

A trade union guide of practice for a **Just Transition**

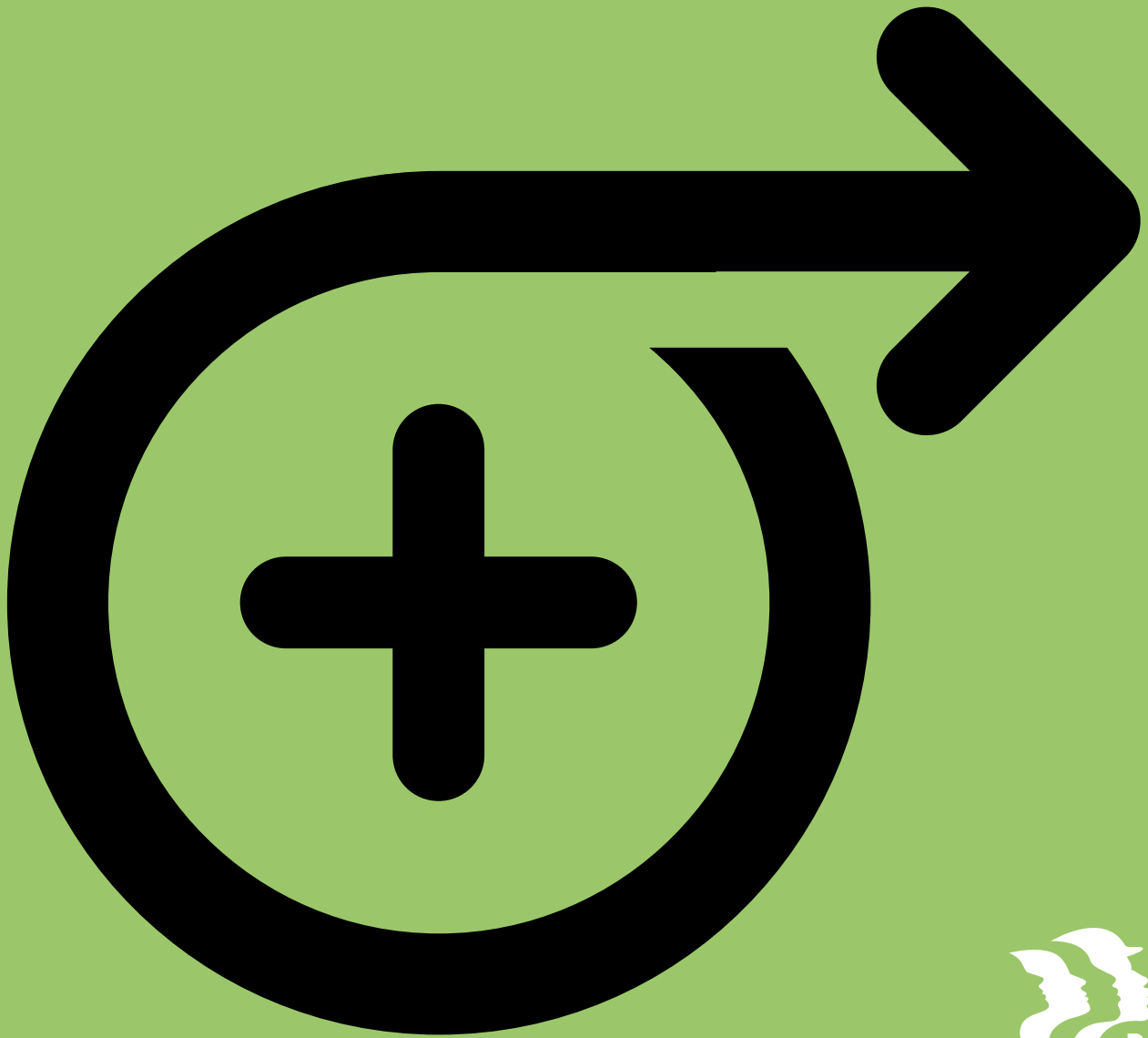


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Overview

The purpose of this guide is to support efforts by IndustriALL Global Union affiliates to plan, launch and win a strong Just Transition framework. The guide is divided into two sections, with an appendix.

- **PART 1** explains the realities of the economic and political status of Just Transition in 2022, bringing focus to the pitfalls and shortcomings in Just Transition efforts to date so union leaders and allies can be prepared for inevitable challenges that present themselves.
- **PART 2** offers unions—and pro-worker supporters—a broad set of steps to follow to structure a successful Just Transition effort; this section is primarily a tool for unions and allies but can also offer insights to country leaders and responsible company executives.
- The **APPENDIX** provides specific language for Just Transition plans that can be used and adapted by unions in different countries.

Our vision

The guide has two broad themes. It outlines Just Transition on **workers' terms**, not corporations or governments. The guide emphasizes a Just Transition framework that, first and foremost, protects the livelihood of workers, now and in the future. As well, workers' labour is central to the health of every community because their wages are the foundation of economic vitality in every nation. So, every step of change as decarbonization, Industry 4.0, digitalization, etc, must factor, as the highest priority, the economic life of each worker and the community they live in.

At the same time, each step ultimately outlines a bold, positive approach for society. Better paying jobs, secure work, strong social protection and investment in communities are all elements that ensure a society in which every human being can expect fair payment for their labour, strong rights on the job and an optimistic and joyful future for all who share clean air, water and food on a healthier planet, guided by social dialogue.

Who is the guide's audience?

The guide has been structured for multiple audiences. First and foremost, the guide offers a template for union leaders and members to create a Just Transition plan and campaign. Second, it provides information for workers who are seeking to educate themselves about Just Transition. Third, the guide can be a critical information tool for allies of unions—elected officials, community members and coalition partners. Finally, the guide can also give insights to companies who choose to engage unions positively in negotiations over a robust Just Transition agreement.

IndustriALL extends its deep thanks to all union leaders and workers' experts around the globe who contributed information to the guide, and to Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), The social-democratic German political foundation who continuously supports the global labor movement.

The content is based on input from affiliates around the globe, obtained through conversations and communications over many months, supported by an in-depth survey dispatched to all IndustriALL affiliates. In addition, the guide contains data from many sources provided by unions, government, companies and civil society organizations.

PART 1

Political and economic context

Just Transition: promise and the reality

The pursuit of Just Transition means accepting a central truth: an ethical and viable Just Transition for workers must rethink and restructure the economic relationships and the power of capital that have brought humanity to the brink of planetary collapse. The global Covid-19 pandemic, which further exposed the deep divisions between rich and poor, highlighted the historic failure of a global economic system that simply cannot respond to the climate change crisis at hand.

As a global union federation representing 50 million workers in the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors, IndustriALL believes that without a significant, comprehensive and well-funded Just Transition plan in every corner of the planet, the cost of decarbonization will be astronomical for millions of workers and their communities, and contribute to widening already historic inequality and increasing gender inequality. Communities in every corner of the globe will wither away, as economic vitality is sapped.

In the long-term, however, IndustriALL believes that this crisis presents an opportunity that should not be wasted. Economic transitions for workers are not new. Throughout history, a new technology or a new economic imperative has forced changes upon workers across the globe, and their communities. This has often meant steep cost adjustments imposed by corporations in the form of either income loss or shifts in lifestyle, or both. The global labour movement should look upon this debate as an opportunity to reshape and transform the very nature of economic relationships and the power of capital, realigning power so that future transitions are smoother and engineered by, and for the benefit of, workers and communities.

How is Just Transition defined?

Just Transition refers to a fair and equitable pathway to a sustainable future. A Just Transition requires an array of programmes that will provide an optimistic future for all workers, especially for those in industries that may be impacted by efforts to limit greenhouse gases or by the introduction of new technologies. A Just Transition programme is meant to be an all-encompassing, flexible and integrated approach to helping workers, their families, and their communities. Just Transition requires reimagining the entire economic system, not simply handing the keys to the decarbonization efforts to global

corporations seeking to continue maximizing profits over the interests of workers and their communities. Investing sufficient amount of money to ensure well-paying jobs and benefits and to transform the structure of the economy. Employers, governments, and unions must work together through social dialogue and in good faith to ensure plenty of notification and support, training and education, redeployment of the affected workforce, investment in affected communities, and the creation of quality jobs in new sectors.

In this guide, IndustriALL approaches Just Transition with a two-stage perspective: a short-term effort and a long-term reorganization of the economy. The short-term is the urgent emergency articulated in the 2021 Glasgow Pact, the 2015 Paris Agreement and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change that will, if pursued globally, mean a massive transition for millions of workers. Just Transition is a process that should be properly planned, orchestrated and implemented fully based on national borders. Carbon emissions do not respect borders, nor do companies who, for decades, have moved production based on seeking the lowest wage possible.

An agreement will involve unions, government and companies. So, it can be helpful, as a union collects the information below, to refer to the [Just Transition Guidelines of the International Labor Organisation \(ILO\)](#). The ILO is a United Nations agency whose mandate is to advance social and economic justice through setting international labour standards. The ILO Guidelines rest on four pillars of the Decent Work Agenda—social dialogue, social protection, rights at work and employment—and describes specific principles of an environmentally sustainable economy built on a Just Transition programme that can be a strong driver of job creation, job upgrading, social justice and poverty eradication.

Thus, a Just Transition rests on four pillars:

- **Anticipating the changes to ensure an orderly transition**
- **Sustainable industrial policies**
- **Strong social support programmes**
- **Creative, worker-centric labour adjustment programmes**

1 “Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all” (ILO, 2015) https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_432859.pdf

Just Transition key principles

Five key principles for a transformational Just Transition underpin this guide. The principles are global in nature, while recognizing that there will be different sector/national/company considerations.

- **A high bar Just Transition**

We seek a transformative high bar Just Transition which ensures quality jobs for all workers effected by decarbonization. Communities must be adequately financed to encourage job creation that will benefit men and women equally, support economic development and make up fully for any decline in the tax base or other losses to income that due to decarbonization. A Just Transition process of decarbonization must be the vehicle to transform the economic relationships between capital and workers, as well as lead to a broad societal transformation that, among other things, brings about just and sustainable energy generation. A global and national framework on the anticipation and management of change is also essential for a high bar Just Transition to avoid temporary industrial and employment gaps in transitions, as well as to know and integrate all social, industrial and labour planning in its development.

- **Creation of decent jobs**

We must demand that, where new jobs are created, guarantees are in place to ensure that wages equal those of the positions rendered redundant by decarbonization or/and the introduction of new technology, while offering decent work instead of precarious, irregular work. Workers whose wage replacements do not match their current incomes will not be able to spend or keep up with monthly bills, thus undercutting overall demand for goods and services, which will sap the economy of its vitality. Another possibility could be the idea of a global green minimum wage and a reduction in work hours as society reimagines labour in the future economy.

- **Social dialogue**

We demand tripartite social dialogue Just Transition processes involving governments, workers and our organizations, and employers to negotiate binding plans – laws, regulations, investments, and programs - for Just Transition for workers. We demand that these tripartite discussions take place at company, local, national, regional, and global levels. In parallel, we demand that governments create multi-stakeholder Just Transition task forces / commissions / round tables on structural change and employment that are properly constituted and properly funded. These bodies can create social consensus and provide critical input to Just

Transition plans. To ensure real commitment and progress, Just Transition plans must be integrated into existing trade agreements, which must undergo significant changes that directly affect decarbonization, including, but not limited to, eliminating harmful provisions such as international arbitration mechanisms that allow companies to sue governments seeking to legislate climate change provisions as well as aspects that expand corporate rights in energy and the emerging digital economy. A global and national framework on the anticipation and management of change is necessary to discuss through the social dialogue to avoid temporary industrial and employment gaps in transitions, as well as to know and integrate all social, industrial and labour planning in its development.

- **A permanent institution to ensure Just Transition**

We demand the establishment of a permanent institution (national observatory, permanent round table, or similar) to ensure a Just Transition for all affected workers. The tripartite institution develops Just Transition projects and programmes backed up by global just transition funds such as the Climate Investment Funds. The global Just Transition funds could be financed by a combination of potential sources including annual contributions from the wealthiest nations and a targeted global carbon tax dedicated specifically to workers' Just Transition and providing supports for Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

- **Affordable energy for all**

We demand energy policies which serve the Just Transition through a legislative and regulatory framework in support of social cohesion, equal treatment, environmental protection and better access at an affordable cost in relation to the growing number of households affected by energy poverty, especially in the global south. A progressive energy policy needs to be developed and it should fully take into account the interests of workers as they face rapid changes in national energy policies and structures to address climate change, and to adapt to new technologies that substantially change the skills and qualifications required of energy workers.

Current landscape

In the developed economies of the global North, millions of workers are at risk of losing decent-paying jobs in industries ranging from fossil fuel production to auto and steel manufacturing, to transportation. In the global South, where tens of millions of people are trying to survive on poverty incomes, climate change could mean an even harsher reality. The global South is already bearing the brunt of severe weather events, rising temperatures and displacement—and extreme poverty makes it even harder for people in the global South to cope. On top of job losses, decarbonization will mean potentially more expensive energy costs in the short-term as dirtier, but often cheaper, energy sources are replaced with green energy sources, whose costs will decline in the future.

Since many of the economic crises facing workers today are a direct result of financial austerity measures imposed by neoliberal governments, Just Transition must be linked to other economic and societal crises, and result in comprehensive, systemic solutions. Countries dragged down by heavy debt burdens—burdens imposed over many decades by multilateral financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank as well as European and U.S. governments—do not have the fiscal resilience to underwrite Just Transition incomes for industrial workers. In places where unions are under attack and labour laws do not provide a hospitable environment for people to freely join unions, workers lack the leverage to demand a seat at the Just Transition table. Finally, in the broadest sense, Just Transition plans must include communities searching for alternatives to shuttered mines, power plants or industrial facilities.

A transformational agenda will also build a stronger community-wide coalition to tackle climate change. At present, the decarbonization discussion too often divides communities—in some cases, unions, representing members who fear for their livelihoods, will opt to embrace a short-term project that not only has no Just Transition financing or plan but pits workers against climate change advocates which can tear apart a community. In other instances, a forward-looking approach by a union might envision the gradual closing of a mine or reduction in jobs as an auto factory introduced more automation with Just Transition plans included—yet the surrounding community might fear the end of mining work that supported ancillary businesses and provided fuel for a local power plant.



While moving to sustainable energy sources is critical, it will not, on its own, level global energy consumption. Today, most energy systems are highly centralized, and often monopolized, and owned by multinational corporations. In the future, access to electricity—generated increasingly through solar panels on roofs and onshore wind energy installations—will increasingly call for broad democratic rights to establish more publicly-owned energy resources to deliver energy at affordable local prices. To fashion such a paradigm will mean nationalizing large portions of the emerging green industries—and that goal should be pursued now. In South Africa, for example, unions are already making transformation of energy systems a key component of the Just Transition dialogue, and that effort should be expanded globally. As explained by the Labour Research Service 2020 report for IndustriALL, a lack of available, affordable energy poses daily challenges and grave threats for all workers, especially women:

“The term energy poverty is generally used to describe households without physical access to energy, who cannot afford energy or who do not have access to modern energy services such as clean cooking facilities... Women are particularly vulnerable in these instances as they are often the ones responsible for domestic tasks. Something as simple as an electric kettle can free up time for a woman to focus on other activities. In the absence of grid electricity and modern appliances, poor households need to make use of energy resources such as charcoal, firewood, candles and kerosene. As a result, they pay 20 times more per unit of electricity than a household connected to the grid.”

Indeed, noting that coal and oil are very expensive, investments in windfarms and solar panels would make electricity production for the poor and lower-income communities easier and cheaper in the countries of the global South.

Many of the Just Transition frameworks today are, at best, modest interventions, falling far short of the financial investment needed to support millions of workers and their communities by changing the nature of work. When it comes to Just Transition, corporate CEOs have embraced a “run out the clock” strategy to ensure maximum profits—and put off as far into the future as possible decarbonization measures and delay, sideline or block any negotiations over the future of workers, which might require corporate commitments to fund incomes, pensions and effective retraining. Corporate agendas to deny workers a fair future have been aided by national governments that either are short-changing Just Transition funding or, far more typically, simply ignoring the issue entirely.

As unions consider Just Transition campaigns, consider these examples and facts:

- In Europe alone, Just Transition directly effects 20-25 million workers within industries, stretching from mining and quarry exploration to manufacturing of goods such as chemicals, plastic, rubber, paper and machinery.² This is a baseline estimate since the figure excludes closely related work in support industries such as transportation which will be dramatically reshaped by decarbonization. While Germany has allocated €40 billion over ten years for Just Transition for its Eastern and Western coal mines, the entire European Union budget, by comparison, stands at €17 billion for all branches effected by decarbonization, virtually ensuring far poorer countries in Europe—such as mining-dependent Poland—will not have the resources to execute an effective Just Transition; €17 billion is not enough and that other funds, for example from the EIB and EBRD, are not going to be on the same terms.
- In Brazil, the sixth most populous country in the world, there is no input from workers or unions in the climate change agenda, which is being shaped entirely by a neoliberal, free-market conservative government.
- In India, home to 1.4 billion people and the largest coal mining company in the world—Coal India Ltd—up to 20 million people are connected in some fashion to coal mining—yet the government has announced plans to substantially increase coal mining (to more than one billion metric tons per year) and has ignored any dialogue with unions or other community representatives about Just Transition.
- In North America, the Canadian oil and gas sector supports more than 400,000 direct and related supply chain jobs—one-third to one-half of which will be lost to automation by 2040. Climate change decarbonization will hasten the loss of jobs, with up to one-half of the jobs disappearing by 2030. And while a Just Transition dialogue has taken place, complete with community forums and reports, the country is yet to develop a specific Just Transition plan with firm funding commitments.
- In a wide belt of countries stretching from Europe across the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and the Middle East, civil war, endemic economic crisis and authoritarian governments render Just Transition moot because workers, and their unions, are simply trying to respond to a phalanx of urgent issues.
- It is clear large multinational corporations are embracing and accepting energy transition as a path to future profits. But Just Transition is entirely absent in the plans because, within the current economic system, workers and communities are disposable assets.
- The awareness of the transformation of natural gas for heating (for example, in the chemical, glass and ceramics industries) to renewable energy and/or green hydrogen is already well known, but the initial real projects have yet to begin.



Chevron, for example, brands itself as the human energy company, but in its October 2021 report entitled “**Climate Change Resilience: advancing a lower carbon future**” there is no consideration how the company—the 7th largest oil and gas company in the world and the 27th largest global corporation—plans on addressing the impact of its decisions on its 48,000 workers or the communities Chevron does business in.

² https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Business_economy_by_sector_-_NACE_Rev._2

As we survey the Just Transition debate, there is a large gap between the funding promised versus the reality of what is needed. For example, Germany's January 2019 coal commission report, "Growth, Structural Change and Employment" called for a €40 billion commitment. But the €40 billion commitment is relatively small: a Boston Consulting Group analysis of Germany's climate change plan determined that, "*Compared against a scenario without additional emission reduction focus, the described climate paths require additional investments of €1.5 trillion to €2.3 trillion by 2050, including about €530 billion for existing efforts in the current policies path.*"

The attempt to grapple with the dislocation from decarbonization also requires an honest assessment of global union solidarity. If unions do not work in concert, it is virtually assured that the promised green jobs will follow the current corporate playbook of seeking low wages, insecure work and places where unions are weak—which has already been the case in the solar panel production industry that is now principally located in China. Yet, looking past the statements issued almost daily calling on for solidarity, the truth is that, in each country, unions are first and foremost focused on their own members' interests, and union leaders are chosen to fight for, and protect the livelihoods, of their specific membership. The global labour movement needs to think of the most effective and honest way to field a global response and act in their members' interests, while also fighting for all workers and being open about the limitations of action due to, among other challenges, a lack of resources to mount sustained campaigns, differences in political environments and significant variations in collective bargaining rights and union power.

View from IndustriALL affiliates: a Just Transition global survey

IndustriALL initiated a global survey of its affiliates to determine the status of Just Transition. The survey reflected the full spectrum from lower-income to higher-income countries across the globe. While 52 per cent of responses came from unions in the direct energy producing sector (oil, gas, electricity and nuclear), the responding unions also had members in a vast array of industries likely to undergo transformation due to decarbonization, including automotive, aerospace, electronics, shipbuilding, base metals, chemical, pharmaceutical, mining, glass, cement, pulp and paper, rubber, tyre, and textiles.

While a slight majority of respondents (58 per cent) told IndustriALL that a Just Transition process had begun, just 12 per cent reported that the process had resulted in a final commitment on the part of government and/or the company. A large minority—42 per cent—of unions, who stated that a Just Transition discussion did not exist in their country even as a basic concept, pointed to two major factors: **the country is in a political and/or economic crisis.**

When asked how much money had been committed to the Just Transition effort, almost 70 per cent pegged the sum at up to €1 billion—the lowest amount in the survey choices, which likely means, based on the tenor of the overall survey data, that many countries have far less than €1 billion committed—which is sufficient as an investment and commitment over 30 years for, at best, only a handful of medium-sized plants and their communities.

Where is the money?

As unions approach considering a Just Transition plan, it's important to ask probing questions about any financial support promised for workers. Promised climate change aid quite often never materializes or does so at a shrunken level; we know from the recent data that the wealthiest countries have already broken a promise to deliver US\$100 billion-a-year—an arbitrary figure randomly arrived at to primarily address climate change adaptation—to developing countries by 2020, moving that goal post to 2024. In addition, monies delivered in the form of climate change-related aid too often are not grants but loans that simply sink a country, and its people, deeper into debt.

Just Transition will fall far short if the past is the template for the future: not enough money, money that fails to be delivered, money that is falsely described as targeted directly for Just Transition efforts, money that fails to support women, and, finally, money that handcuffs a country by sinking it deeper into economic troubled waters.

In order to achieve high-bar Just transition, we need to have a sufficient global finance scheme. One idea could be the creation of a global international Just Transition fund, which we could call Just Transition For All (JTFA). This fund could be administered by a new multi-lateral organization with the same level of authority as the World Trade Organization, ratified with negotiated and signed agreements, with enforcement power but co-directed by diverse representatives of relevant trade union organizations and community leaders. The JTFA could be financed by a combination of potential sources including annual contributions from the wealthiest nations and a targeted global carbon tax dedicated specifically to workers' Just Transition and providing supports for LDCs.

The JTFA could be co-directed by representatives of relevant trade union organizations from the global North and South with equal gender representation. The JTFA could disperse Just Transition funds to accomplish the goals of a high-bar transition with a priority given to lower-income nations. The JTFA could also set, and adjust annually, a global green minimum wage—to be set relative to the cost of a basket of basic living needs to lift the incomes of all members of a community. The money would only be dispersed to countries adhering to, or adopting, living wage commitments and full, enforceable union organizing and collective bargaining rights (including adherence to the ILO Core conventions), thus providing long-term transformative economic benefits.



Canada is perhaps the canary in the coal mine because it is relatively prosperous, is “one of the world’s largest energy producers and exporters and is among the world’s top six producers and exporters of crude oil, uranium, electricity, and natural gas”, yet direct employment in the fossil fuel sector is declining and, in 2019, accounted for under one per cent of total jobs in the nation’s economy. On the outside, Canada might seem to be hospitable to unions. However, fossil fuel industry wages have already been shrinking, largely as employers cut wages, contracted out work and engaged in harsh bargaining; four of the five fossil fuel industries—oil and gas, mining services, electric utilities and refined petroleum products—have seen cumulate real wage declines between 4.1-14.7 per cent between 2014-2019.

A Just Transition effort would not be a heavy financial lift for Canada. According to Jim Stanford—formerly senior economist at UNIFOR, the largest private sector union in Canada—of the 160,000 direct jobs in the fossil fuel industries, over half of the workers are over 40 and will be retiring in the next twenty to thirty years, making them eligible for private pensions, Canada’s Old Age Security scheme and the national pension plan. Thus, Stanford calculates that for oil and gas workers alone, the cost would be quite modest—about CAD\$1 billion per year to phase out 8,000 jobs each year.

Yet, very little progress has been made since the government’s 2018 Task Force on Just Transition for Canadian Coal Power Workers and Communities. Exacerbating the challenge is Canada’s lack of granular data about future labour markets which makes it nearly impossible to structure a jobs strategy for younger workers, aged twenty to forty, who will be left out in the cold with basic skills but no channels to explore where to find work.

Where are the jobs?

As unions consider Just Transition campaigns, part of the equation of a framework offers the promise of jobs in green industries as a replacement for jobs being eliminated through decarbonization. Worker advocates have assembled detailed demands, laid out in specific proposals, for millions of jobs. The International Renewable Energy Agency projects that by 2050 there will be 43 million jobs in renewable energy sectors, out of a total of 122 million energy sector jobs globally.

Inside the corporate suites across the globe, executives are making the assessment of where to site future factories and green industries and jobs. Without counter pressure from unions and allied coalitions, those decisions will be driven by the same basic set of three bottom-line calculations that shape market behaviour in the current economic landscape: how can supply chains be most efficiently maintained, where are labour costs the lowest and where is the political and regulatory environment most hospitable to a company, which means free of unions and community empowerment. In contrast to the corporate agenda, trade unions must demand in any Just Transition that new sites and jobs be placed close to the affected communities.

In addition, unions must be mindful of the gender inequality that exists in current energy sector jobs as well as the future jobs. The International Renewable Energy Agency also determined that “women account for only 32% of the overall renewable energy workforce and 21% of the wind workforce” and just 28 per cent of the overall renewal energy jobs in science, technology, engineering and mathematics. This demonstrates that women remain underrepresented in future jobs.⁴

Thus, trade unions and labour advocates must be forthright with workers about the future of so-called green jobs—both the kinds of jobs and skills required, and the quantity of jobs to be expected relative to the projected number of jobs lost. As a discussion paper of the Sub-Sahara Africa energy network, SSAEN, has already noted, “jobs created in renewable energy sectors in the SSA region, for instance, in biofuel, waste and recycling sectors are often dirty and dangerous, causing significant damage to human health. Employment in this industry also tends to be precarious, unprotected, without social security and with low wages below the poverty line, “poverty wages”. Without incorporating decent work aspects, the jobs created in renewable energy sectors will only perpetuate poverty rather than graduating workers out of poverty.”⁵

4 “RENEWABLE ENERGY AND JOBS – ANNUAL REVIEW 2021” (International Renewable Energy Agency, ILO, 2021) <https://www.irena.org/publications/2021/Oct/Renewable-Energy-and-Jobs-Annual-Review-2021>

5 “Creating consciousness among Sub-Saharan Africa IndustriALL affiliates and developing policy demands for a sustainable energy mix” (IndustriALL Resource Paper), <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/suedafrika/16974.pdf>

This challenge is not limited to the Sub-Saharan Africa region. In every region where union rights are weak and collective bargaining laws are eroding, the future of all jobs—not just green jobs—portends lower wages, fewer benefits and unstable security.

Moreover, the discussion about new jobs is often taking place without factoring in a key ingredient: people and the communities they live in. A Just Transition report on the United Kingdom reflects the challenges for workers throughout the globe: “Jobs in the renewables sector may not be located close to the jobs being lost at the coal fired stations...People may struggle to relocate, may be either reluctant to travel or unable to do so (because of family commitments) or may find it difficult to access the training needed to find a job in industries with robust employment growth.”⁶

In fact, a bold Just Transition plan cannot just include early retirement schemes and training courses for new jobs for dislocated workers. Virtually every community where jobs are at risk needs investment in new infrastructure to stimulate investments in new plants and jobs. Such future jobs will be in place for the working adults of the future who will, then, want to continue to inhabit vibrant, teeming towns and cities, not abandon whole regions to look for jobs elsewhere and, thus, leaving whole regions with an aging population and a dying infrastructure.



The Dogger Bank wind farm, located 80 miles off the northeast coast of the United Kingdom, is an example not only of a disingenuous promise of green jobs, but a prime study in the overall erosion of workers’ rights and community resources under the guise of decarbonization. While press reports, fed by a conservative government and company propaganda, have trumpeted 2,000 Dogger Bank-related future jobs to be created in the South Bank zone of the freeport Teesworks site, most of those jobs have already been off-shored, ignoring the local communities and local supply chains fed by homegrown small-to-medium sized businesses: the lay cables will be produced by the Italian multinational oilfield services company Saipem and the Belgian Jan De Nul (which specializes in offshore, marine, civil, environment and project development); cable manufacturing will be done by Greece’s NKT; fabrication of the blades have been shipped off to Belgian’s Smulders and Poland’s SIF; the sub stations will be put together by General Electric in Norway; and, finally, the manufacturing of the nacelles (which house a wind turbine’s components, including the generator, gearbox, and drive train) is to be done in France.

Of course, the Dogger Bank project will create some jobs in various countries—and that is welcome news for those people if they are employed at decent wages. However, there remains the danger of an exercise in corporate and government sleight-of-hand: continuing to tout a bounty of green jobs, and thus an apparent engagement in Just Transition, but doing so by, effectively, promising the same job over and over again to different audiences.

In addition, the work is happening inside a freeport, a special zone to which businesses can import components or raw materials, and manufacture goods but only pay a tariff when the final product enters the United Kingdom—and avoid any tariffs if the goods are simply exported abroad without entering the UK. Companies doing business inside a freeport get five years of business rate relief and avoid paying National Insurance for five years. The deeper threat is to union power: companies relocating to freeports cut collective bargaining terms and conditions, and do not have to adhere to workplace health and safety and environmental regulations.

6 “A Just Transition? Managing the challenges of technology, trade, climate change and COVID-19” (Coats, December 2020) <https://community-tu.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Just-Transition-Report.pdf>

Politics matters: conservative, anti-union governments bury Just Transition

Economic capability alone does not determine whether Just Transition exists. More often than not, political ideology dictates whether Just Transition gets beyond a limited stage. In many circumstances, Just Transition is also used as a pretext to restructure, privatize and de-unionize workforces.

Consider two of the most populous countries on the planet, Brazil and India, with collectively 1.6 billion people—almost one fifth of the planet's inhabitants. Both countries have significant workforces in the fossil fuel and related industries that would be vulnerable to decarbonization; in Brazil close to one million workers labour directly in the petroleum and refining, steel and aluminum and auto industries while in India 900,000 permanent and contract workers can be found in a broad range of industries, from coal to chemicals to steel. Yet, in both countries, Just Transition efforts have been stillborn.

In Brazil, union leaders report that employers and the government are entirely focused on free-market solutions aimed at extracting as much as possible from existing fossil fuel operations, as well as strategies to locate decarbonized future technologies in the country. At the same time, unions, academics, opposition political parties and non-governmental leaders have not produced a cohesive social dialogue and, certainly, have not penetrated the employer-government calculations.

The strategy for unions has boiled down to a simple plan: replace the current government in the October 2022 national elections and then advance its pro-worker agenda, including an inclusive Just Transition.

Workers in India find themselves in an even more precarious situation. Unions have been in a state of continuous conflict with the current government, which has aggressively undermined union rights—for example, since the Modi government took power in 2014, it has engineered shifts in labour law whose specifics are now being shaped and implemented at the state level, where unions are trying to fight back. The changes would make it more difficult to form a union, enhance the power of employers to hire workers on non-permanent,

precarious contract terms, reduce the power of the country's labour commissioner to a simple facilitator of labour standards and collective bargaining issues, and make the workplace more dangerous by undercutting safety and health regulations by eliminating surprise inspections and removing criminal penalties on corporate CEOs for industrial accidents in favour of financial penalties. The changes will eventually reduce coal industry union membership; prior to the Modi government's rise to power, the National Mine Workers' Federation had 350,000 members in Coal India Limited (CIL), the company formed through nationalization in the early 1970s, and its seven subsidiaries; those workers made a minimum wage of between 40,000-50,000 rupees (US\$ 480-600) per month. Today, CIL union membership is down to about 200,000, and the number of contract workers, who make one quarter of the collectively-bargained union members' wages has also decreased.⁷ Other unions in India are facing similar predicaments.⁸

That seismic shift in union power will be felt in the debate over decarbonization—which will have major consequences for the global debate. India is the third-largest carbon emissions source in the world; Coal India Limited is the largest coal mining company in the world, producing 84 per cent of India's thermal coal, and provides significant revenue to the national and state governments.⁹ Crucially, CIL is also the largest employer in many of the nation's 36 states and territories; up to 20 million people depend on some aspect of coal production, with hundreds of thousands working directly in the mines.¹⁰

The landscape in India is complicated further by the government's decision to push off the goal of net zero carbon emissions to 2070 and dramatically increase coal mining. Thus, internally within unions, there is little pressure from rank-and-file members to force Just Transition to the top of the agenda because the signal from the national government is telling workers that job losses due to carbonization should not be viewed as an immediate threat and a substantial percentage of the current workforce will be retired when the day of reckoning draws nearer.

7 Data provided by SQ Zama, secretary general of the National Mine Workers Federation

8 Data provided in interviews with Sanjay Vadhavkar, General Secretary of the Steel, Metal and Engineering Workers Federation, and Raghunath Pandey, National General Secretary of the Indian National Metal Workers Union.

9 "Provisional Coal Statistics 2016-2017," (India Ministry of Coal, October 2017) <http://www.coalcontroller.gov.in/writereaddata/files/download/provisionalcoalstat/ProvisionalCoalStat2016-17.pdf>

10 "India 'cannot escape' coal phasedown, top coal ministry official says" (Climate Home News, 24/11/2021) <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2021/11/24/india-cannot-escape-coal-phasedown-top-coal-ministry-official-says/>



Smaller countries face the same political obstacles. Trinidad and Tobago's economy is dominated by the hydrocarbon sector, which generates about 40 per cent of its national income and, when including petrochemicals products (especially ammonia), makes up more than 90 per cent of the islands' exports. In the early 1990s, the sugar industry collapsed because of a decline in its price, mismanagement and technological production innovations. That was an experience of Just Transition gone bad—5,000 workers were promised land as an add-on to inadequate severance payments, but the tracts of about 3,000-5,500 square feet each never materialized.

The unionized oil and gas sector provides strong benefits won over many years of bitter struggles with multinationals such as Amoco, Texaco, BP and Shell, as well as the national oil company Petrotrin. A unionized mechanic has a pension plan, medical coverage, allowances and overtime, and earns about US\$2,000 per month which is high for the country; a comparable position in a non-union workplace earns 50 per cent less. In 2018, the government announced its intention to close the state oil company which had a total of 6,500 workers, 85 per cent of whom were unionized; that meant the union, the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union would lose half its membership. This was devastating for a broader circle of workers because the state company set standards for other branches of the industry, standards that required any contractor to the state company—for example, BP and Shell—to pay at least the wages in the union's collective agreement even though the union did not have contracts for multinationals covering workers in off-shore exploration, drilling or labour supply. Since the state company shuttered, the industry standards are now whatever is imposed by the private sector companies. In addition, the state company was the largest generator of foreign exchange and ensured a home-grown, subsidized fuel supply. The closure meant the removal of subsidies for fuel, increases in costs for all goods for consumers and a steep reduction in the standard for living for most people who earn between US\$500-\$700 per month on average.

In early 2021, in the midst of the grip of the Covid-19 pandemic, the government (which from May 2021 to November 2021 ruled under a state of emergency) announced a Just Transition process which, based on the union's analysis, is aimed at imposing a free-market, neoliberal agenda that will eliminate the role of government in the industry, further weaken the union by getting rid of collective bargaining agreements, and offers no commitments on investments or future green jobs. To counter the government's plan, the union is working with a coalition of unions and community groups on a multi-year political plan that will attempt to defeat the current government in national elections in 2025—which is viewed as the only path to creating a true Just Transition.

A positive example of the Just Transition potential when political environments are conducive, and a reason to include electoral activity in Just Transition strategies, hails from the U.S. The United Electrical Workers is an independent union of 35,000 members covering sectors such as electrical manufacturing, metalworking and plastics sectors; members work as welders, tool and die makers, sheet metal workers, truck drivers, warehouse workers, and custodians. In three factories in western Pennsylvania owned by Wabtec, which bought the facilities from General Electric, the union represents about 1,200 workers who work in various trades manufacturing locomotive engines; they earn an average of US\$22-\$35 per hour.

The workforce has shrunk substantially since the 1980s, a trend that has accelerated with the decline of coal mining jobs which, in turn, tamped down the need for rail transportation. In addition, locomotives on the rails were using old technology, at a time when newer, cleaner locomotive technology was already being implemented in the industry.

The union recruited political allies, principally in the U.S. Democratic Party, to propose a large investment to upgrade existing locomotives and build new zero emission locomotives: US\$3.5 billion per year over ten years for freight rail, and US\$1 billion/year for ten years for the Amtrak rail and commuter network, for a rough total of US\$90 billion over a decade. Not only would the investment potentially recoup thousands of jobs for UE members, but the investment would also aid other unions who have hundreds of unemployed skilled members because of the disinvestment in the sector. The legislative initiative eventually even picked up the support of the company, which saw it as simply a cheaper alternative than building a new plant from scratch. However, the bill has not become law, victimized by larger political tussles and paralysis over a much larger infrastructure investment.

Though the greatest political threats to a high bar Just Transition come from avowedly free market, conservative, anti-union governments, it is also important for the global labour movement to build a broad Just Transition campaign that confronts governments which, on the surface, espouse less hostile views. Casting our view across the globe, the track record of most governments in power, and those that came before over the past half century, shows a consistent willingness to live with, and even enthusiastically champion, the current economic system rather than, as the guide notes from the outset, work to restructure the economic relationships and the power of capital that threatens the planet and workers' livelihoods.

The lesson is clear and is reflected in the "How to" second section of the guide: the success of Just Transition is inextricably tied to the political variables in each country and any plan or campaign must have strong electoral and political elements.

Retraining mirages

Workers in many industries could, under a Just Transition plan, move into future jobs if a global regime of effective retraining existed. In many cases, the skills workers possess today need education and upskilling to bridge the gap to new industrial needs. For example, many auto workers in current engine and transmission plants—perhaps up to one million workers globally—will lose their jobs due to the mass introduction of electrical vehicles. Yet, many of those workers are skilled workers operating assembly-line machines, and also have some skills in maintenance and repair. They could be reskilled and up-skilled to build not only electric vehicles but the vast physical infrastructure for the smart grid that is projected to be the future of urban mobility.

However, while many countries, and companies make broad rhetorical commitments to retrain workers, and pledge to empower displaced workers with a suite of new skills to match new jobs, in most countries surveyed there is no history or infrastructure of vocational retraining programs; few have, for example, a retraining model similar to a number of countries in central Europe (for example, in Germany, Belgium, and Austria) that offers a life-long apprenticeship scheme that begins at 16 years old, which arms workers with skills that can follow them throughout their working lives.

Where retraining programmes exist, they are not always successful.

In North America, retraining has a dismal track record. Canada's retraining system, "is a confusing patchwork of private and public programs, with little effective guidance offered to workers on what specific jobs to train or search for, and a federal Canada Training Credit that is largely insufficient to provide workers with the guidance or funding necessary to seek effective training"¹¹ According to UNIFOR, Canada doesn't have a coherent vocational training system. Canada offers a miserly CAD\$ 250 in tuition credit every year, up to a maximum of CAD\$ 5,000 in a lifetime, which would equate to a 20-year waiting period to reach the maximum benefit. The training credit only covers up to half of tuition costs, while providing just four weeks of employment insurance at 55 per cent of average weekly earnings during the training period. Effectively, retraining is unaffordable to the average Canadian worker—which is the picture in other countries with a modicum of job training programs.



The U.S. has poured billions of dollars into retraining over the past several decades, either as part of retrenchment of the defense industry in the post-Cold War-era or as part of trade agreement-related industrial support for workers whose jobs were eliminated due to foreign competition. But the programmes were inadequate to the task, and principally deployed for political motivations, without any solid economic underpinnings. Such programmes existed as if the real world of weak unions and low-paying, Walmart-type jobs did not exist. In most coal-producing communities, a coal-related job—which had middle-class-level basic standards of pay, benefits and retirement forged through decades of collective bargaining—was likely to be replaced with a new job at lower pay, rudimentary health care coverage and, if any, a flimsy pension.

Retraining, as a whole, failed workers and communities, and its current model still extends false promises of a high-wage job waiting at the end of the retraining rainbow in the green jobs economy whose industries are made up of mostly low union density or non-unionized companies.¹²

11 "Unifor Submission for the 2021 Federal Just Transition Consultations" (UNIFOR, September 30th 2021) <https://www.unifor.org/resources/our-resources/unifor-submission-2021-federal-just-transition-consultations>

12 "JUST TRANSITION IN THE U.S.: A Harsh Mirage Absent A Fundamental Revolution" (FES, July 2021) <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/usa/18089.pdf>

This is the story in virtually every part of the globe. Part of the failure of retraining is inherent in the poor management of the programmes, from conception to implementation. More important, even in the best circumstances where a worker acquires new, marketable skills for green jobs or other jobs, workers face the Redcar phenomena that itself is a reflection of forty years of neoliberal attacks on the labour movement: declining union density that translates into poorly paid, insecure work.

As unions negotiate Just Transition agreements, any retraining embedded in a Just Transition plan must be connected to a plan to radically shift the market forces existing in today's economy. Central to such a plan must be an enforceable drive to implement livable wage floors in every country and embed strong union organizing and collective bargaining provisions in national laws. Otherwise, a worker leaving a retraining programme, with a graduation certificate in hand, will be entering a job market offering lower wages, few benefits and less security.



In the United Kingdom, the closure of the Redcar steelworks in 2015 is instructive about the limits of current retraining programmes. The plant's demise should not have been a surprise—the owner, Sahaviriya Steel Industries (SSI), had experienced serious cash flow problems and faced significant headwinds from a flow of cheaper Chinese imported steel, which had expanded to become the largest global exporter of steel. Yet, there was no plan in place in advance of the closure. Instead, a hastily assembled taskforce, created to bring together national and local authorities and trade unions, used a part of a budget of £50 million to fund retraining; another £30 million was allocated for statutory redundancy payments.

On top of disbursing wage subsidies, allocating support to cover mortgage payments, car loans and everyday living expenses, and extending advice and grants for business start-up, the taskforce invested £11.5 million to pay for 23,700 retraining and upskilling courses to completed at local colleges and other training providers. While the courses, and the related job-placement process, helped many workers land new positions, the framework was sub-standard compared to the reality workers knew at Redcar.

At their old jobs, 80 per cent of the SSI workers made £30,000 or more—a significant income in the area. For new jobs after the closure, just one in three reported earning the same income. “Despite the relative swiftness with which people found new employment, a third said that it was difficult to find work and an additional 15% said it proved to be very difficult. . . . Almost one in five (18%) reported that it took up to two years to find a new job. . . . All the respondents to the survey were working full time at the steel works but only two-thirds (64%) were in full-time work in their new jobs. Thirteen per cent were in part-time work and 11% were self-employed.” Unsurprisingly, and importantly, most of the Redcar workers now have jobs in non-union companies, which, obviously, translates into lower wages, reduced benefits and less job security.

PART 2

How to build a Just Transition strategy/plan in your union

Coming up with a Just Transition plan is not easy because there is no perfect recipe for success that can be used as a template. Unions face many obstacles with a different mix of challenges depending on the country.

This section offers a basic template to pursue a Just Transition plan, with specific contract language included in the Appendix that can be used and adapted.

Based on the large amount of data collected, including the result of IndustriALL's Just Transition global survey from various countries during the research for the Guide, Just Transition efforts can be divided into four broad categories that can offer some guidance on how to proceed with a Just Transition plan:

- **Upper-middle income countries with reform Just Transition plans:** countries with significant fiscal resources where resources have been promised (even if the execution of the plan is not always clear). Examples of countries in this group include Germany, Sweden, Canada, Spain and Japan.
- **Upper-middle income countries with no concrete Just Transition plans:** countries that could easily finance a Just Transition effort but do not have any tangible efforts underway. Example of countries in this group include the United States.
- **Low-income countries:** countries where Just Transition could exist because the political circumstances would allow a robust dialogue but where the fiscal ability is limited in large part because such countries are already grappling with staggering long-term public debt, largely imposed by global multilateral and private financial institutions. Examples of countries in this group include Greece, Hungary and South Africa.
- **Countries facing political and economic crisis:** countries where factors such as civil war, economic collapse and authoritarian governments push Just Transition far down the ladder of urgent priorities. Examples of countries in this group include virtually all the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), large portions of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and Brazil.

The following is intended to give some helpful guidelines specific to Just Transition to get to the **best possible outcome** to achieve a high-bar Just Transition: **no loss of income or benefits for any worker, with subsidies available to make up any gap in pay and benefits in the event the new job. However, the ultimate goal is to strive to create decent jobs that enhance wages and benefits and employment status, as well as eliminate any existing gender bias in pay and benefits for women. Finally, the plan should include full economic support for communities facing the loss of specific jobs due to decarbonization.**

IndustriALL also strongly recommends building the strategy/plan with a broad social justice agenda that confronts the economic crisis facing all sectors of the country—because such an approach will both have long-term positive effects **and** will be politically smart because it will expand the range of allies.

Don't wait for the decarbonization changes at work to appear! Many unions are not feeling pressure today to have a Just Transition plan because members, especially older workers who are close to retirement, do not feel the immediate threat of losing a job in the future. We need to acknowledge we are facing a climate crisis that threatens human existence on earth and decarbonization is our only way out of this crisis—but it must be done in a way that supports workers and communities.

We know that it can take many years to make a solid, transformational Just Transition initiative. So the time to get going is today!



From 2009 to 2014, German trade union IG Metall pursued a campaign targeting the most relevant companies in the renewable energy sector, with a specific focus on the wind and solar industries. The campaign included identification of companies and mapping of contact persons; setting up an internal organisation that involved creating dedicated trade union teams, who developed action plans, and legal and financial; communication campaigns, targeting; and ultimately, actions at specific companies from awareness-raising, gate-picketing, home visits, and one-to-one meetings.

Mapping the terrain. Unless we know our strengths and weaknesses, our plan can be vulnerable to attack. **We have to honestly assess our strengths and weaknesses—strong leaders are usually those who can assess weaknesses directly and openly.**

Tools for implementation and monitoring

- **Social dialogue among the counterparts:** governments, companies and unions.
- **Creation of agreements for Just Transition:** duly negotiated with governments, companies and unions.
- **Creation of a governmental institute for Just Transition:** which all the counterparts are part of and which promotes the creation of Just Transition agreements that can be properly implemented and followed up.

2.1. Gathering crucial information

There are three parties involved in the process of Just Transition and each party possesses important information: governments, companies and unions.

Each union faces different conditions depending on whether the union is negotiating the scope of Just Transition nationally for all plants in its sector, or if the union is negotiating locally with a company over one factory, or even negotiating with a single company with multiple locations. We must recognize the stakeholders involved and get information related to all of them.

For many unions, an agreement will involve unions, government and companies. So, it can be helpful, as a union collects the information below, to refer to the [Just Transition Guidelines of the International Labor Organisation \(ILO\)](#)¹³ mentioned earlier on this Guide. The ILO Guidelines can be used together with the specific examples of contract language provided in the Appendix.

The following questions will help you to obtain information used to structure a demand. It's important to be rigorous while drafting the Just Transition plan.

¹³ "Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all" (ILO, 2015) https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_432859.pdf

2.1.1.

Governments: what information can the government provide generally, and, specifically, regarding energy transition?

- Who are your political allies in elected public office? Most unions have relationships with politicians on a day-to-day basis. Get information about their plans and ideas regarding Just Transition, if it's included in their campaign if there are elections taking place, and then, meet with every single one.
- What plans does your country have regarding reduction emissions? What is the country's public commitment to meet global emissions targets and how is the country planning to meet the commitments?
- Is your country investing in renewable energies, either solely by the private sector or, especially, with subsidies or support from the government? If so, those details need to be obtained and analyzed.
- Is your union, or another union(s), already involved in the renewable energy sectors?
- How many workers are employed in these new areas?
- What does the gender disaggregated data show in the new jobs being offered?
- How many workers does your union, or the other union(s), represent in these new areas?
- What are the specifics of the potential green jobs, especially the relevant main sectors jobs which will be created?
- Is your country investing in new technologies, either with direct public works projects or through subsidies to private industry, to reduce the emissions?
- Does your country/region have an established, well-funded regime for retraining/reskilling programs for workers?
- The union should look at other countries well-placed to compete for the same green jobs for comparison. If your members are promised a green manufacturing plant or a green project, it is almost certainly a promise made on shaky grounds if lower production costs for the very same product can be found in a country with lower standards and an equally efficient supply chain.

If the government is not an ally, this may present an obstacle

- If your government is opposed to involving the union in a Just Transition plan, is it part of the union's agenda to work on a political electoral strategy to change government?
- If an electoral strategy is not viable, mobilizing the full set of non-government allies you have assembled can potentially create pressure for a government to modify its position.

What is the financial picture of your country?

- Does it have the resources to fund Just Transition over a 30-year horizon? If the answer is yes, then, the union needs to have the data to show a country's 30-year financial trajectory in order to factor that into the plan.
- What is the current and 30-year projected external debt level of the country?
- Is infrastructure investment a long-term priority based on the past track record?

If the answers to the financial picture are negative, the union will need to focus on two different aspects:

1. Factor in what to expect, or not to expect, in terms of financial support for workers' incomes in the decarbonization process.
2. Produce a counter-narrative to address financial priorities in the country, including, for example, in public campaign efforts a call for redirecting funds away from other national expenditures towards climate change/Just Transition.

What effect will decarbonization have on the community?

- How will the transition effect the region or localities of the country? It is important to prepare a detailed map of the geographical areas in danger, with the aim of reinforcing our efforts in their future reindustrialization and avoiding new industrial deserts.
- What tax base losses will occur with the reduction of jobs or outright closure of the plant, and how will the loss of resources effect social services and welfare?
- Using the catalogue of the effects, can the union prepare a detailed map of the geographical areas at risk to support demands for fiscal support for future reindustrialization?
- What economic activity will be lost? For example, how much money will local suppliers and local businesses lose when a plant, or multiple plants, close or reduce capacity?

What are the specifics regarding the outlook for your industry?

- Have there been public announcements about job reductions due to decarbonization? And about investments in new industries / technologies?
- What is the country pro-actively doing regarding each sector's exposure to decarbonization? To answer this question, outside global institutions often have a deep pool of publicly available, free information, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Energy Agency (IEA), and the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA).

21.2.

Companies: what information needs to be gathered about the plans of the company, or companies, the union engages with?

- A full brief of research from worker/union point of view needs to be compiled including a record of the corporate behavior of a company touching on safety and health, gender equality, labour rights violations and, as well, any non-workplace violations (such as stock fraud, insider trading, tax evasion).
- If the jobs are controlled by a company with a foreign headquarters, what is the company's labour and wage record in their home country, or in other countries? Valuable insights on a company's behavior can be obtained by getting in touch with workers' representatives from other countries, either directly or through a national union, European or global union federations. Additional insights can be obtained from European works council documents and global framework agreements.
- What are the projected wage and benefit rates and working conditions, especially safety and health, in green jobs? Are the potential new green jobs created by foreign or domestic companies? While such information is very hard to obtain, it is crucial for putting together a Just Transition demand—the union needs to be able to show the gap between current wages in traditional industries and benefits and working conditions versus promised/projected/hoped-for wages and benefits and working conditions in future green jobs.
- What is the stance on Just Transition of the company where your union represents workers?
- Has the company made commitments, either publicly

or privately, to participate in a Just Transition dialogue? Be rigorous in analyzing whether the company has allocated resources to support workers and communities or whether is just using the rhetoric of Just Transition, in that case, it is an energy transition disguised as Just Transition.

- What is your collective bargaining strength?
 - What does your collective agreement allow in terms of negotiating options and creating leverage for a Just Transition plan?
 - If your collective bargaining strength is weak, can community alliances make up for that?
 - Is it a viable strategy to combine Just Transition plan with a campaign to strengthen collective bargaining and union rights at the company, or, more broadly, in the country? In other words, a campaign that declares that only strong labour rights will ensure an economically beneficial Just Transition.
 - What unions representing workers at the same company in other countries have leverage, and potentially more leverage, to establish a united front?

What about strategic information?

Structuring a solid Just Transition demand can only be done with a deep, detailed catalogue of information. If a union has the resources, it will be a wise investment to retain an economist with a specific expertise in employment **and** local economic development, if such an expert is not already on the union's staff. Such an expert can analyze future workforce trends from total positions to be created, gender disaggregated data, corporate ownership, and skills for new jobs (and how those skills differ from current ones).

However, if the union cannot finance hiring outside economic experts, or does not have the expertise in-house, a staff member and/or a non-paid individual should be identified and recruited who has the best relevant research expertise to gather information, especially economic information using various free sources for all relevant information, including:

- Government websites in countries with strong transparency
- Politicians who can get access to information not available publicly
- International institutions like IMF, World Bank, OECD, IEA and IRENA

If the goal of a **high bar** Just Transition is to preserve every worker's current standard of living, then, it's crucial for the union to map out what that picture looks like.

Information is power! Ideally, every union should create a robust database outlining the income level of its members—including wages, health benefits and pensions. This database will be crucial as a piece of evidence to share with members, political leaders, the media and, of course, the broader community. In addition to the wages and benefits inscribed in a collective bargaining agreement, gather the following, taking into account in each factor the existing disparity between men and women:

- What kind of support does a worker get in the country from a national pension?
- What kind of support exists for redundancy/unemployment?
- What kind of support exists for reskilling?

21.3.

Workers' representatives: building a powerful coalition: unions, workers' representatives, allies, and communities.

- Who are your allies in labour? Each union should be approached, including unions that have no direct involvement in a decarbonizing industry, because everyone will feel the effects of climate change and decarbonization. If an industrial plant or coal mine close, it will hurt economic activity for everyone—people losing a job might move away or reduce personal spending due to loss of income, their tax revenues to a community could decline, and thus, put at risk funding for basic government services.
- Are there alliances to be made with other unions representing workers in other countries working for the same company, especially in a case of a large multinational? Cross-border campaigns as a fundamental part of Just Transition: these campaigns can be built by your local or national union, as well as coordinating with European and global union federations who can share information and assist in contacting workers' representatives from the same companies in different countries to build cross-border alliances.
- Who are your potential non-politician leader allies in the community? Make a comprehensive list of every local community leader and every non-governmental organization, especially the leading voices in the environmental community. Don't leave anyone off the list: leaders who might not be with a union today could turn into allies down the road, so it is essential to speak to every community leader. Contact them and establish relations that benefit both parts.

NOTE

Such a database would require significant investment to create and maintain. If possible, such a tool might be feasible even for under-resourced unions via sharing the cost and access as part of a partnership/alliance with other unions and additional allies.

- Who are your political allies in elected public office? Most unions have relationships with politicians on a day-to-day basis. Get information about their plans and ideas regarding Just Transition. Investigate the plans of every candidate for political office to determine whether Just Transition is included in their campaign priorities; if Just Transition is not part of a candidate's campaign, and there are elections in the short-mid-term, then, meet with every single one to introduce Just Transition as a key priority.

What's your argument for Just Transition?

Think about what your members will need to understand, what your allies will want to hear and the most effective points to be made to the public:

- Prepare one-sheet explanations
- Use personal stories
- Be concise
- Get to the point with sharp language

2.2. Executing the plan

Now that you have all the information at hand, it's time to execute the plan. A Just Transition effort is very similar to any organizing campaign and is assembled with the different parts already collected.

The demand

The guide provides in the Appendix options for language to use to write a Just Transition demand.

Putting together the demand, like any agreement negotiation, requires knowing how much leverage the union has. The demand will be directed towards the government, the company, or both. It should imagine each phase of the transition over a short-mid-long-term horizon, making the plan for five, ten, 20 and 30 years and build in the ability to update and adjust a plan as circumstances shift.

The Just Transition vision should have key elements:

• Wages and benefits

- What are the wages and benefits, current and future, members receive?
- Family income. A key element for assessing family income is to value—and, then create a stream of funding to pay for—domestic work (e.g., childcare, elder-care).

• Options for retirement

- What options exist for workers to take early retirement, without sacrificing benefits that would have been earned if retirement occurred at the normal, earliest possible date?

• New skills/retraining: promising to give a worker new skills is very easy, but translating those new skills to a future job paying wages equal to today's job is something different:

- Do not accept an offer that claims that retraining alone is a sufficient solution in a Just Transition plan.
- Demand information regarding the future jobs.
- Always ask the question “what jobs are our members retraining for?” and get specifics.
- Demand that every retraining plan include a full menu of future jobs backed up with a written company and government commitment to pay the wages and benefits offered.
 - Such a written guarantee should commit to make up any gap between current wages and benefits and a future job, for the full life of a worker.
- Retraining should be linked to the commitment to guarantee union representation in the future jobs.
- Retraining must always be fully funded for the entire length of the retraining program at the level of a worker's current pay and contain funds for expenses such as travel and childcare. Otherwise, a worker cannot afford the retraining.
- Be very insistent that the plan includes gender responsive programmes so that all skills and training programmes have a central component to close the skills gaps between men and women, enabling women to not be trapped in lower-paying and less-skilled jobs. As well, there must be assurances that women will have access to these programmes.

● Decision making

- Demand the creation of Just Transition committees which unions are part of, with gendered balance representation. The union must have an equal voice, committed to in writing, in any government/company-sponsored inquiry/committee addressing Just Transition.
- When the union negotiates collective agreements, at local, regional, national, sectoral or company level, the union should insert language in existing collective bargaining agreements mandating union involvement in all Just Transition plans at a company.
- In circumstances in which such language cannot be included in a collective bargaining agreement either for legal reasons and/or because the company refuses to entertain the topic as part of collective bargaining, the demand should be written up as a distinct agreement with the company.
- Unions need to incorporate any partial or complete legally binding social dialogue frameworks that can advance Just Transition (in forums such as tripartite government-employers – unions, dual partite between employers – unions or institutionalized similar to the general and/or sectorial social dialog instruments within the European Union).

Financing Just Transition

A fair allocation of costs and benefits is a key part of Just Transition. It is important for a union's proposal to include fair and feasible options for financing Just Transition and use those options as a strong argument for the ability to execute a high-bar Just Transition. Those options can include:

- Fair tax, on both wealth and companies. Sufficient tax revenue is a precondition for a capable state that can manage the energy transition and a Just Transition. Yet many of the world's richest people pay very little tax on their wealth, and many of the world's biggest corporations pay no or minimal corporate income tax. Thus, a significant wealth taxes on large fortunes—justified as a matter of social policy generally— could go a long way to fund both energy transition generally and Just Transition specifically. Similarly, a modest increase in corporate taxation on a global basis, plus a crackdown on corporate tax havens, could provide significant tax revenues to governments. Some of these revenues could be used for Just Transition. Finally, energy companies have

profited mightily from the current energy crisis. Several governments have imposed windfall profits taxes. Again, some of the revenues from these taxes could be used to fund a Just Transition.

- Making employers pay. Energy and extractive companies around the world are generally profitable until the moment of transition when the value of their assets drops. Those profits come primarily from extracting energy, minerals and labor from particular sites. Having profited from today's energy systems, employers should pay for transition with those profits. Employers can pay in three ways. First, they can pay for the costs of retain, retrain, redeploy – keeping the workers they have within the enterprise while reskilling and redeploying them to work in new, low carbon assets. Second, if redeployment is not an option, employers can pay the costs of workers reskilling for other employment as well as for social benefits and adequate severance and unemployment packages. Third, employers can pay the costs of site remediation and/or conversion, including the creation of decent jobs as part of these activities. Of course, employers should also secure health care and pension costs, potentially by putting funds for future payments into trusts.

It's important to get employers to pay while they are still solvent. There are different ways to do this, but one proposal is to create a regional or national fund where employers pay into it with a tax based on profits or units sold. There are already examples of this approach in the decommissioning funds created for nuclear power plants in different countries.

- Carbon taxes. The amount of money allocated to Just Transition from carbon taxes can be, and should be, significantly increased and, perhaps, directed to the Just Transition For All Global Fund. Carbon taxes must be designed so that they are progressive and not regressive, particularly at this moment of soaring energy prices.
- Just Transition bonds. Today, climate change bonds are rapidly expanding in the financial markets—but virtually none of the end-use for such bonds explicitly involves Just Transition for workers. Collectively, workers hold US\$XX TRN in pensions, also known as workers' capital. Union pension fund trustees are starting to use their leverage on asset managers to demand labor rights and Just Transition as preconditions for investments. This could also be expanded to include demands for Just Transition in climate bonds.

- > Consumer electric usage tolls: Energy consumers, especially in the industrialized advanced economies, have benefited from the output of fossil fuel industry workers. A monthly wires charge on energy uses can contribute to a Just Transition Fund, adhering to the principle of progressive taxation to set rates, with exemptions for people who expend proportionally high percentages of their income for energy needed for basic subsistence. For example, every rate payer could be assessed a base monthly small percentage charge in each energy bill, with a higher sum in the first five years of a national Just Transition Fund, and then, a declining sum every five years capped at the end of 20 years. That sum could be easily electronically deposited.
- Recovery provisions: The plan must have a provision to recover any government funds or other support extended to companies which fail to fulfill Just Transition commitments on job creation, job retention or skills training.
- The community—as the guide has emphasized, a Just Transition campaign is more likely to be successful, and have long-term positive effects, if the broader community needs are incorporated. It is recommended that this portion be constructed together with allies outside the union and include:
 - > An accurate assessment of the economic activity created by a factory, or an entire sector.
 - > An assessment of the tax base losses, and the related service cuts due to lower government revenues, if jobs are eliminated due to decarbonization and, in turn, the positive effects on a community if a high bar Just Transition is implemented.
 - > The cost of transforming energy systems to meet the needs of the community. Needs should be defined as energy systems that are safe, non-polluting, affordable, support women and are substantially under the control of the community.

How will the union finance its Just Transition plan?

If financially possible, at least one full-time paid staff member should be assigned to the campaign because of its complexity and multi-year timeline. If paid staff is not possible, a union must ask a hard question: who is going to do the work to make the plan successful?

If the union has a reasonable relationship with a company, does the collective bargaining agreement provide for paid release time for members? Can financing be found, perhaps from philanthropic sources, for other activists/volunteers?

Building union capacity

A union will have difficulty implementing a Just Transition plan without the support of its members. Thus, a critical first step is education among members of the union about the meaning of Just Transition. Education is especially crucial for older workers who are most vulnerable to a job upheaval and who also might believe the best strategy is to just hold on until retirement, especially in countries offering a public and/or private pension plan.

Among the topics to address in presentations, group meetings, newsletters and webinars:

- The basic idea of the Just Transition concept.
- The basic concept of a high-bar Just Transition. Members need to know what the current situation is and what the goal is, and what future that they should want and demand.
- The status of the Just Transition discussion in the country and within the company/sector.
- The status of renewable energies and the possibility of employment in renewable energy industries, and the wages and benefits in those industries.
- The availability and prospects for job re-training.
- The broader social community interest and need for Just Transition.
- A vision for better jobs, not just any jobs, which also grapples with gender inequality.
- If the company is using the Just Transition term, members need to understand whether the company is offering a real Just Transition plan or is just using the Just Transition rhetoric to appear responsive to the climate crisis. We can only talk about Just Transition if it involves workers and their representatives. If not, they are only talking about transition without the just element.
- The union should also educate leaders and delegates to become Just Transition trainers who can guide members through the process once job losses actually occur, especially in directing workers to the strongest options for reskilling and retraining for future jobs. This will set up better outcomes for workers, rather than workers having to rely solely on government or company programs that may be underfunded or inadequate to the task of identifying future jobs.
- The union should create a helpdesk and/or a list of knowledgeable contacts that any worker can call at the local and regional level if she or he has questions about their job or the Just Transition plan.

Working with the community

Based on experience, it is close-to-impossible to imagine winning a high-bar Just Transition without strong community support. The term community includes organizations of all types (social welfare, religious, small business) and political leaders across the spectrum (elected and non-elected). Community groups and leaders might not be allies in the beginning because of lack of understanding about Just Transition or potential allies might be misled—by the government and/or the company—into supporting a bare-bones version of Just Transition. Here are the basic components of a community education campaign:

- A Just Transition campaign will be most effective if it is positioned as part of an overall effort to raise living standards, especially wages, for everyone. For example, in countries where wages are low and workers struggle to pay monthly bills, Just Transition advocates should embrace campaigns demanding immediate wage improvements, especially for lower-paid workers.
- The union should emphasize, in its plan, that a high-bar Just Transition creates an unbreakable bond between protecting workers' incomes and financing long-term economic development in communities undergoing disruptions due to climate change and decarbonization. Closed sites must be comprehensively remediated to the benefit of the workers and communities that relied on them.

Delivering the message

It is, of course, important for elected union leaders to be visible in the public explanation of a Just Transition plan. However, it is vital to have workers capable of speaking to the community. Thus, a crucial component of the campaign is **training effective spokespeople**. An effective spokesperson:

- Knows the facts of the plan and the general idea of Just Transition
- Can keep her/his composure when confronted with dissenting voices or probing, even skeptical, questions
- Has worked on public presentation skills. Most people can be trained to deliver a presentation—some of the skills are practical (for example, how to look into a television camera); other skills just need practice (for example, rehearsing basic talking points of a personal story without losing the authenticity of a story).

2.3. Following up the plan

Once the union begins to implement the plan, it is crucial to structure a follow up process to ensure success. Three components exist to the follow-up efforts: committee work, a set of indicators and a timeline. A guiding checklist is provided to aid unions on the process of following up the plan.

Committee work

Putting together a committee structure will distribute the work fairly between staff and leaders and make it clear where responsibility rests for each element of the plan. Committees also allow more effective communication and decision-making so the work can be adjusted based on the outlines of the initial plan.

One possible committee list could divide the work as follows:

- Research
- Negotiations
- Education
- Coalition Building
- Finance
- Media

However, each union may opt for a different committee set-up depending on the circumstances and people available to work on the plan.

Indicators

Each union will have its own criteria to measure the detailed progress of the Just Transition plan depending on national conditions. There are general indicators that can be useful to include in assessing progress:

- 1 A majority of union members support the leadership's approach to Just Transition. This can be judged based on participation in educational efforts, as well as commentary from members directly or on social media.
- 2 The union has identified, authorized and mobilized sufficient internal resources to fund the staffing needed to complete the tasks towards creating the Just Transition plan. This will ensure that the plan can proceed effectively.
- 3 The government and/or company have agreed, in principle, to engage in a Just Transition plan negotiation based on the union's presentation of a framework supported by the union's extensive information and data gathering efforts.
- 4 The union has successfully negotiated its right to be an equal partner, with equal voice and vote, in a local or national Just Transition negotiation.
- 5 The union has successfully established a plan for a fully-financed path for Just Transition, combining the various funding mechanisms outlined the Guide of Practice. In other words, the numbers stated in the plan are realistic and add up to provide the economics support for all members.
- 6 The timeline agreed to by the government and the company matches the international goal of decarbonization as set out in the 2015 Paris Agreement. In other words, the union has resisted any attempts to delay Just Transition to an unreasonable future goal, and, instead, a realistic and high bar plan is in place.
- 7 The union has successfully engaged all forms of media in the community to a point where Just Transition is portrayed positively in reporting and commentary and the union is recognized as occupying a central role as a leader in the community on the issue of climate change, decarbonization and digitalization.

Timeline

This suggested timeline will provide an idea of the timing for the different steps:

Year 1:

Day 1-6 months

- Assess the human and financial resources available in the union to pursue a Just Transition plan, especially the ability to hire dedicated staff that can focus their daily work on the Just Transition.
- Create committee structure for the Just Transition plan (within each time frame listed below in the timeline, the committees should be meeting regularly, based on a workable schedule).
- Begin the information gathering tasks outlined in the guide.
- Assemble the lists of potential allies.
- Outline the steps for an internal union training process.

6-9 months

- If the information gathering process has advanced sufficiently to supply enough information to articulate a Just Transition vision, begin meeting with the most reliable allies, especially other unions, to outline the plan.
- Begin the internal union training campaign, holding at least two meetings/discussions to use as a test for the plan and then, evaluate the success of the training elements.
- Begin training members who can serve as public spokespeople.
- Structure the demand to government and/or company and prepare a document ready to present to our counterparts and allies.

9-12 months

- If the demand has a stable framework (in other words, agreed-upon broad principles with specific details, especially financial figures, still under discussion), begin the process of establishing a dialogue with government and/or the company, including an initial meeting to agree on a process to reach a Just Transition agreement.
- During this period, the department in charge of research should meet at least monthly to review specific clauses, supported by collected data, for the proposed agreement.
- Expand the union internal training effort and training of public spokespeople with a goal to reach at least half the membership by the end of Year 1.
- If the leadership assesses strong support from members, begin including more detail on Just Transition in the regular communications with members, including the option to create a dedicated website.

Year 2:

12-18 months

- If the initial meeting with the company/government has yielded positive results, organize the creation of a joint Just Transition committee with all the actors' representatives involved in the process: unions, government and/or company. Once established, this committee will meet often to follow up the process.
- If the government and/or the company has refused to engage in a process, or if one party has agreed but the other has not, begin to incorporate allies into the discussion on how to form a public call in opposition to the rejection of the Just Transition process.
- During this period the union should have at least a draft written framework for a Just Transition agreement/demand which can be adapted for a collective bargaining process or for the lobbying of government.

18-24 months

- If the dialogue is on-going with the outside parties (government and/or the company), convene an internal meeting to assess what progress has been made and where any significant gaps in information/progress need to be addressed.
- Convene a broad allies meeting, including a public/media component, to explain the framework of the Just Transition campaign.
- Organize small meetings with outside media representatives to seize the narrative of Just Transition.
- Organize a large public town hall meeting to invite citizens of all walks of life to understand the connection between the workers and the community—if the union represents workers in more than one municipality, endeavor to hold public meetings in each location to ensure strong participation.

At the end of the initial two-year process, the union will be able to undertake an evaluation of the progress and, then determine how to advance in subsequent years.

Checklist

This checklist summarizes the basic tasks to accomplish in building the Just Transition plan. Each point below corresponds to a fuller explanation in the guide.

Information gathering

- Collect the general financial information on the country, including debt levels and budget plans.
- Collect the financial information of the company, including all operations, domestic and, if relevant, foreign.
- Collect and analyze the energy transition plans underway, or discussed, within the country.
- Collect the energy transition plans of the company, domestic and foreign.
- Collect and analyze projections made by the government and the company for the creation of green jobs, especially the wages and benefits being promised.
- Analyze the full range of impacts energy transition will have on:
 - union members
 - the community

Establish coalition-allies lists

- Unions in the country
- Global union federations
- Politicians
- Community leaders

Gather and prepare members economic data

- Wages
- Benefits
- Pensions

Structuring the Just Transition demand

- Wages and benefits required for each member.
- Options available for early retirement, based on public or private pension schemes.
- Secured financing for retraining options.
- Just Transition financing options.
- Decision-making process for the Just Transition agreement that gives unions full equality.

Structuring the internal work of the Just Transition Plan

- Create a draft timeline for the campaign.
- Create a committee structure including:
 - Research
 - Negotiations
 - Education
 - Coalition building
 - Finance
 - Media
- Assign union staff or members to each committee.

Training

- Internal training of members.
- External education of the public/community.
- Training of union leaders as Just Transition spokespeople.

Conclusion

The guide shows the current state of Just Transition in early 2022. IndustriALL approached the guide's mission with two goals in mind. First, to advance the understanding of Just Transition among affiliates by conveying the current state of efforts around the world and, at the same time, to set the highest standard possible for the ultimate Just Transition vision. Second, to give a basic realistic roadmap for each union to use in its own efforts to create a Just Transition campaign.

We have included the key elements unions need to start Just Transition campaigns and as a starting point for debate.

- The guide reviewed the status of Just Transition and found:
 - > Very few tangible, final Just Transition frameworks are in place even though the debate over climate change has touched every nation on earth.
 - > The scope of financial support for workers who risk losing their jobs to decarbonization is minimal, at best.
 - > Job promises made by governments and companies do not match the reality of the potential numbers of jobs workers will be able to find, and certainly not for livable wages.
 - > Reskilling programs are not widespread and, in many places, do not translate into good-paying future jobs.
 - > Most unions have not initiated Just Transition discussions within their ranks because decarbonization seems, to many workers, a process that is far into the future.
 - > To build a Just Transition campaign, unions have a broad menu of options to pursue immediately in the areas of research, negotiations, education, coalition building, finance and media.
 - > Unions that begin a Just Transition effort, using the guide as a resource, will place themselves in a far better strategic position to negotiate far-reaching protections for members and ensure financial aid to communities.

IndustriALL welcomes input, perspectives and other points of view to strengthen a shared vision of Just Transition.

We know there is a long path ahead to protect workers in a decarbonized society. We should understand our strengths and weaknesses as we address Just Transition. At the same time, we can feel confident about the future because trade unions, working together across borders in unity with allies, have won major improvements for workers over many decades.

Appendix

The Guide provides additional resources in this Appendix to aid the Just Transition plan. It provides examples of contract language that the union can use or adapt for its Just Transition work.

Understanding that every country will have to structure a written agreement consistent with national laws and collective bargaining agreements, below are four suggestions for general frameworks for contract language for Just Transition.

SHORT GENERAL FRAMEWORK

If the union is trying to establish an initial agreement with a company, the following can encompass a broad set of goals (borrowed, and modified, from United Kingdom's Trades Union Congress¹⁴):

The parties to this agreement are committed to developing a shared approach to addressing energy and environmental issues through this agreement that will serve as the basis for a Just Transition.

The (employer) commits to complying at all times to relevant environmental legislation and will work to improve the wider environmental agenda with the use of best practice and examples. With this in mind, the (employer) commits to:

- *Reducing the (employer's) emissions footprint using specific benchmarks and goals consistent with goals set by the national government and international agreements.*
- *Working with workers, management and stakeholders that provides full funding for skills training and education that will mirror the expected future jobs market. The following specific education programs will be implemented by (date).*
- *Monitoring performance against achievable but challenging targets.*
- *The (employer) and the (union) will include supervisors, workers, and union representatives in sharing responsibility for the Just Transition efforts.*

→ *The following tasks will be completed by the following workgroups by (date)*

As part of this ongoing work and commitment, the (employer) and the (union) will support the creation of a Joint Climate Just Transition Task Force to engage in constructive dialogue between the employer and the union.

The parties agree to ensure that all departments/work areas are represented on the Task Force and that the members of the task force are provided with all relevant information concerning the environmental and work issues within the [factory name/sector]. The Task Force will be made of the following representatives (identify and describe). The Task Force will meet (times a month or year) and will annually vote on a chair and secretary, to be alternated between the employer side and the union side.

14 "Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all" (ILO, 2015) https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_432859.pdf

A SHORT SAMPLE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENT

(drafted by Australia's Electrical Trades Union)

If a union already has the ability to begin a negotiation within a collective bargaining relationship with the company, the following could provide a template.

The (employer) and (union) acknowledge the immediate threat to the ongoing viability of the business and to job stability and security presented by rising greenhouse gas emissions which have been the cause of increasing average global temperatures and climate instability. The parties to this agreement commit to a cooperative / collaborative approach to reducing those risks through actions which reduce emissions. It is recognized that there is likely to be fundamental changes required to the operation of whole sectors and to individual enterprises.

Climate, Environment and Sustainability

1. The parties to this agreement recognize the shared benefits to the employer and employees of taking a cooperative approach to addressing key risks to the ongoing viability of the business and to job security.
2. The parties to this agreement recognize the risks arising from the climate crisis and commit to adopting a collaborative and consultative approach to reducing greenhouse gas emissions and mitigating risk.
3. The employer will provide information on the greenhouse gas emissions from its own operations and from within its supply chain at least annually. The employer will give a presentation to workplace union representatives and relevant union officers on the risks to business viability and job security posed by climate instability, how the emissions are measured, emission targets and plans for reducing emissions.
4. If the employer does not record, measure or plan to reduce emissions, the union and employer will meet to develop a step by step process to measure emissions, set targets and review progress.
5. The employer and the union will establish a climate, environment and sustainability committee which will reflect the diversity of the workforce and include women in its membership. The committee will engage in meaningful consultation and planning around the risks presented by the climate crisis and the implications for jobs and job security of measures which are planned to reduce emissions. Proposals shall be gender sensitive and ensure equal opportunities for both women and men. Agreements should protect against discrimination of any kind during transition to new ways of operating and new jobs and work organization.
6. As part of its mandate to address the risks to sustainable employment presented by the climate crisis, the committee will:
 - 6.1 Consider the information presented by the employer pursuant to clause 3
 - 6.2 Consider and discuss initiatives to increase job security by addressing the climate crisis including:
 - 6.2.1 Sourcing workplace energy needs from renewable energy
 - 6.2.2 Improving energy efficiency of company buildings, equipment and machinery
 - 6.2.3 Reducing the environmental impacts of a company's supply chain
 - 6.2.4 Reducing emissions from company logistics and transport operations whether in house or outsourced.
 - 6.2.5 Improving recycling and environmental protection across the business
 - 6.2.6 Waste reduction
 - 6.2.7 Considering changes to work organization, working hours and shift patterns which could help mitigate the effects of the climate crisis on job security. Any proposed changes should involve full consultation with employees and take into account family care responsibilities.
 - 6.2.8 Considering the external risks to the business and job security presented by the climate crisis and identify mitigation strategies which might be implemented to ensure sustainable and safe employment
 - 6.2.9 Considering health and safety measures and policies during heat waves and other extreme weather events, including their specific impacts on women workers

A DETAILED FRAMEWORK

An even more advanced view of a Just Transition model for collective agreements has been developed by the Electrical Trades Union of Australia. Each union can adapt clauses below that fit specific national circumstances (the language below has been slightly edited for clarity).

1. *The parties to this agreement recognise the shared benefits to the employer and its employees from taking a co-operative approach to addressing key risks to the ongoing viability of the business, and to job security. This clause sets out minimum consultative processes, and associated obligations, in relation to the impacts of energy transitions. The parties acknowledge:*
 - a. *That there is significant uncertainty in the future of electricity generation,*
 - b. *That this uncertainty constitutes major change for the purposes of the consultation, and*
 - c. *That this clause applies in addition to the provisions contained in the consultation clause.*
 2. *The parties to this agreement recognise the risks and impacts to job security and the economy presented by climate change and the current energy transition. The parties commit to adopting a collaborative and consultative approach to mitigating and/or avoiding those risks and impacts and facilitating a fair and just transition for employees impacted by any changes.*
 3. *During the term of the Agreement the parties recognise there may be the introduction of, and use of new technologies/plant, and/or retirement of existing technologies/plant which may impact the employment of employees. To mitigate these impacts, the parties commit to developing and establishing processes and plans which provide for:*
 - a. *No forced redundancies or relocations coupled with pooled voluntary redundancy schemes where appropriate, which allow for older workers at non-impacted work areas to nominate for voluntary redundancy creating a job or longer-term employment prospects for younger workers from the impacted area.*
 - b. *Lengthy notice periods of at least 5 years of future intention to close or substantially change technologies, to provide lead time to build replacement generation and / or plan orderly closures and to maximise opportunities for the workforce and their unions to negotiate fair outcomes. All notices of closure provided to [government agencies], including amendments to notices of closure, will also be provided in writing to employees and their Unions.*
 - c. *Comprehensive site rehabilitation plans which can provide an additional source of employment and deliver community benefits.*
 - d. *Funding and support to retrain power station workers including supporting their participation in any industry or Government programs in consultation with employees and their Unions.*
 - e. *Cooperation and participation in any announced funding and support initiatives which diversify the regional economy that the employer operates in.*
- ### **Establishment of a Transition Working Group**
4. *The employer commits to notifying and consulting with employees and their unions where the employer has made a preliminary decision on a proposal to introduce a change to generation technology which may include:*
 - a. *Retirement of some part or all its generation assets,*
 - b. *Planning, design, construction, maintenance, or operation of new generation assets,*
 - c. *Augmentation or upgrades to existing generation assets,*
 - d. *Planning, design, construction, maintenance, or operation of additional emissions reduction technologies, and / or*
 - e. *Any associated upgrades to existing technology resulting from any of the above.*
 5. *Within 3 months of the approval of this agreement, the employer will facilitate the establishment of a consultative group to be known as the "Transition Working Group" which will include:*
 - a. *X representatives chosen by the employer*
 - b. *Y representatives chosen by the employees*
 - c. *One representative of each Union party to this agreement*
 6. *The work of the Transition Working Group will focus on the matters contained at clause 3. and 4. above and any other energy transition matters agreed by the parties.*
 7. *The parties commit to making a joint representation to the relevant Government Departments and Ministers to seek appropriate engagement and representation to maximise transition opportunities for impacted workers as they arise. The parties will allow relevant Government representatives to participate in working group meetings if requested.*
 8. *Where a broader industry / community transition group is established, the parties commit to*

supporting and participating fully in those processes and the employer will support employee representatives reasonably participating in that forum without loss of pay.

9. The employer will ensure employee representatives of the Transition Working Group have reasonable access to all the resources they require to undertake their work effectively including:
 - a. Mobile phone, computer, internet, and email
 - b. Printing, scanning, and photocopying
 - c. Relevant training supplied by their preferred provider
 - d. Reasonable paid time to attend meetings of the working group and to attend individual and group meetings of employees they represent
 - e. Reasonable paid time to perform work arising from the working group including collating employee feedback, researching proposals, preparing proposals and meeting with all relevant stakeholders.
10. At the first meeting of the Transition Working Group the employer will provide details of the preliminary decision, including:
 - a. The introduction of the proposed change,
 - b. The likely effect of the proposed change on impacted employees including the effect the proposed change could have on other employees including secondments, Fixed-Term employees, and contractors on site, including OH&S considerations,
 - c. Measures the employer proposes to take, or could take, to avert or mitigate the adverse effects of the change on employees, and
 - d. The likelihood of requiring redeployment through either internal and / or external employment transitions.
11. The working group will develop an agreed timeframe for the consultation period taking into account the consultation obligations contained in this clause and having regard to employee roster arrangements, the ability to consider the proposed changes, to seek advice, and to make and respond to detailed proposals.

Internal Employment Transitions

12. The employer will prepare and provide to the working group a matrix of all persons working in the business including current secondments, fixed term, casual and contract roles which will be used to identify possible opportunities to maximise permanent employment outcomes for impacted employees at

the workplace they are currently engaged at.

13. Where it is identified employees may become surplus to ongoing operational / maintenance requirements due to the proposed change, a skills audit will be conducted to identify the skills/competency bank of impacted employees to identify the requirements for the workplace to continue to operate safely and efficiently as well as identifying any skills employees may have which will assist with an internal transfer to another role at the same work location.
14. These employees will be provided with the first option to take up any new positions created where there is an introduction of new or alternate generating technologies at the current work location they are engaged at.
15. Where a surplus employee/s is identified, and internal positions are either available or will become available, an analysis of any skills gaps will be conducted in consultation with the affected employee/s and a training plan will be developed with the relevant training occurring during the course of their rostered hours and at the cost of the employer.
16. The employer will ensure that any offers of internal transfer to vacant positions are transparent and orderly by applying the following process:
 - a. [notice] will be provided to all Employees identifying the positions available and skill requirements (acknowledging that training will be made available to successful candidates as required).
 - b. Successful candidates will be selected using [an agree upon selection process]
 - c. Any dispute in relation to the suitability of a selected candidate/s will be dealt with by the convening of a conference of the workplaces regular Consultative Committee.
 - d. If it cannot be resolved there, then the grievance/ disputes procedure will apply including progressing the matter to the [relevant regulatory agencies] for resolution if required.
17. Where it becomes evident that the internal transfer of employees at a particular location will not absorb all surplus employees an [agreed-upon] process will be utilised to identify Employees who wish to take up redeployment via external employment transition opportunities at a different location to where they are currently engaged.
18. Prior to advancing external employment transition arrangements all options for retraining and redeployment of staff including potential reorganisation of working hours arrangements shall be exhausted.

External Employment Transition

19. *Employees who will be displaced after all internal employment transition options have been exhausted will have first priority to transfer to other work locations of the employer including new and proposed greenfield sites, existing sites under construction and roles within wholly owned subsidiaries of the employer.*
20. *The employer will ensure that all contracts entered into for planning, design, construction, maintenance and / or operation of new generation units will include enforceable terms requiring the contracted entities to accept reasonable secondments and permanent transfer of employment opportunities.*
21. *Where a successful secondment or permanent transfer requires an employee to first acquire additional skills and training, the employer will arrange for the relevant training as a priority during the course of the employees rostered hours and at the cost of the employer.*
22. *Where the employer plans, designs, constructs, maintains and / or operates new generation units which requires employment of additional staff the employer will ensure that existing employees are provided opportunities to acquire skills, knowledge and experience in the new technology. A transition plan will be developed for employees who work on equipment that is or will be phased out to transition to the vacancies associated with the new plant.*
23. *If there remains vacant positions following the above process, the parties will work to create a process to fill vacancies with workers from the local community and from the power generation industry who have been or are facing displacement from the energy transition elsewhere.*

Support for Impacted Employees

24. *The Transition Working Group will support impacted employees and their families by actively exploring assistance through:*
 - a) *Recognition and transfer options for [long service leave] accruals, and conditions (qualifying period, level of payment, how and when it can be accessed etc.).*
 - b) *Relocation expenses, including relocation grants to assist with the disruptive costs of moving such as changing schooling, partners having to give up work to move with the main "bread winner".*
 - c) *Training subsidies for individuals, to be available up to 12 months from the date of being displaced, in a field of their choosing which will assist in securing ongoing and permanent employment.*

- d. *"Top up" payments to employee's [pension/ superannuation] funds who were nearing retirement age and have had to leave the industry prematurely.*
- e. *Mitigating any costs associated with the employee's employment being affected by the changes such as breaking of real estate leases, vehicle leases, early termination of contracts etc.*
- f. *Assisting employees to access financial advice in relation to Small Business Loans/Grants, low interest packages for affected employees.*

Support for Impacted Communities

25. *The Parties recognise the employer has benefitted from the extensive community infrastructure which supports both the employer and the employees. Therefore, the parties commit to working together to advocate for Government support initiatives, including:*
 - a. *Access to Small Business Loans/Grants, low interest packages for affected employees.*
 - b. *Assistance for communities who lose residents due to station shutdowns e.g. assistance packages for small businesses and public utilities/services who are adversely impacted by the reduction in population.*
 - c. *Housing losses where a closure causes the housing market to collapse via a purchase guarantee for employees who must relocate.*
 - d. *Low interest loans for house purchases for employees who have had to relocate to gain employment.*
 - e. *Increased funds for Social Services to assist with the pressures of losing employment, e.g. suicide prevention programs, child support group etc.*
 - f. *Incentives to employers to "take on" anyone affected with losing their job because of shutdowns, especially if there is a re-training requirement for a new employee.*
 - g. *The employer commits to funding a detailed study into the economic and social impacts on the local community of any proposed restructure or closure, with a particular focus on the effects on Schools, Hospital, Policing and social services funding and staffing impacts.*

A COMPLETE JUST TRANSITION PLAN

A completed negotiated tri-partite agreement in Spain is a useful example for global unions. The agreement will be implemented by authorities from unions, government and companies.

- La Federación de Industria, Construcción y Agro de la Unión General de Trabajadores
- La Federación de Industria de Comisiones Obreras
- La Federación de Industria de la Unión Sindical Obrera
- La Ferderación Nacional de Empresarios de Minas de Carbón (CARBUNION).
- El Gabinete de la Secretaría de Estado de Energía
- El Instituto para la Reestructuración de la Minería del Carbón y Desarrollo Alternativo de las Comarcas Mineras, O.A.

The “**Framework Agreement for a Fair Transition of Coal Mining and Sustainable Development of the Mining Communities for the period 2019-2027**” can be accessed [here](#)

Another example is from the German Commission on Growth, Structural Change and employment: **BMWK - Commission on Growth, Structural Change and Employment** (bmwi.de), accessed [here](#)

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