the Scottish Parliament, looking particularly at the topics of Chamber Debates²; committee items of business³; and questions posed during First Minister's, General, and Topical Question Times^{4 5}. What we found was a marked decline from Session 1 (1999 to 2003) in debates, committee meetings, and parliamentary questions focused on race.

Debates

Over the past two decades, there have been only five Chamber Debates (i.e. not Members' Debates) on race alone, with an eleven-year gap between a debate on Race Equality led by the Minister for Communities in June 2006 and one held in December 2017, led by the Cabinet Secretary for Communities, Social Security, and Equalities.

The debates addressed subjects including the Race Relations (Amendment) Bill (2000), the Scottish Executive's anti-racism campaign (2002), the Scottish Executive's race equality scheme (2005), the Scottish Executive's national strategy and action plan on race equality (2006), and the Scottish Government's Race Equality Action Plan (2017).

There were more debates which focused on equality in general (e.g. the Executive's Equality Strategy, mainstreaming, the Equality Bill) or where race featured during a debate focused on a different protected characteristic (e.g. a Scottish Labour-led debate on



misogyny, racism, harassment, and sexism against women). We counted nine such debates, with a wide variation of the proportion of contributions from MSPs which had specific race content.

Committees

Analysing the work of the Equal Opportunities Committee (renamed the Equalities and Human Rights Committee in 2016), we examined the business undertaken by the committee (whether over a single meeting or multiple meetings) which specifically considered a race issue.

While there were eight items of business which focused on race during Session 1 (with a heavy emphasis on justice/policing-related issues), there has been a steady decrease since then. The focus has remained largely on justice/policing, although one inquiry looked into race and employment. It is worth noting that this inquiry, which resulted in a committee report, did not receive a Chamber Debate.

At the same time, the proportion of attention given to Gypsy/Traveller issues has increased. For example, in Session 4, of the four race-related items discussed, three related to Gypsy/Traveller issues in particular. While a focus on this is welcome, the downturn in more general race discussions is apparent.



20 Years of Race (In)equality in Holyrood



In terms of other committees, we found that only two committees have undertaken race-specific items of business: the Public Petitions Committee (considering a variety of petitions on issues including BME adoption procedures and Gypsy/Travellers and Council Tax) and the Justice Sub-Committee on Policing considering Police Scotland's engagement with BME communities.

Questions

In Session 1, seven First Minister's Questions (FMQs) had a race focus, whether addressing racist attacks, calling for work to tackle racism, or promoting Scotland as a welcoming and inclusive place. There has been a decrease in FMQs about race since then, with two or fewer FMQs on race in each of Sessions 2, 3, and 4. The change in the structure of FMQs during Session 5 makes it difficult to analyse the current session in the same way.

There has also been a decrease in Topical and General Questions with a race focus, from 16 in Session 1 to six in Session 5 (with Session 3 only featuring two).

It is clear that, overall, race is simply discussed much less now than it was in the early days of the Scottish Parliament.

This is to say nothing about the quality of the discussions, which was beyond the scope of this research.

Is this decline owed to the passage of the Equality Action 2010 (and the corresponding repeal of the Race Relations Act 1976) and an overall amalgamation of equality stands? Perhaps, although the same time period has seen several more Chamber Debates addressing gender, disability, and sexual orientation.

Could it be down to the distinct lack of BME representation in the Parliament? While there have never been more than two BME MSPs in a parliamentary session (and never a female BME MSP), there were no MSPs with a BME background in either the first or the second sessions of parliament, and yet race remained higher on the political agenda.

Perhaps the Scottish Government is simply not undertaking work on race that can be scrutinised? While the first two sessions of the parliament saw debates on an anti-racism campaign (which the Scottish Government does not currently operate), there were debates on its anti-racism/race equality strategies.



20 Years of Race (In)equality in Holyrood

However, there were no Chamber Debates on either the Race Equality Statement 2008-2011 or the Race Equality Framework 2016-2030. This is particularly concerning, as these policies set out the Scottish Government's overarching strategy for tackling racial inequalities across all aspects of society. It should be an area ripe for scrutiny (as should the five-year gap between strategies) – so why was it not?

Instead, maybe, is there a lack of race expertise in the Parliament that inhibits MSPs discussing issues? Was there a greater understanding of race and racism two decades ago? If so, what has changed?

Regardless of the reasons, the deprioritisation of race equality in the Scottish Parliament is evident. What does this say about Scotland as the welcoming and inclusive country it purports to be?

During the first Chamber Debate on race in the Scottish Parliament – a debate on the Race Relations (Amendment) Bill in 2000 – Ministers noted that, “no institution in Scotland can afford to ignore...the evidence that proves that racism exists here in Scotland,” and that, “the new Scotland is entitled to strong leadership from its politicians on [race equality].”

Two decades later, BME groups still experience significant inequalities and disparities across all areas of public life, from employment, to housing, to education, to justice. Nearly a quarter of those living in Scotland believe there is sometimes a good reason to be prejudiced against certain groups⁶. Isn't this Scotland, 20 years on, entitled to strong leadership from politicians and an acknowledgement that racism exists in our institutions and structures?

It is time to put race back on the parliamentary agenda.

FOOTNOTES

1. Scottish Parliament Twitter, 1st July 2019.

2. For this exercise, we used the Scottish Parliament's website to search an alphabetical listing of debate subjects from 1999 to present for the use of the terms 'race', 'racism', 'racial', 'ethnic', and 'ethnicity'. We also looked at debates which had equality as their stated subject.

3. For this exercise, for Sessions 1-3, we used the Scottish Parliament's website to search the Official Report for committee meetings in which the terms 'racism', 'racial', 'ethnic', and 'ethnicity' were used. This helped us compile a list of items of business related to race, as well as note other items of business in which race was frequently discussed. We did not search for the term 'race', as this brought up results not related to race equality, (e.g. athletic races, use of the phrase 'race to the bottom'). The way in which the Official Report can be searched changed towards the end of Session 3, complicating our process. Thus, for Sessions 4-5, an amended version of this method was used.

4. For this exercise, we used the Scottish Parliament's website to search the Official Report for question times in which the terms 'race', 'racism', 'racial', 'ethnic', and 'ethnicity' were used in the question posed. For the 'scripted' questions from party leaders during First Minister's Questions (e.g. 'To ask the First Minister when he/she next plans to meet the Cabinet'), we have used the substantive question which followed this. In Session 5, the way in which First Minister's Questions are conducted was changed, allowing for more questions to be posed which were not lodged previously (and thus lack an official tag, such as S5M-00001). Efforts have been made to include these questions as well.

5. CRER has taken the decision to not count discussion of international issues, migration, or sectarianism; debates specific to a particular BME community; or mentions of race equality or BME groups in a list alongside other equality groups in our analysis. We also did not include forced marriage, female genital mutilation, or human trafficking, as, although these issues do disproportionality affect people from BME communities, they are not specifically related to issues of race and racism.

6. Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2015



Creating a society fit for everyone: A community perspective



The Scottish Parliament has undoubtedly done much to bring power closer to the people and communities that it serves, and to open up avenues of influence that were and are more difficult to come by at Westminster. But this hasn't always resulted in the kind of radical and ambitious action required to transform the lives of people living in poverty in Scotland. Sue Lyons, member of the Poverty Alliance's Community Activist Advisory Group, here reflects on what the Scottish Parliament has meant to her and of her hopes for its impact in the future.

I moved to Caithness from Lancashire in May 1997 and voted in the Scottish Devolution referendum in September 1997. I voted for devolution and I cheered in 1999 as the late Donald Dewar opened parliament with these words

“I look forward to the days ahead when this Chamber will sound with debate, argument and passion. When men and women from all over Scotland will meet to work together for a future built from the first principles of social justice.”

Tackling poverty was at the heart of the politics of the time and it might be hard to believe as we look at politics today, but it was a time of great optimism. As Scotland left the Thatcher years behind and unemployment reduced, we had a Labour government which promised to end child poverty in a generation. We saw a wholesale change in the way benefits were delivered which moved the focus away from conditionality and its associated disallowances to support for people to find work. I loved all that. I bought in absolutely to the idea that transformative policies would free people from the clutches of poverty and drive up living standards and opportunities for all and I saw the role of the Scottish Parliament as leading the way on this. The Scottish Parliament would understand the needs of those in the most deprived parts of our inner cities and also in our remote and rural communities in a way which Westminster had never been able to do. It was exciting.

I think it is perhaps fair to say that Donald Dewar's hopes haven't really come to fruition. My dreams of a poverty-free society were perhaps naïve, so it unsurprising that I have been disappointed in some ways.



Creating a society fit for everyone: A community perspective



The ending of child poverty in a generation didn't happen and following the independence referendum in 2014, the Smith Commission failed to recommend the full devolution of areas which would allow the Scottish Parliament to properly tackle some of the systemic issues in relation to poverty – taxation, welfare and employment law. Whilst not entirely of its own making, the Scottish Parliament has unfortunately had lead boots.

Despite this we have seen some successes. The Scottish Parliament has given us the opportunity to protect many of our citizens struggling against the tide of welfare reforms and punitive UK Government policies. We should recognise how removing the bedroom tax was a relief for many people – many people that I know personally felt the benefit of this policy. The increasing success of the Scottish Living Wage campaign led by the Poverty Alliance is another – this has led to 40,000 Scottish workers getting an increase in their pay. Ending the right to buy council houses across Scotland is a key step in ensuring that everyone has access to affordable secure homes. Most recently we have seen the Scottish Government listening to organisations working with the most vulnerable people in our society, by bringing forward the timetable for the new Scottish Child Payment to 2020.

This gives me hope that we have a Scottish Parliament which is accessible to people like us. A Scottish Parliament with a Government that has space for us to raise issues, bring pressure and demand change and where – at least for now – there is a willingness to listen and do what is right.

But tackling poverty is not just about tinkering around the edges, or gradually improving welfare systems, or paying higher wages. It is about changing our society, our economy – it is about increasing our wellbeing and improving our relationships – it is about us working together for the common good.

Throughout the time of the Scottish Parliament there has been a conflict which has occurred in every single government since devolution, and it is the conflict between an increasing ambition for a better and fairer society and the continued grip of neoliberal economics and the drive for ever-increasing economic growth. Without a doubt this has led to a timidity in taking the steps that the Scottish Parliament could have taken in terms of tax rises and spending on public sector services.

And I guess that this is the key really, that in order to truly tackle poverty in a way that is sustainable and will take through to a better future, we have to change our entire economic system.

So, if I have a hope for the future as an anti-poverty activist, it is that we are braver, tougher and more aspirational. I hope that we confront those who manipulate our economy for selfish and individualistic purposes and that we can build an economy and a society that increasingly works for the common good. We need to stop measuring the worth of people by the job they do or the money that they earn. That is the way to challenge poverty and end the accompanying stigma.

If our Scottish Parliament can do that then maybe – just maybe - we can see success where we have been let down by failure in the past. We could have a society fit for everyone - where everyone is valued and where we can end child poverty in a generation - or even sooner. How good would that be?



Views from the party leaders

While disagreements between political parties over how best to tackle poverty in Scotland have naturally existed in the 20 years of the Scottish Parliament, there has also existed – for example in relation to the Child Poverty Act of 2017 – substantial levels of cross-party support for the need to take more action to loosen the grip of poverty on people’s lives in Scotland.

Here, the leaders of the five parties currently represented in the Scottish Parliament give their takes on how Holyrood’s successes in the last 20 years as well as where more could have been and should be done.



Nicola Sturgeon MSP, Leader of the SNP

Tackling Scotland’s long-standing problem of persistent poverty and reducing the impact it has on people has been one of the driving forces of the Scottish Parliament. I know it is certainly one of my priorities as First Minister.

Over the last twenty years, many initiatives have helped to lift people out of poverty and steps taken to reduce the effects it has – whether through access to employment, housing, education or healthcare.

I am proud of the hard work of my Government to deliver a fairer Scotland. I want to see a country where the wellbeing and happiness of our people is valued and prioritised as much as our economic wealth.

In 2018-19 we invested over £1.4 billion to support low-incomes households, including £100 million to mitigate the worst impacts of UK Government welfare cuts – funds I would rather spend on anti-poverty measures. And this is in addition to the wider range of universal services we provide to all families.

For example investing in our NHS which, alongside the continuation of free prescriptions and free personal care, means everyone should be able to access the medicine, health advice, and care they need.

When it comes to jobs, I want people to be paid fairly. That is why we are boosting the kind of employment opportunities that can help lift people out of poverty and working closely with local authorities and others to access these jobs.

Our Fair Work First policy means investment in skills and training and no exploitative zero hours contracts. It means action on gender pay with genuine workforce engagement - including trade unions - and payment of the Real Living Wage.

Everyone in Scotland deserves a safe, warm place to live. Since 2007 we have delivered over 87,000 affordable homes and are on track to hit our ambitious target in this parliamentary term of 50,000 affordable homes by 2021, backed by record investment of £3.3 billion. We have also introduced legislation to tackle fuel poverty and ensure those who need help to heat their homes get it.

Where we have the powers to change things for the better we do. Our new agency Social Security Scotland is already delivering the first devolved benefits paying out over £190 million to around 91,000 people in 2018/19 – and this year it will be around £350 million. Benefits like the Carers Allowance Supplement and the Best Start Grant that are already making a difference to families across Scotland.

Child poverty, while lower than in other parts of the UK, is a particular challenge. We have put tough targets to reduce child poverty in law and we set out the bold steps we will take to meet them in our Tackling Child Poverty Delivery Plan.



Views from the party leaders

This includes introducing our new Scottish Child Payment of £10 per week by the end of 2022 for under 16s and introducing this support earlier for eligible families with a child under the age of six by Christmas 2020. This targeted support ensures the best start to life for every child – a goal symbolised by the universal Scottish baby box, packed full of the basic essentials that parents need to care for their baby.

And the year ahead will also see the full expansion of Early Learning and Childcare for all three and four-year olds, and for two-year olds who stand to benefit most – a doubling of the provision to 1140 hours.

Of course, our work to tackle poverty must be underpinned by a prosperous economy so we are also investing in infrastructure, reducing business rates and attracting investment into Scotland.

Taken together our work to tackle poverty, provide opportunities for young people and support the economy can help to make Scotland a wealthier and fairer nation.

We've come a long way in 20 years. I look forward to seeing how much progress will be made over the next 20 years, with a Scottish Parliament that has the levers that allow us to make even greater progress.



Jackson Carlaw MSP, Interim Leader of the Scottish Conservatives

Headline statistics don't always tell a story. Poverty is perhaps different. When the Scottish Parliament opened, about one in three people in Scotland lived in absolute poverty: now that's reduced to about one in six. But if we look at relative poverty, it was roughly one-fifth in 1998 – and it still is today. Being a much richer society but with relative progress stalling is a pretty good snapshot of what's happened.

In that time, we lived through a decade of boom and then harder years following the crash. Landmark reports have come and gone, such as the Christie Commission's call for early intervention. New laws on the subject have passed, such as the recent child poverty Act which had cross-party support to introduce a range of targets. But the Parliament's focus has usually been elsewhere: in the early years, on simply getting a new institution going; in the late Labour years, on public services; and since 2007, on the constitution. The result is neither radical progress, nor huge backsliding. We are roughly where we started off. The risk is that over the next 20 years, the same thing happens.

The Scottish Government has started introducing a range of new top-up benefits, for example. It is still early in that process, but the approach has been called 'Westminster +1': because it is essentially the UK



Views from the party leaders

system, but with payments a notch higher, and with some smaller new benefits added to the same basic architecture.

The jury is out for now, but there are two risks. The first is that it means an increasingly complex system based on tactical additions, rather than a strategic design that makes sense as a whole. Even just a few years ago, most people agreed that clarity, simplicity and clear work incentives across the full range of benefits were important. We risk losing sight of that.

The second risk is bigger, which is that we start ignoring other powerful tools to tackle poverty. Traditionally, it has suited everyone to focus on benefits: the left, because there was a comfortable story that the only thing required was to increase benefits, and the right, because there was an equally comfortable line that this was unfair on everyone else.

Neither is quite right. A benefits system that helps people when they need it and gives people a basic standard of living is essential, but it is not going to tackle poverty on its own. We need to be as concerned with outgoings as income. That means more focus on policies to push down costs – housing, childcare, food, transport – as a means of tackling poverty. And we need as much focus on the systems that give people the tools to tackle poverty themselves. Stronger school-age education is the obvious candidate, but rethinking work is important too. A job remains a precondition of escaping poverty, and full employment should be celebrated: improving skills, increasing productivity and working with employers to offer better progression in work is now needed too.

Indeed, arguably the most interesting thinking about poverty hasn't happened in the Parliament at all, and isn't about cash. There are some intriguing approaches growing in the third sector, such as the capabilities approach which focuses not on what people lack but on what people have, to help them take control of their lives. The evidence on adverse childhood experiences could, used carefully and in context, help people build resilience and give 'early intervention' a clearer focus.

These are ideas that started outside politics: my hope for the future is that politics is good at learning from them.

Tackling poverty is always going to be difficult. But if it doesn't start from a sense of the breadth of the challenge, then in 20 years, we will once again be reading our failure into statistics that show little change.



Richard Leonard MSP, Leader of Scottish Labour

On taking office as First Minister, Donald Dewar noted that the Scottish Parliament had been granted “powers to unlock opportunities and to bind communities that have been torn apart by deprivation and social pressures”. Parties could unite, he said, in their “common aims” to give the people of Scotland “a better life and a better future”.

In the twenty years since, tackling poverty – and especially child poverty – has been a point of avowed consensus at Holyrood. When the Tory government at Westminster scuppered the 2010 Child Poverty Act by repealing income-based targets for ending poverty, the Scottish Government brought in its own targets to get child poverty down to 10 per cent by 2030, in the Child Poverty (Scotland) Act 2017 – passed with cross-party support.

Yet away from the legislative process, what is the reality? The Scottish Government's figures estimate that 240,000 children are in relative poverty – 24 per cent.



Views from the party leaders

Far from being reduced to 10 per cent, child poverty is set to increase to 38 per cent by 2030, according to government forecasts. Scottish Labour's own research has shown that 330,000 children are in households without access to £500 to cover a boiler breakdown. There are huge disparities in wealth, and Scotland's rural land remains in staggeringly few hands. Income inequality is still rising in Scotland, in spite of Nicola Sturgeon arguing in 2014 that reducing the gap between the rich and the poor would be a test of her leadership.

Yes, the Tory government's policies are the key drivers of this trend. The SNP stresses the cruelty of Westminster and argues that separation is the only way out. But in both refusing to use its existing powers and in its own blueprint for austerity independence, the governing party has exposed its insincerity. Rather than using the growth of poverty as leverage for independence, it is time for politicians to take responsibility.

After all, we are not dealing in abstracts. Three-year-olds in households with incomes below £10,000 are two and a half times more likely to suffer chronic illness than children in households with incomes above £52,000. We cannot forget either the link between experience of child poverty and poor mental health.

Following pressure from Scottish Labour and the third sector, the government's recent announcement that it would bring forward the income supplement (though limited to under sixes) is welcome. However, the proposal remains fraught with unresolved issues relating to take-up, budget and a reliance on Universal Credit. That is why Scottish Labour would go further and answer third sector calls to top up child benefit and lift tens of thousands of children out of poverty. The two-child benefit cap and the associated "rape clause" exemption have been widely condemned in Scotland, but the SNP has refused to effectively abolish them through countervailing payments.

It is puzzling, because this would be a prime opportunity for Scotland's newly-devolved social security administration to establish a new gold standard for the welfare state.

Then again, the most telling preview of the SNP's post-separation approach is not Social Security Scotland, but the party's so-called Sustainable Growth Commission. According to the Institute for Fiscal Studies, which suggested "austerity would be extended under the commission's proposals", this approach would mean cuts to state spending and benefits equal to four per cent of GDP over a 10-year period.

Late last month, Jeremy Corbyn committed our party to scrapping Universal Credit altogether. Having long believed it is discredited and beyond reform, I welcome this move. But Scotland also has a unique opportunity to go further in supporting our people out of poverty. As well as making proper use of existing powers, Scottish Labour will continue to explore what further social security devolution would help achieve a fairer society. And given that 65 per cent of children living in poverty have at least one parent in work, Labour's proposals not just for a higher minimum wage but for day one employment rights and the power for Scotland to enhance worker protection above the UK floor level will also be key.

For poverty cannot be eradicated from above. The biggest power modern-day governments have is to empower people to take on the corporate interests which drive and profit from rampant poverty and inequality. Rather than a passive receiver of cruel policies from Westminster, Scotland can instead be the radical initiator of social and economic transformation: not just at Holyrood, but in every workplace and community too.



Views from the party leaders



Alison Johnstone MSP, Parliamentary Co-Leader of the Scottish Greens

An independent projection of child poverty commissioned by the Scottish Government projects that, in 2029, thirty years after the establishment of our Parliament, 38% of children - more than one in three - will be experiencing poverty. That would be nothing short of a disaster, for both the children and families affected, but also for society-at-large.

Children's health suffers if their family is disadvantaged. For example, they are 2½ times as likely to suffer chronic illness as toddlers, and adults who grow-up poor are 50% more likely to have limiting illnesses later in life. And a 2013 study estimated that the child poverty in the UK is currently costing at least £29 billion a year.

That is not to say that the Scottish Parliament has not made significant efforts to tackle child poverty in Scotland since 1999. Expanding free childcare, including additional entitlements for vulnerable two-year olds; free school meals for all primary 1-3s; a nationwide minimum School Clothing Grant; the new Best Start Grant and the forthcoming Scottish Child Payment, to name just a few, are having, or are likely to have, a positive impact.

But a lot of this is running up a down escalator, with huge cuts to social security targeted at some of our poorest families and an economy that excludes too many

families in Scotland. The same report that projected those increases in child poverty reveals that:

“A key driver of the sharp increase [in child poverty] is the reduction in the real-terms generosity of the social security system [...] as a result of planned reforms by the UK Government.”

We can and should use devolved powers to counteract this, and more than we are doing right now. The Scottish Child Payment is a major step, but with the Scottish Government estimating that it will take around 30,000 children out of relative poverty, we will still have a long way to go to help the remaining 200,000 children. The boost to Carer's Allowance is welcome, but it is still derisory given that value of unpaid care than carers do, estimated at over £10bn a year.

And whilst the new devolved payments are welcome, not all of them will increase automatically with the cost of living. Given what we know about the terrible impact of the benefits freeze on poor families, this really is a no-brainer.

Our social security system is not good enough at getting money where it needs to go. It is shocking that the Sure Start Maternity Grant, replaced by the Best Start Baby and Pregnancy Grant in Scotland last year, had a take-up of less than half of entitled families, and the Scottish Fiscal Commission projects it will still be less than 60% by 2023/24 under Best Start.

We also need to invest much more in money and social security advice services. Greens have secured a national roll-out of the Healthier, Wealthier Children approach, which trains midwives and health visitors to refer families to money advice and which has seen tens of millions of financial gains for families in Greater Glasgow, the area in which the approach was first tried.

But, we can go even further: social security payments should be automatic, as far as possible. We shouldn't be expecting people to constantly be applying for more support, but use the information we already have to pay what they are due with the minimum of input from them.



Views from the party leaders

This is already done in Glasgow to ensure that families can get access to School Clothing Grants.

And where families receive disability benefits like Personal Independence Payment, we should be trusting medical and other professionals to assess need, and not relying on flawed and stressful assessments which can lead to families losing thousands in much-needed help.

All this, is, of course, only one part of the story of why we have such high levels of poverty and what we can do about it. The Scottish Parliament has made progress in its first twenty years, but can it in the next twenty? What we need is a radical rebalancing of our economy to ensure a fairer distribution of resources and opportunities, and whether that is possible within the United Kingdom outside the European Union, is a pressing question.



Willie Rennie MSP, Leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrats

Scottish Liberal Democrats believe that everyone should be able to rely on well-paying jobs and good public services to support themselves and their families. But this is plainly not the case for everybody in Scotland.

It is scandalous that a million people in Scotland, including almost one in four children, are living in poverty. That should weigh heavy on the minds of every politician, councillor, activist and fellow citizen.

Poverty, homeless and inequality are often hidden and inextricably connected to a myriad of other problems and worries. It's the job of every one of us to pay attention, help one another and petition for change.

That's why my party are demanding the Scottish Government invest in education and mental health to ensure that everyone can fulfil their potential and be part of a high-skill, high-wage economy.

I am proud that Liberal Democrats on the Smith Commission helped secure new welfare powers for the Scottish Parliament worth £3 billion. It gives the Parliament the ability and agility to do things differently should it choose. But as we reflect on twenty years of this parliament existing it's clear there is a lot more we could have and should be doing to alleviate the financial woes that burden some of the poorest in our society.



Views from the party leaders



The Liberal Democrats want to see immediate and important changes made to the social security system across the entire UK. This includes increasing child benefit, helping families and lifting people out of poverty. We would end the freeze on benefits, uprating them in line with inflation, reverse the cruel cuts to Universal Credit and child tax credits.

Without quick and considered action, the Conservatives' right-wing cold-hearted approach will cause more suffering for hard up families in the years ahead.

The best way to lift people out of poverty and reduce inequality is through investing in their talents and wellbeing. The best route into high-skill, high-wage work is education. But one of the other pivotal factors is mental health. Good mental health liberates people and helps them achieve their potential.

Over the last decade with the SNP at the helm our beleaguered mental health services have failed to support all those in need because of budget concerns, understaffing and a lack of resources. Dangerous strains on the service mean some of Scotland's young people have waited years for attention.

These persistent long waiting lists are proof that the system isn't working as it should.

Most of us know someone who has faced the distress of mental ill health at some point in their lives – be it a family member, a colleague or a friend. We know that in many cases getting to the point of asking for help is a painful uphill battle, and we hope that when they get there professionals have the time to sweep in to give them the comprehensive care they need to get on with their lives. But for so many that is not the case.

Health professionals should not have to plead for funding for children's wellbeing. The Health Secretary must boost the mental health budget, invest more in mental health beds and embed a mental health professional in every GP and A&E in the country to speed up access to treatment.

If we want to eradicate poverty for good the way to do it is to invest in people.



MEMBERSHIP: JOIN US!

The Poverty Alliance is a national anti-poverty development agency for Scotland, which seeks to combat poverty through collaborative action, bringing together workers and activists drawn from the public sector, voluntary organisations, community groups and other agencies.

The Alliance's wide range of activities provide many opportunities for members to exchange information and expertise, which benefits the anti-poverty movement.

The benefits of membership include regular mailings, Scottish Anti-Poverty Review, opportunities to become involved in working groups and access to a wide range of organisations and activists who have the potential to influence the direction of anti-poverty policy in the future.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Name and designation of contact person: _____

Name and address of organisation: _____

Telephone: _____

Fax: _____

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MEMBERSHIP FEES:

FULL MEMBERSHIP: OPEN TO CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS: INCOME LESS THAN £50K: FREE | £50,000-£75,000: £50 | £75,000-£175,000: £75 | £175,000-£500,000: £100 | MORE THAN £500,000: £200

ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP: OPEN TO INDIVIDUALS, VOLUNTARY AND STATUTORY BODIES, AND PRIVATE SECTOR ORGANISATIONS*: UNWAGED INDIVIDUALS: FREE | INDIVIDUALS: £25 | VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS: £25 | STATUTORY BODIES: £300

*PLEASE CONTACT THE POVERTY ALLIANCE FOR DETAILS

I/We wish to apply for *Ordinary/Associate Membership for the year: _____

* Please delete as appropriate. NB Membership of The Poverty Alliance runs from 1st April to 31st March. Applications for new membership received after April 1st are charged on a pro rata basis.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Please send the completed application form to the address below - thank you.