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Fuel poverty

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There were an estimated 658,000 households living in fuel poverty in Scotland in 2010, equivalent to 28% of all households. The Scottish Government is aiming to eradicate fuel poverty in Scotland, “as far as is practicable”, by November 2016. This briefing looks at the statistics on fuel poverty, the policy measures in place to tackle fuel poverty and the levels of spending directed at fuel poverty.



The Scottish Parliament
Pàrlamaid na h-Alba

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A household is considered to be in fuel poverty if it is required to spend more than 10% of its disposable income (including housing benefit or income support for mortgage interest) on all household fuel use.

On this definition, there were an estimated 658,000 households in fuel poverty in Scotland in 2010, equivalent to 28% of all households. Scottish Government estimates for September 2011 suggest that the proportion of households in fuel poverty had increased to 35% in 2011. The Scottish Government has pledged to ensure that by November 2016, so far as is reasonably practicable, people are not living in fuel poverty in Scotland.

Fuel poverty rates vary across Scotland. Eilean Siar and Orkney Islands have fuel poverty rates of over 50%, whilst most Central Belt areas show rates of below 35%. Such variation is partly due to the coverage of the mains gas network which leads to many rural communities in Scotland being off-grid and dependent on relatively expensive oil heating.

Scotland has a lower proportion of households in fuel poverty than Northern Ireland, but a considerably higher proportion than both England and Wales. International comparisons of fuel poverty are not readily available as there is no commonly accepted definition of fuel poverty.

The factors influencing fuel poverty are incomes, energy efficiency and fuel costs. Energy efficiency is the only area where the Scottish Government has direct influence and this is where policy measures have been focused. The Scottish Government has three main schemes aimed at tackling fuel poverty: Energy Assistance Package (EAP), Universal Home Insulation Scheme (UHIS) and Boiler Scrappage Scheme.

Through obligations placed on energy suppliers, the UK Government also has schemes in place that benefit households in Scotland, such as the Carbon Emissions Reduction Target (CERT) and the Community Energy Saving Programme (CESP). These schemes will be replaced with the Green Deal and Energy Company Obligation (ECO) in Autumn 2012.

In real terms, the Scottish Government's fuel poverty budget is set to rise by 16% in 2012-13, followed by falls of 3% and 1% in real terms in 2013-14 and 2014-15, respectively. In addition, the Warm Homes Fund has been established, with planned funding of £30m over the period 2012-13 to 2014-15. The details of the programme have yet to be announced.

Comparison of the Scottish Government's actual spend on fuel poverty with the budget shows an underspend in 2006-07, overspends in the three years from 2007-08 to 2009-10 followed by a projected underspend 2010-11.

Energy Action Scotland (EAS) estimates that spending of around £200m per year will be required in order to eradicate fuel poverty by 2016. Within this total, EAS suggested that roughly half (£100m) should come from the Scottish Government, with the remaining £100m from spending by the energy companies on fuel poverty measures.

FUEL POVERTY DEFINITION AND STATISTICS

FUEL POVERTY DEFINITION

Fuel poverty is defined in the [Fuel Poverty Statement](#), published in 2002 under section 88 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, by the then Scottish Executive:

"A household is in fuel poverty if it would be required to spend more than 10% of its income (including Housing Benefit or Income Support for Mortgage Interest) on all household fuel use." (Scottish Executive, 2002)

In Scotland, an adequate standard of warmth is defined to be 21°C in the living room and 18°C in other rooms for a period of 9 hours in every 24 (or 16 in 24 over the weekend), with two hours being in the morning and seven hours in the evening. For elderly and infirm households, a higher standard temperature of 23° C in the living room and 18° C in other rooms is required to be achieved for 16 hours in every 24. Extreme fuel poverty is defined as the need to spend more than 20% of disposable income in order to meet these standards.

The definition of household income, used by the Scottish House Condition Survey (SHCS), includes the incomes of the Highest Income Householder (HIH) plus that of his or her spouse/partner. Income from employment/ self-employment, private pensions, investments and social security benefits are all taken into account. For the measurement of fuel poverty, disposable income before housing costs is used, i.e. income after income tax, national insurance and council tax, but before mortgage or rent payments.

The UK Government has commissioned an independent review of a range of fuel poverty issues in England, including the fuel poverty target and definition (the "Hills Review"). Whilst technically the Hills Review concerns England, the findings will influence Great Britain-wide schemes such as the Energy Company Obligation, which will also be relevant to Scotland. An [interim report](#) was published in October 2011 and suggested that any future definition of fuel poverty might consider both the depth of fuel poverty (how far households are from an acceptable threshold) as well as the extent (the absolute numbers in fuel poverty) (Hills, 2011). The final report is expected in early 2012.

The Scottish House Condition Survey (SHCS)

Fuel poverty data for Scotland is derived from the SHCS. This is a continuous survey, commissioned by the Scottish Government, which involves a Scotland-wide sample of around 3,000 households per year. As well as questions on heating and fuel bills the SHCS covers a variety of other topics such as repairs, neighbourhood environment, household income, tenure and composition. Data from interviews and questionnaires is processed and weighted to create Scotland-wide, and some local authority area, estimates for various indicators, including fuel poverty. Key findings from the previous year's fieldwork are published each November on the [Scottish Government website](#).

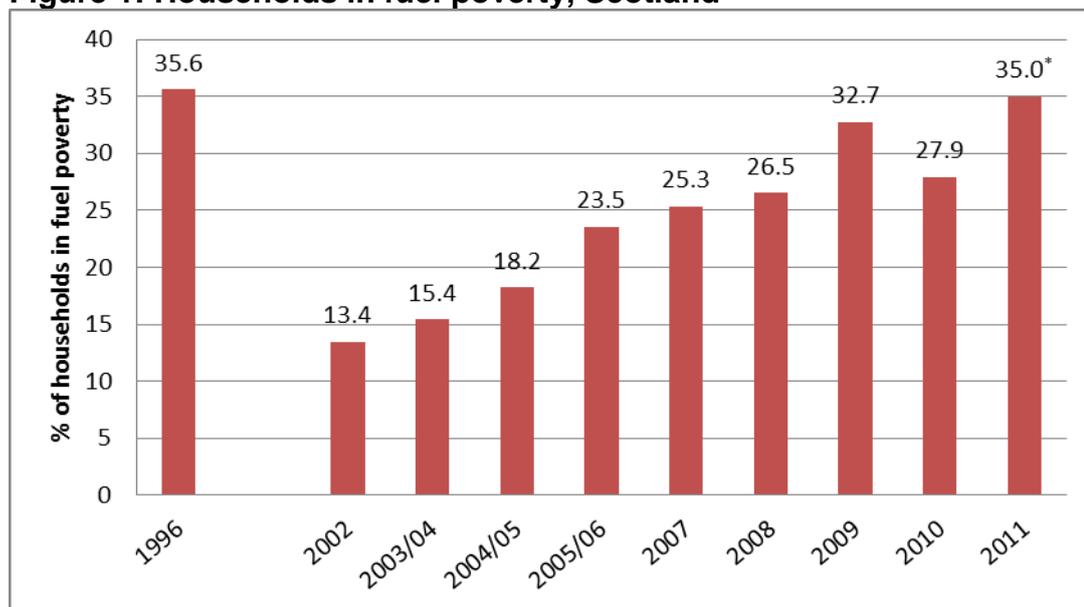
FUEL POVERTY LEVELS

[The Scottish House Condition Survey: Key Findings 2010](#) (Scottish Government, 2011a) shows that, on the basis of the current definition, there were an estimated 658,000 households in fuel poverty in Scotland in 2010, equivalent to 28% of all households. Figure 1 shows that, following a rapid fall between 1996 and 2002 (a period when fuel prices dropped sharply and real incomes rose), the percentage of households living in fuel poverty in Scotland rose steadily until 2009. This was followed by a reduction in fuel poverty in 2010. Extreme fuel poverty in 2010 also remained higher than 2002 levels, but dropped back down from the 2009 peak. In 2010 there were an estimated 185,000 households in extreme fuel poverty, or 7.8% of all Scottish households.

The 2010 reduction reflects a moderation in fuel prices in the year to July 2010 (fuel prices for all fuels except heating oils dipped slightly), combined with static household incomes in that period. Improvements in the energy efficiency of dwellings may also have played a role, but the impact of this factor is difficult to measure with precision.

Although the 2010 figure showed a reduction in the numbers affected by fuel poverty, the 2011 estimate will be affected by the fuel price increases by the 'Big 6' suppliers in summer 2011.¹ The Scottish Government estimates that changes to incomes and fuel costs since July 2010, as well as factors such as changes in household characteristics and housing stock, will have, on balance, exerted an upward influence on fuel poverty. Scottish Government estimates for September 2011 suggest a reversal of the downward movement seen in 2010, with the proportion of households in fuel poverty expected to increase to 35% in 2011, just below the previous peak of 35.6% in 1996. (Scottish Government, 2011b)

Figure 1: Households in fuel poverty, Scotland



Estimate

Sources:

- Scottish Government Scottish House Condition Survey (Scottish Government, 2011a)
- Scottish Government Updated Fuel Poverty Estimates for July 2011 and September 2011 (Scottish Government, 2011b)

2010 data, outlined in the Scottish House Condition Survey 2010, shows that fuel poverty is more likely to affect:

¹ British Gas, EDF, E.ON, npower, Scottish Power and Scottish and Southern Energy

- Those living in detached houses rather than those living in terraced houses or tenement flats (a third of fuel poor households are in detached houses)
- Those living in older properties (a third of fuel poor households are in dwellings built before 1919)
- Households in dwellings with lower energy efficiency (58% of people living in dwellings rated 'poor' are living in fuel poverty compared with 40% of those in dwellings rated 'moderate' and 20% of those rated 'good')
- Households without central heating (these households are almost three times as likely to be in extreme fuel poverty than those with full central heating)
- Those reliant on electricity, oil or fuel types other than gas
- Rural households (38% of households in rural areas suffer from fuel poverty, compared with 26% of urban households and extreme fuel poverty is twice as prevalent in rural areas)
- Elderly households (more than a half of single pensioner households suffer from fuel poverty)
- Single parent families of those households with children (31% live in fuel poverty)
- Lower income households (98% of those with a household disposable income of less than £100 per week are fuel poor).

Variations within the UK

Although there are some differences in definitions and variables used to measure fuel poverty, the data suggest that Scotland has a lower proportion of households in fuel poverty than Northern Ireland, but a considerably higher proportion than both England and Wales (see Table 1). All four nations have seen rises over the past decade, for example the rate in Northern Ireland rose from 27% in 2001 to 34% in 2006 and to almost 44% in 2009, the year of its most recent [House Condition Survey](#). According to the UK Government's Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC), the higher rates in Northern Ireland are due to 'a high percentage of off-gas grid households (who therefore have to use more expensive fuels to heat their homes) and lower average incomes' (Department of Energy and Climate Change, 2011).

Table 1: Fuel poverty by UK nation, 2009

	Scotland	England	Wales	Northern Ireland
Number of households	770,000	3,964,000	368,000*	302,000
% of households	32.7%	18.4%	29.0%*	43.7%

*Figures for Wales are modelled estimates (Welsh Government, 2010)

Source: Energy Action Scotland, 2011

Variations within Scotland

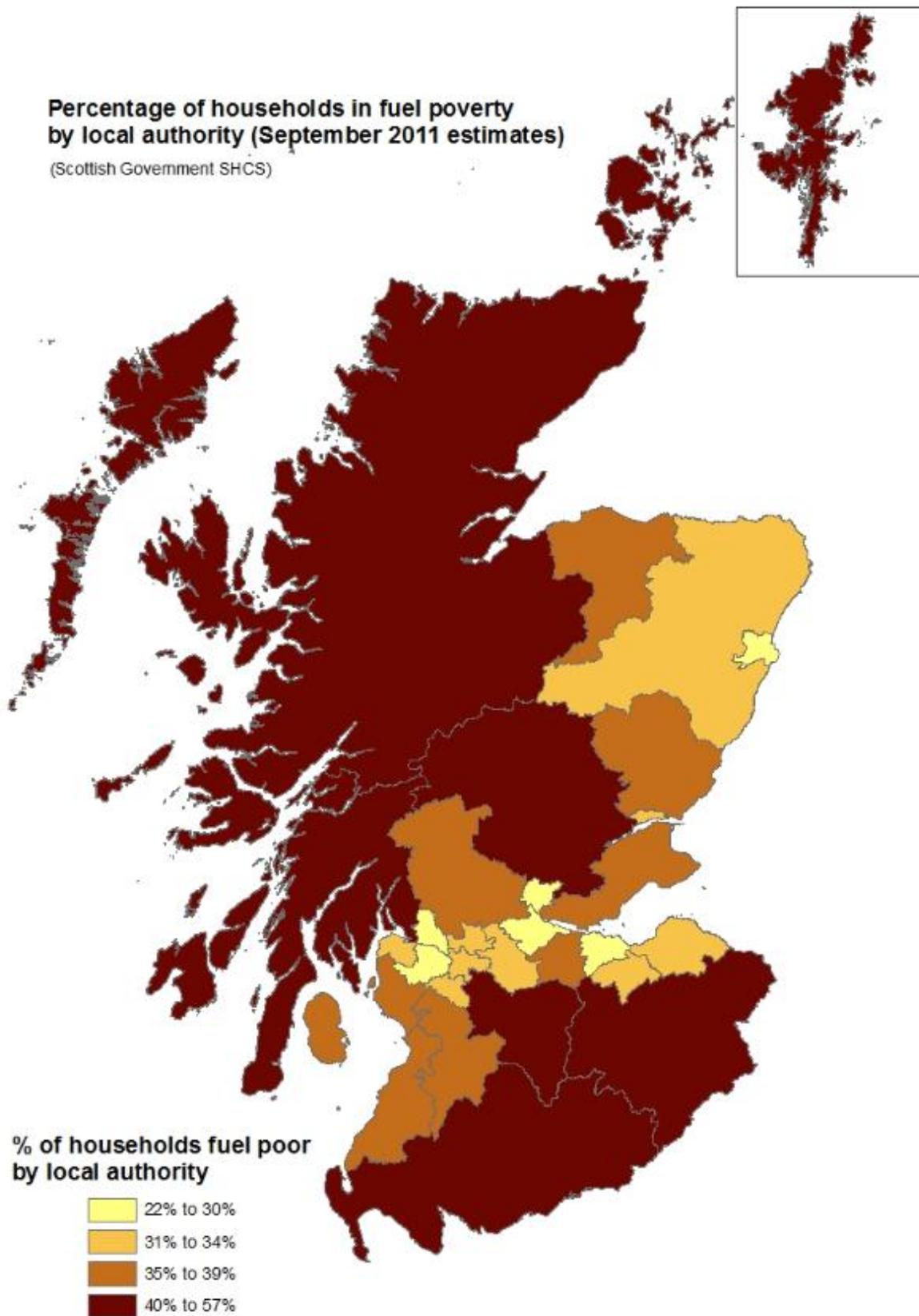
Fuel poverty rates vary across Scotland (Table 2 and Map 1), as shown by the local authority indicative estimates from the [Updated Fuel Poverty Estimates 2011](#) (Scottish Government, 2011b) (NB all statistics contained in this report are classed as data being developed and not 'official statistics'). The data used is from the last three survey years (2008, 2009 and 2010) and the household income and modelled energy costs have been updated to estimate figures for July and September 2011.

Table 2: Fuel poverty by local authority (September 2011 estimates)

	Households in fuel poverty	% of households in fuel poverty		Households in fuel poverty	% of households in fuel poverty
Aberdeen City	27,000	26.4	Inverclyde	13,000	34.7
Aberdeenshire	35,000	34.3	Midlothian	11,000	31.8
Angus	18,000	35.3	Moray	15,000	37.5
Argyll and Bute	19,000	45.6	Na H-Eileanan an la	7,000	56.8
City of Edinburgh	65,000	29.7	North Ayrshire	25,000	39.8
Clackmannanshire	5,000	22.8	North Lanarkshire	47,000	32.3
Dumfries and Galloway	31,000	45.8	Orkney Islands	5,000	54.2
Dundee City	23,000	32.8	Perth and Kinross	26,000	40.5
East Ayrshire	19,000	36.4	Renfrewshire	18,000	23.0
East Dunbartonshire	14,000	32.7	Scottish Borders	21,000	40.6
East Lothian	14,000	32.5	Shetland Islands	4,000	40.6
East Renfrewshire	12,000	32.2	South Ayrshire	18,000	36.0
Falkirk	20,000	28.8	South Lanarkshire	56,000	41.2
Fife	62,000	38.4	Stirling	14,000	36.2
Glasgow City	93,000	32.9	West Dunbartonshire	12,000	29.3
Highland	46,000	45.8	West Lothian	28,000	38.6

Eilean Siar and Orkney Islands have the highest rates of fuel poverty in Scotland whereas most Central Belt areas show much lower rates. Such variation is partly due to the limited coverage of the mains gas network which leads to many rural communities in Scotland being off-grid. Households in these areas are often more dependent on expensive alternatives to mains gas such as heating oil, a product which has seen significant price increases over the past decade (for example between 2009 and 2010 the average price of heating oil in the UK increased by 27.5% (DECC, 2011)). According to Energy Action Scotland, "almost a half of all households using solid fuel or oil to heat their homes were fuel poor in 2008" (EAS, 2011).

Map 1: Fuel poverty projections by local authority area



Based on Ordnance Survey material with the permission of Ordnance Survey. Scottish Parliamentary Corporate Body 10039291.

Source: Scottish Government (2011b)

International comparisons

International comparisons of fuel poverty are not readily available as there is no commonly accepted definition of fuel poverty. As acknowledged by the [European Fuel Poverty and Energy Efficiency](#) project (EPEE), the UK is the only European country that has attempted to define fuel poverty. Fuel poverty appears to be less of a major concern in other northern European countries, despite some facing higher fuel costs and similar climates. This is considered to reflect better fuel efficiency in the housing stock (see, for example, Consumer Focus Scotland, 2010). One report commissioned by Highland and Islands Enterprise, which accepts the difficulties in making international comparisons, concluded that “The UK generally fares poorly on fuel poverty indicators, compared to its northern latitude counterparts” (Xero, 2008). This was on the basis of indicators such as excess winter deaths, self-reporting on the availability of adequate warmth and problems with late payment of fuel bills.

FACTORS INFLUENCING FUEL POVERTY

The main factors influencing fuel poverty are household incomes, fuel costs and the energy efficiency of homes. Figures 2(a), 2(b) and 2(c) show how these three factors have moved over the period since 1996 in comparison to fuel poverty rates.

Between 1996 and 2002 fuel poverty rates fell from 36% to 13%. Over the same period:

- Fuel prices fell by 13%
- Median incomes rose by 38%
- The proportion of homes with a ‘good’ National Home Energy Rating (NHER) rose from 7% to 31%.

As such, all three factors made a positive contribution to reducing fuel poverty over this period. By contrast, between 2002 and 2010:

- Fuel prices rose by 78%
- Median incomes rose by 24%
- The proportion of homes with a ‘good’ NHER rose from 31% to 62%.

So, although median incomes rose and the energy efficiency of homes improved over this period, this was not sufficient to offset the influence of rapidly rising fuel prices on fuel poverty.

Research from Citizens Advice Scotland (CAS), conducted in December 2011, shows that 35% of people in Scotland are worried they cannot afford their next fuel bill and one in two say energy bills will put a strain on their finances in 2012. According to the [Big Energy Week Scotland survey findings](#), around 43% of people will use heating less in a bid to cut down on bills, while 36% plan to use less electricity. Just under 20% will also stop using some rooms to avoid excessive bills.

Of the three factors influencing fuel poverty, energy efficiency is the only area where the Scottish Government has direct control and, accordingly, this is where policy measures have been focused.

Figure 2(a): Factors influencing fuel poverty – fuel prices, Scotland

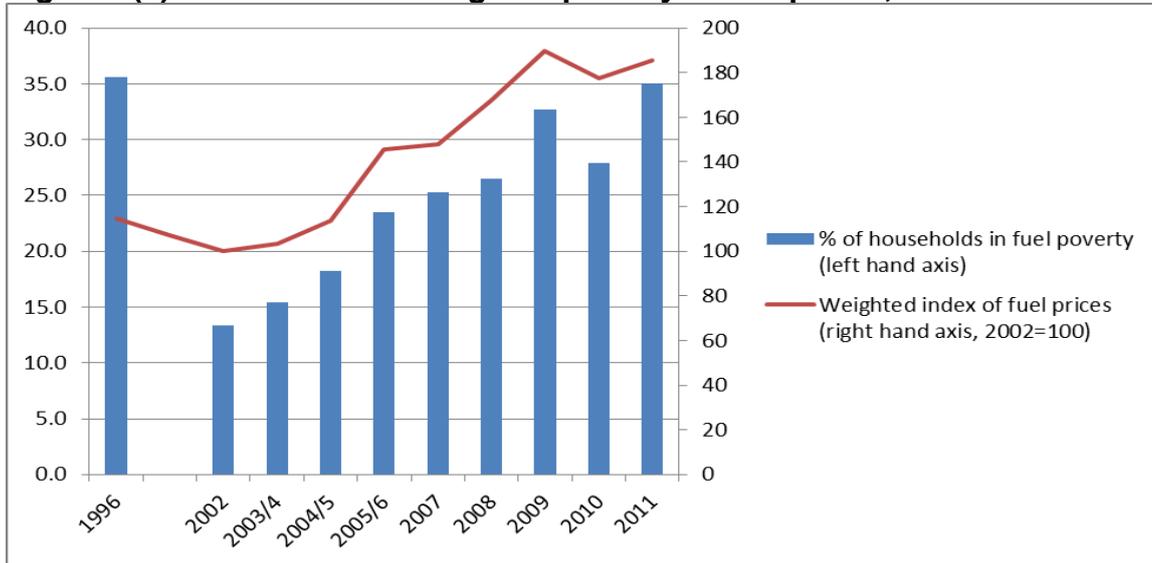


Figure 2(b): Factors influencing fuel poverty – energy efficiency of Scottish housing stock

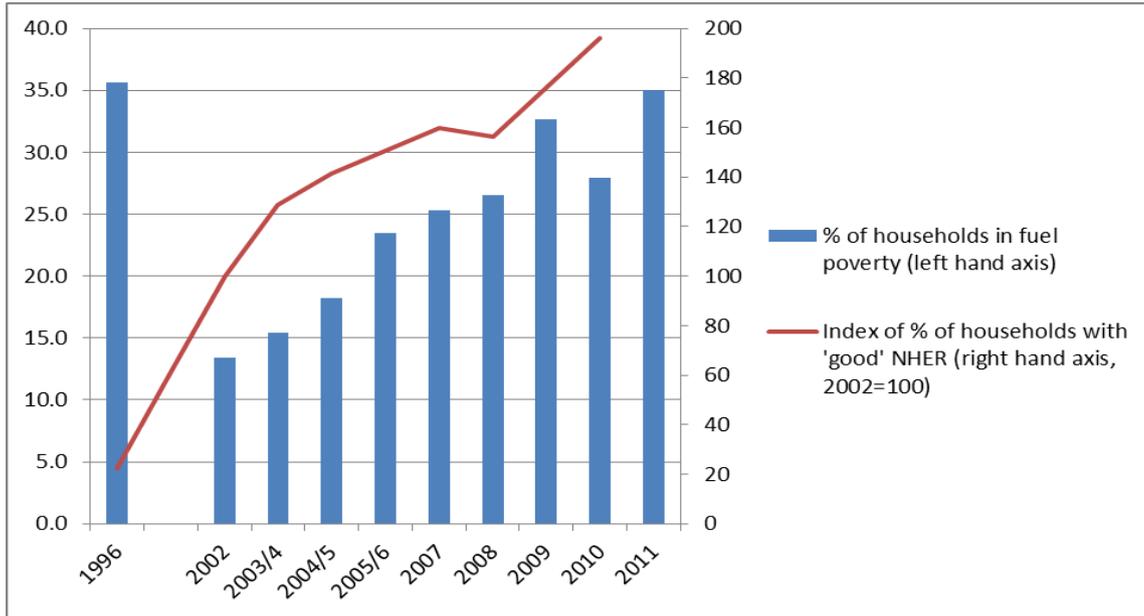
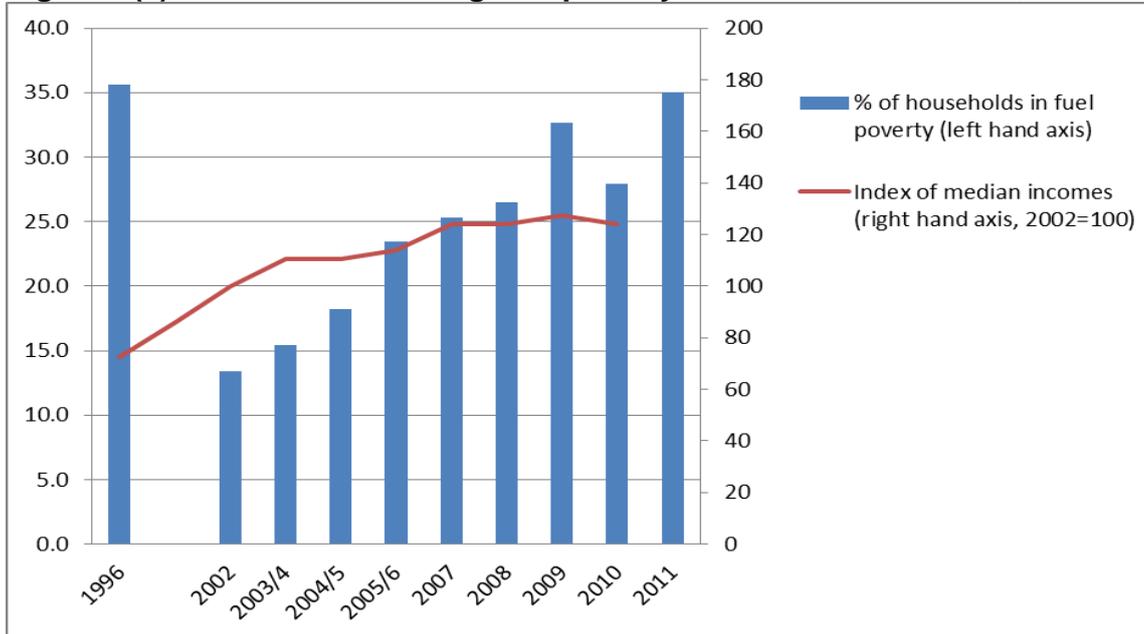


Figure 2(c): Factors influencing fuel poverty – household incomes, Scotland



SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT POLICY AND FUEL POVERTY SCHEMES

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Scottish Government has pledged to ensure that by November 2016, so far as is reasonably practicable, people are not living in fuel poverty in Scotland. However, the Cabinet Secretary for Infrastructure and Capital Investment pointed out at the [Infrastructure and Investment Committee meeting on 29 June 2011](#), that “There is no doubt that the combination of higher unemployment, the squeeze on people’s incomes and the high increases in energy prices is setting back both our ability to eliminate fuel poverty in Scotland and similar work that is going on in the rest of the United Kingdom.”

The Scottish Government announced a [fuel poverty strategy](#) in 2002 and updates on progress on this strategy in 2006 and [2010](#). The strategy is currently being reviewed by the [Scottish Fuel Poverty Forum](#), and the Forum will report to the Cabinet Secretary for Infrastructure and Capital Investment shortly. The Scottish Fuel Poverty Forum is chaired by Professor David Sigsworth and the vice chair is Norman Kerr of EAS. Its membership includes representatives from consumer groups, energy action groups, local authorities, NHS, energy companies and a range of other voluntary organisations. There are three strands to the review:

- a review of the nature of fuel poverty and its drivers
- future options for fuel poverty programmes, including the Warm Homes Fund
- consideration of how to lever in the maximum external funds as well as an examination of engagement on reserved matters.

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT FUEL POVERTY SCHEMES

The Scottish Government has three main schemes in place aimed at tackling fuel poverty:

- Energy Assistance Package (EAP)
- Universal Home Insulation Scheme (UHIS)
- Boiler Scrappage Scheme.

Energy Assistance Package

The [EAP](#) replaced the Central Heating Programme and Warm Deal. It was introduced on 1 April 2009 with the aims of tackling fuel poverty and reducing household carbon emissions. There are four stages of assistance:

- Stage one offers free energy advice to all via a dedicated phone line
- Stage two provides benefits and tax credit checks and information on low cost energy tariffs to those considered to be most at risk of fuel poverty
- Stage three provides a package of standard insulation measures (cavity wall and loft insulation) to older households and those on one of a range of benefits
- Stage four offers a package of enhanced energy efficiency measures to those most vulnerable to fuel poverty.

The [Energy Saving Trust \(EST\)](#) manages delivery of Stages 1-3 of the package on behalf of the Scottish Government. Scottish Gas manages delivery of Stage 4. From April 2009 to September 2011 the EST estimates that the EAP has provided energy advice on just under

211,000 occasions to households in Scotland. Stage 3 measures are estimated to have reduced annual fuel bills for those assisted by an average of £136 to September 2011 and Stage 4 measures were estimated to have reduced annual fuel bills by an average of £669 for the financial year to 2009-10. (Energy Saving Trust, 2011 and Scottish Government, 2010)

Universal Home Insulation Scheme

The [UHS](#) was introduced in 2010-11 and it replaced the Home Insulation Scheme (HIS). UHS provides free energy efficiency measures, such as loft and cavity wall insulation in selected areas. The target areas are identified by local authorities, with funding of £12.9m in 2011-12 split across [local authorities](#) who submitted bids for funding. According to the Scottish Government, 30,000 insulation measures had been installed under the UHS by October 2011. (Scottish Government, 2011d)

Boiler Scrappage Scheme

The Scottish Government also has a [Boiler Scrappage Scheme](#), whereby householders and private landlords can get a £400 voucher towards the cost of a new energy efficient boiler. The latest scheme was launched in June 2011 and extended in October 2011. It has a budget of £4m in 2011-12.

The Scottish Government stated that around 6,800 households have received funding to replace old boilers under the scheme. (Scottish Government, 2011c)

UK-WIDE MEASURES

In addition to the Scottish Government support for fuel poverty, the UK Government has schemes in place that benefit households in Scotland. These schemes operate by means of obligations placed upon energy suppliers.

CERT / CESP

The major energy companies operate initiatives known as the Carbon Emissions Reduction Target (CERT) and the Community Energy Saving Programme (CESP). These initiatives involve obligations placed on the energy companies by the UK Government, requiring them to reduce carbon emissions through implementation of energy efficiency measures in households and across target communities. Suppliers determine how they will achieve their targets and are able to recover the cost of the measures implemented through their customers' fuel bills.

EAS and the Scottish Government have highlighted the absence of data to show how much the energy companies are spending through CERT and CESP in Scotland. The Cabinet Secretary for Infrastructure and Capital Investment stated at the [Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee meeting on 2 November 2011](#) that "There is a real lack of transparency in CERT spend in Scotland and the rest of the UK. We do not receive figures on how much has been spent, where it has been spent, on what and by whom." The Office of the Gas and Electricity Markets (Ofgem) only provides figures relating to activity levels within these schemes and targets are defined in terms of the estimated reduction in carbon emissions.

Green Deal / ECO

The [Energy Act 2011](#) provides for the UK Government to replace CERT and CESP with the Green Deal and Energy Company Obligation (ECO) in autumn 2012. Under the Green Deal, individuals and businesses will be able to implement energy efficiency improvements to their properties at no upfront capital cost. The capital costs will be recouped over time through regular instalments on electricity bills. The Green Deal 'Golden Rule' specifies that repayment charges must be less than the expected savings from the energy efficiency measure, so that customers' total bills should not increase (unless they make other lifestyle changes which affect their energy consumption).

Energy companies will also be required to provide additional support to the value of £1.3bn per year to support households in fuel poverty and those with hard-to-insulate homes. The ECO will support implementation of measures for vulnerable households who are unable to meet the costs (the 'Affordable Warmth' target) or for households where the anticipated Green Deal savings may not fully offset the installation costs (the 'Carbon Saving' target). If Scotland benefits from a pro-rata share (based on population) of this spending, this would imply annual spending of £120m on ECO measures. However, it is for energy companies to determine where this investment takes place in order to meet their targets, so there is no guarantee of a specific level of investment in Scotland. The Scottish Government has argued for fair distribution of support across Great Britain and that the ECO should provide safeguards for remote communities with high rates of fuel poverty and higher costs, which might otherwise lose out if provision is left entirely to the market. A [consultation](#) on the Green Deal was launched by the Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC) on 23 November 2011 and concluded on 18 January 2012.

The UK Government also provides winter fuel payments of £100-£300 to pensioners, depending on their circumstances. In addition, the Warm Home Discount scheme, offered by the major energy companies, offers rebates of £120 on electricity bills to eligible groups of individuals, primarily pensioners on benefits.

The UK Government [estimates](#) that the combined effect of its policies will be to add £280 to the average annual household energy bill by 2020. However, it also claims that the same policies will deliver average annual savings of £373, giving a net reduction in average annual energy bills of £94.

FUEL POVERTY BUDGET AND SPEND

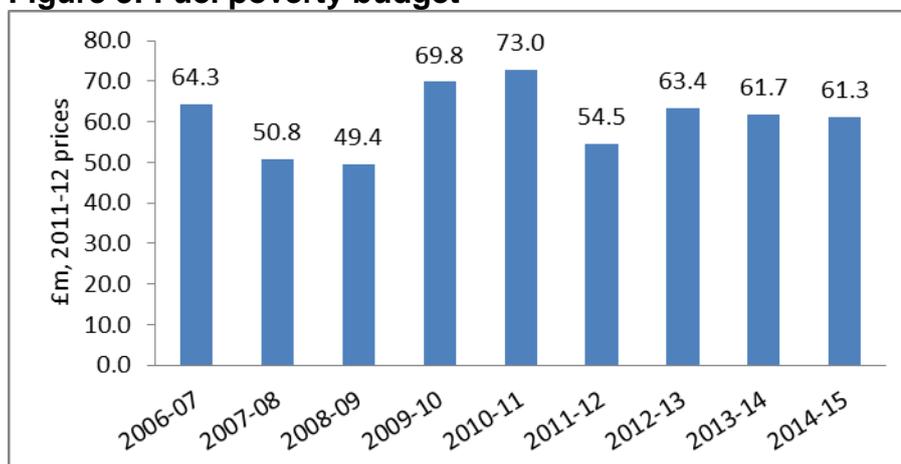
The majority of the Scottish Government's spending on fuel poverty comes within the 'Supporting Sustainability' budget line in the Infrastructure and Capital Investment portfolio. The planned and previous budgets for this category of spending are shown in Table 3 and Figure 3.

Table 3: Fuel poverty budget

	£m Cash prices	£m 2011-12 prices	% change on previous year (real terms)
2006-07	56.5	64.3	-
2007-08	45.9	50.8	-21%
2008-09	45.9	49.4	-3%
2009-10	65.9	69.8	41%
2010-11	70.9	73.0	4%
2011-12	54.5	54.5	-25%
2012-13	65.0	63.4	16%
2013-14	65.0	61.7	-3%
2014-15	66.3	61.3	-1%

Note: 2011-12 prices calculated using the HM Treasury GDP deflator
Source: Scottish Government (2011e)

Figure 3: Fuel poverty budget



Source: Scottish Government (2011e)

These figures include additional monies for fuel poverty in 2011-12, announced since the previous Draft Budget 2011-12. In real terms, the fuel poverty budget is set to rise by 16% in 2012-13, although will remain lower in real terms than the budgets of 2006-07, 2009-10 and 2010-11. The rise in 2012-13 will be followed by falls of 3% and 1% in real terms in 2013-14 and 2014-15, respectively.

In addition to the main fuel poverty budget, a Warm Homes Fund has been established, with planned funding of £30m over the Spending Review period. The details of the programme have yet to be announced, although the Cabinet Secretary for Infrastructure and Capital Investment stressed that it will be targeted at fuel poverty, describing it as involving "energy efficiency, district heating and other measures for the fuel poor". (Scottish Parliament, 2011)

There is also funding for domestic energy efficiency programmes contained in the Energy budget (£18.75m in 2012-13) but, according to the Cabinet Secretary for Infrastructure and

Capital Investment, this budget is not specifically targeted at fuel poverty (Scottish Parliament, 2011). As such, it is not included in the analysis below.

The planned budgets over the Spending Review period, combining the fuel poverty line and the Warm Homes Fund, are shown in Table 4. The total of these two budget lines increases in real terms by 44% over the Spending Review period although, as highlighted above, the exact nature of the Warm Homes Fund spending has yet to be made clear.

Table 4: Fuel poverty and Warm Homes Fund budget, £m

	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
Cash terms				
Fuel poverty	54.5	65.0	65.0	66.3
Warm Homes Fund	..	3.3	7.8	18.8
Total	54.5	68.3	72.8	85.1
Real terms (2011-12 prices)				
Fuel poverty	54.5	63.4	61.7	61.3
Warm Homes Fund	..	3.2	7.4	17.4
Total	54.5	66.6	69.2	78.7

Sources: Scottish Government (2011c) and Scottish Parliament (2011)

The actual Scottish Government spend on fuel poverty since 2006-07 in comparison with the budget is shown in Table 5 and Figure 4. The analysis shows an overspend in the three years from 2007-08 to 2009-10 and actual and projected underspends in 2006-07 and 2010-11 respectively. According to the Scottish Government, the overspends reflect the demand-led nature of many of these programmes. No comment has been provided on the projected underspend in 2010-11 as this figure has yet to be finalised.

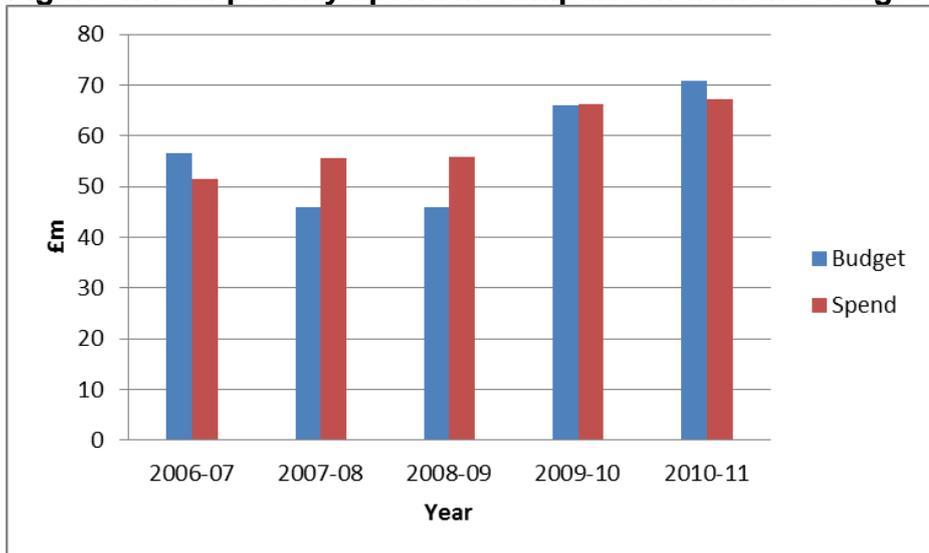
In 2006, Energy Action Scotland (EAS) estimated that spending of around £170m per year was required in order to eradicate fuel poverty by 2016. In evidence to the [Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee on 26 October 2011](#), the EAS suggested that this figure would now need to be revised upwards to around £200m per year, reflecting the fact that fuel poverty spending has been much lower than £170m per year since 2006. Within this total, EAS suggested that roughly half (£100m) should come from the Scottish Government, with the remaining £100m from spending by the energy companies on fuel poverty measures.

Table 5: Fuel poverty spend in comparison with the budget

	Spend £m	Budget £m	Variance £m	% variance
2006-07	51.4	56.5	-5.1	-9
2007-08	55.6	45.9	9.7	21
2008-09	55.9	45.9	10.0	22
2009-10	66.3	65.9	0.4	1
2010-11	67.3*	70.9	-3.6	-5

* Projected spend – the final spend figure was not yet available at the time of writing this briefing.

Figure 4: Fuel poverty spend in comparison with the budget



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