

Critical thinking from Stanley Foundation conferences

POLICY *dialogue* BRIEF



Setting an International Policy Agenda for Just Transitions

Building a Global Just Transition

In the last few years, the topic of just transition has gained traction in international policy spaces, from the development of the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Just Transition Guidelines to the inclusion of just transition in the Paris Agreement. The recent rise of this topic on the agenda of international policymakers comes in part from practical challenges to increasing climate action. Climate change mitigation efforts, such as coal phaseout, have been met with concern from workers and communities impacted by transition. But while the topic of just transition is relatively new in international climate policy, it has been at the center of grassroots movements for decades, including labor movements and environmental justice campaigns. The recent rise of just transition on the agenda may come as a practical solution to climate action externalities, but its success is owed to years of advocacy built by grassroots movements, for whom just transition has not been a pragmatic solution to policy issues but instead the impetus for social change in response to injustice.

As a variety of movements and institutions begin to recognize the importance of pairing just transition policies at scale with international climate policy, convergence is needed around the idea of how to put just transition into practice and what structure an international agenda on this topic takes. To tackle this issue, the Stanley Foundation gathered civil society and policy experts from social justice campaigns and the international climate community at its 58th annual Strategy for Peace Conference for a roundtable on "Setting an International Policy Agenda for Just Transitions."

This policy dialogue brief provides an overview of just transition in international climate politics, identifies areas for further analysis and discussion, and extends policy recommendations where possible. It begins with the origins of just transition movements and summarizes the current state of play. Following this overview is an outline and examination of the elements of just transition and its challenges, such as entrenched economic and political interests, overly narrow bureaucratic agendas, financial requirements, and labor gaps. Then, building on these core elements, recommendations are developed for an international policy agenda on just transition, and a set of procedural principles is established for implementing just transition. The brief then explores the opportunities that result from bringing a variety of communities together

58th Strategy for Peace Conference

Sponsored by
The Stanley Foundation

October 18-20, 2017

Airlie Center,
Warrenton, VA

This brief summarizes the primary findings of the conference as interpreted by the rapporteur, Mark Conway, the roundtable organizer, Rei Tang, and the chair, Sabrina Schulz. Participants neither reviewed nor approved this brief. Therefore, it should not be assumed that every participant subscribes to all of its recommendations, observations, and conclusions.

Additional information about the 58th annual Strategy for Peace Conference is available at www.stanleyfoundation.org.

on this topic. These opportunities enable connections to be built across social movements in order to find common ground, move collective action forward more effectively, and discover new solutions that expand the just transition option set, revealing potentially an interaction and alignment between climate action and social policy goals. Finally, the brief builds on these findings to create a basis for a toolkit on scaling up and internationalizing just transition agendas. The recommendations made are intended to help institutions of all kinds—civil society, the private sector, cities and states, national governments, and intergovernmental organizations—address major social challenges associated with transformations to limit global warming to 1.5° C. Not all the recommendations are applicable in every circumstance, though. Notably, certain recommendations are more pertinent to social and economic situations in the Global North, compared to the Global South.

The Origins of Just Transition

With the codification of just transition in the Paris Agreement and the ILO's Just Transition Guidelines, the international policy community has taken note of the importance of this issue. At the 23rd Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP23) in Bonn in November 2017, side events on just transition were a daily occurrence, as many organizations laid out their position on what they view as an emerging framework. For these organizations, the importance of just transition solidified as climate change mitigation efforts, such as coal phaseout, met concerns of workers and communities impacted by transition, wondering where their jobs and livelihoods would go.

This concern around the narrative of jobs-versus-environment is neither new nor unique to coal in this moment. It has long hampered action and been a go-to tactic for incumbent high-polluting industries to protect their economic self-interest. Even as growth in green industries outpaces nearly any other, providing jobs and benefits to communities, the false narrative of jobs-versus-environment is employed. At times this works, as new jobs are not available to those who lose out or as lobbies and labor in new industries are not as politically powerful or organized. But even where workers would benefit from a just transition, this narrative is often effective at stopping the conversation before it gets started. As Canadian union activist Brian Kohler put it in 1996, "The real choice is not jobs or environment. It is both or neither."¹ Or as Sharan Burrow, general secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation, puts it today, "there are no jobs on a dead planet."²

The recent attention to just transition, then, may have arisen for a number of reasons. The climate community has long been grappling with the false narrative of jobs-versus-environment, so in part, the attention on just transition may be the culmination of work to counter this narrative over the years. It may also be that inaction over the last several decades has

made climate mitigation increasingly important. In particular, the recent backlash over the decline of coal in several countries, such as the United States, represents a threat, as phasing out coal is one of the most important steps toward achieving the 1.5° C target. Backsliding on coal phaseout because of job losses is especially frustrating since coal is on its way out in many regions, as it struggles to compete with increasingly competitive renewable energy or gas. But these frustrations have brought to light the important social considerations that accompany major transitions and the difficulty of addressing them over the short time required to limit global warming.

The concern is not limited to recent entrenchment over phasing out coal, either. Though just transition conversations in the climate community have often been preoccupied with the energy transition, deep decarbonization requires economywide transformations, affecting areas far beyond the fossil fuel industry. Sectors dominated by high-input, carbon-intensive systems, like agriculture, will need to change while protecting and expanding the rights and self-determination of small-holder farmers, indigenous peoples, and women. The service industries, already confronting stresses from automation and digitalization, will be affected by the transition to a zero-carbon economy, an issue that will be compounded by the lack of labor organization in many places. In these areas, the climate community may have even fewer answers than it does for the energy transition. The climate community must get the energy transition right in order to demonstrate that transitions will go smoothly in other key sectors, such as agriculture or transportation. Convincing autoworker unions to support the transition to electric vehicles will be difficult if the coal transition leaves workers and their communities out of work and without decent economic alternatives. Beyond autoworkers, issues with those earning a living as drivers emerge with rapid transit systems. In Kenya, private drivers are at odds with bus rapid transit, which has caused job loss for transport workers. Electric vehicles also threaten mechanics, as these vehicles require fewer repairs and checks for maintenance. In these instances, the climate community has few answers for how to address worker concerns.

Similar technological disruptions have been the cause of major upheaval in the labor market before, of course. However, since climate policy is set by governments and not happening naturally through market forces, the state is challenged to offer a fair deal and a just transition to those who will lose out.

But while the topic of just transition is relatively new in international climate policy, it's been at the center of grassroots movements for decades, including labor movements and environmental justice campaigns. And while a part of the recent rise of just transition on the agenda comes as a practical solution to climate action externalities, its success is backed by years of advocacy by those grassroots move-

ments for whom just transition has not been a pragmatic solution to policy externalities but the basis for undertaking social change to create a more just world.

In North America, just transition emerged from labor movements. Labor activist Tony Mazzochi's call for a superfund for workers in weapons manufacturing, who would be put out of work by disarmament, was later termed a "just transition fund."³ In Mazzochi's eyes, "Those who work with toxic materials on a daily basis, who face the ever-present threat of death from explosions and fires, in order to provide the world with the energy and the materials it needs, deserve a helping hand to make a new start in life."⁴ In climate terms, those who have put their health on the line in dangerous work like coal mining to provide the world with energy should not now pay a disproportionately high price for a transition that benefits us all. This is the spirit that continues through work in regions like Appalachia in the United States, where coal miners and their communities have suffered the health effects of mining and pollution in order to provide the country energy. Work is now under way to support these workers and communities as coal jobs disappear so they are not paying an even higher price for an energy transition that benefits everyone. An example of this kind of transition work is that done by grassroots groups like Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, which works to design and build new economic and energy alternatives in the Appalachia region.⁵

Outside of the union movement, just transition has been a mantle for social justice issues, including for those people excluded from the economic opportunities of the fossil fuel economy in the first place, over racial or gender-based discrimination, for instance. New opportunities in the green economy should not only go to the workers who had jobs to begin with, but progress should also be made toward a more equitable future that includes those previously excluded from the high-carbon economy. These opportunities should not be limited to providing new jobs, either, but should include issues like access to energy or transportation. Just transition is at times even more fundamental, such as ensuring the basic right of expressing opinions or allowing civil society activities. In many cases, these fundamental concerns must be addressed even before conversations on climate change can occur. In some societies, the promise of a just transition is not trusted by the people because of low trust in government institutions, which is exacerbated when people have no voice on social issues. It may also be the case that concerns of climate and just transition should focus on affecting social change first. For instance, in a country like the Philippines, most of civil society is organized around issues of democratization that have negatively impacted the lives of people for decades, and any work on climate will have to confront issues of democratization in order to affect change. From this perspective, just transition should be the impetus for larger changes that benefit everyone and ensure a voice for cli-

mate advocates in the first place, not simply a response to transformations already under way.

The two ends of the conversation on just transition—environmental justice and climate action—may then start from either the impetus for social change or as a practical response to climate policy. There may not be complete agreement over what just transition is from these two perspectives, but they share a significant amount of understanding from which just transition policies can move forward. The diversity in their perspectives, however, creates a variety of solutions and tools to address different issues. When understood more completely, this can grow solution sets across the broader community. Different movements can work together to take common issues forward and work independently to carry forward issues to the benefit of all. Working together, these communities can also not only better confront opponents to just transition but be the spark for change where none currently exists.

Just Transition as a Procedural Principle

Just transition can be framed from the perspectives of social justice or climate action, but in either case, the process of just transition encompasses a set of several widely agreed on principles and actions. These elements of just transition form a valuable basis for collaboration and exchange between climate, social-justice, and labor groups. Just transition comprises a set of procedural principles and policy actions, such as developing channels for communication, information, and exchange for affected stakeholders in an equitable manner; cooperating with a range of civil society groups where applicable; managing resources for retraining and economic transition processes; addressing the gaps in geography, timing, and skills for new jobs; and providing decent jobs.

The general procedural principles of just transition include:

- **Taking Stock:** Policymakers and stakeholders must take stock of both communities that will be affected by transitions and communities where transitions are required to achieve social justice. Policymakers must work to build inclusive conversations early to ensure that groups are not left out at key stages and that affected communities are able to put important issues on the table.
- **Providing a Seat at the Table:** Affected communities must have a seat at the table alongside representatives of climate or environmental groups, working together to determine the structure of conversations to include issues of social justice in transition processes. Inclusive dialogue is necessary to ensure that the concerns and needs of affected communities are fully understood and addressed. However, this process must be developed carefully to ensure that the interests of workers are not co-opted by industry to slow the transition process but rather expand the possibilities of large-scale change.

- **Providing Social Protections:** Social protections, such as skills training and, in the extreme case, early retirement, are a vital part of ensuring social equity for affected communities.
- **Creating Funds for Just Transition:** In addition to social protections, funds must be provided to support the redevelopment of affected communities. Advocating for the transfer of funding from industry subsidies to transition funds is an important starting point for most communities.

Based on these principles, just transition policies have the potential to advance the goals of a variety of social movements, including those of the climate community. These principles allow policymakers to work within the current system to make change and allow social movements to spark the changes needed to address systemic social challenges. From social change and climate action perspectives, just transition policies encompass a number of actions, outlined below.

Begin planning for and funding just transitions early, particularly in carbon intensive industries. Convert fossil fuel subsidies to just transition funds. The upfront costs associated with just transitions can be a major barrier to overcome. While the long-term benefits are clear, an issue emerges around who pays and how to incentivize incurring the large upfront costs. Governments will likely have to prioritize funding for transitions, but stakeholders must also consider how to get businesses to cover their fair share.

In many cases, workers have seen that addressing this issue too late lets companies off the hook. In the Canadian province of Alberta, coal phaseout plans did not include workers at the very first stages. While some in the coal industry fought phaseout, opportunistic business leaders saw the writing on the wall and agreed to phaseout, on the condition of compensation packages from the government. The transition package that resulted left little mention of workers, and instead of establishing a just transition fund, it compensated businesses while requiring little from them in terms of helping the community. The federal government of Canada has since promised to fill the gap for workers if industry falls short.

The situation is similar in Germany, where in 2015, utilities were forced to retire several coal power stations over four years, receiving generous compensation while excluding social policy measures for workers. Conversations should therefore begin earlier, including over how to set up transition funds years or decades in advance, much like the way land reclamation and recultivation costs are managed in many places. One area of focus for phasing out fossil fuel industries should be converting industry subsidies into just transition funds. Balance is important, though, as business cannot always bear the entire burden. In places like Greece, for instance, many power companies on the verge of bank-

ruptcy would be incapable of successfully taking the lead on funding a just transition.

While planning at the local level for industry phaseout is important, policymakers must also consider the planning required for phaseout on a larger scale. The effects of phaseout across regional, national, or international levels require coordinated national plans or multilateral action. In the United States, for instance, mine worker pensions are invested in multiemployer funds that were often considered low risk because they were spread across many companies. But as the industry is consolidated and going through difficult economic times, pension funds face a shortfall of several hundred million dollars. Another important area that requires national or multilateral cooperation is fossil fuel subsidies, which are typically determined at the national level.

Plan for gaps in geography, timing, and skills with new jobs, including workers in conversations about the desire to transition to new fields, relocate, or retire early. The timing and geography of new employment opportunities are important considerations that can complicate transition conversations. Even with the best intentions, industry and governments cannot guarantee that a phased out job will have an immediate replacement in the same location or at the same income level. Workers and communities should have a seat at the table when discussing relocation for work, as it is easy for decision makers to wrongly assume who will desire to relocate. Skills gaps must also be addressed. Workers must be prepared with the right skill sets to take on new jobs, whether in similar or new fields. Policymakers must understand that workers' skills may not even transfer to jobs within a similar field. Additionally, policymakers need to be certain that workers desire the new jobs. A high degree of identification and pride associated with a particular job, such as mining or manufacturing, is often a sensitive piece of the transition. Conversations on relocation, training, and safety nets should be tackled early and with the necessary respect to avoid disruption for workers and communities in transition.

At times, when workers have not been involved, even with the best intentions policymakers have made assumptions that did not match reality. A common assumption has been that younger workers are more mobile and willing to relocate, while older workers will prefer an early retirement or transition to a job in another field in the same location. Instead, stakeholders have sometimes found that older workers identify so strongly with an industry after a lifetime of employment that they prefer to relocate. Additionally, younger workers have at times preferred to stay in a community as they begin families and feel less tied to an identity in a certain industry. Of course, the assumption should not simply be flipped, or even made on what lines these considerations will form along. Instead, conversations should involve workers and community members to uncover what

issues to consider when developing transition packages on relocation, early retirement, or retraining.

Ensure new jobs are decent, particularly in emerging green industries. In particular, jobs in new industries like renewable energy must be decent. The climate community has often overlooked whether new green jobs are decent and whether they allow or enable unionization. In fact, ensuring that green industries outcompete carbon intensive ones has, at times, meant keeping costs low to the detriment of worker pay and benefits. As wind and solar attempt to break into the energy market, facing steep challenges from incumbents who are often backed by regulations and subsidies that favor fossil fuels, they have trimmed every cost, down to employee compensation and benefits. In some instances, they have fought to avoid employee unionization. Even in places that are often regarded as having strong worker protections, such as Germany, new companies in the wind industry have sought to skirt the law in clever ways to avoid allowing worker unionization. As these new industries and markets emerge, now is the time to ensure that the jobs they create are decent and that the opportunities they create are inclusive, particularly for marginalized people often left out of new economic opportunities. Addressing the issue of jobs being decent cannot wait until new industries or markets have established themselves, or the same inequities of the high-carbon economy will be perpetuated and locked into place.

Connecting Just Transition Movements

Connecting a variety of social and climate movements around just transitions is an important way to increase momentum for action. A variety of movements have approached the topic with differing viewpoints and emphasis, but there are large areas of common ground for these groups to move forward together on and other areas where different groups can carry forward their own piece independently. Building connections between social movements also builds confidence that transitions will be just and can take action farther than the climate community could alone or as the central hub for broader transition policies to an equitable and zero-carbon economy. A diversity of voices and perspectives also offers creative solutions that might be overlooked by any one particular community working alone.

Information Sharing and Collaboration

While differences exist in the way movements talk about transitions, there is value in sharing information and collaborating on areas of mutual interest. As conversations on just transition happen across so many different movements, there is a need for communities to come together and discuss where they align and differ, and to develop ways to advance issues together. Movements must not only ensure that they are not at odds with one another but work to capitalize where they can combine forces.

This does not mean that all movements must look the same or agree on the exact idea of just transition. In fact, it may be valuable to maintain different ideas about it. In certain regions it might be more effective to talk about concepts like regional development or building trust in institutions. For instance, in Central Europe, redevelopment plans are already popular for bringing jobs regionally, and mechanisms for funding redevelopment are available through the European Union (EU). In this case, redevelopment plans are often based on just transition principles and should continue to develop in this manner, but it may muddy the waters to refer to them as such. For instance, in the Czech Republic, redevelopment money helped former coal mining areas recuperate but did so without really addressing coal as the issue. In some countries in the Middle East, like Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, or Egypt, it may even be impossible to refer to a just transition, as it would imply government plans are unjust, amounting to unlawful dissent. In these countries, frameworks must include the principles of just transition but without explicitly calling them so.

It may also be more effective to build trust across various movements than to connect them all through a climate focus. Messages on transitions from similar groups will often resonate more than those from an outside community. In Germany, for instance, coal miners have often been resistant to climate advocates and policy makers pushing for phaseout. However, they may be more receptive to messages from mining communities in places like Australia, where workers are on board with a managed phaseout. This is especially true in areas where climate policies have come to be seen as at odds with the interests of communities or workers. In other instances, the message of just transition may resonate more with faith communities and offer opportunities to engage a broader group through a trusted social circle. This can even offer the opportunity to talk about issues a government may oppose in situations where religious institutions play powerful social roles.

Creative solutions from social justice movements expand the options set for just transition. When looking to examples of successful and failed transitions, many have looked to historical examples of transitions in industry, such as the transition away from steel in Germany's Ruhr Valley or in Pittsburgh in the United States. However, looking across various social movements can offer new ways and models for transition. Often, historically marginalized communities have dealt with transition or social issues in creative ways that offer unique insight for managing a just transition. For instance, in the United States, the indigenous Navajo people of Black Mesa, Arizona, took energy independence into their own hands with a solar project—despite the strong grip of the local coal industry—while also creating new jobs in energy where there had been none.

The just transition conversation is often preoccupied with fossil fuels, and coal in particular. While this may be a sensi-

ble entry point for the conversation on just transition, deep decarbonization will see economywide transitions affecting areas far beyond the fossil fuel industry. Carbon intensive sectors like agriculture will need to decarbonize while protecting small-holder farmers, indigenous peoples, women, and groups that those sectors have historically marginalized. For other sectors, like the service industries, the issue of just transition to a zero-carbon world will be especially difficult, as workers have rarely ever unionized in many countries. In these areas, the climate community may have fewer answers than other social and labor movements.

Scaling Up and Internationalizing Just Transition

As just transition moves onto the international agenda, the difficult task will be to build up from highly localized issues. In order to scale up, stakeholders must examine what transitions are under way and where transitions are needed, emphasizing peer learning and the development of case studies. As transitions begin in many regions and sectors, work must begin now to ensure that these early transitions are just. Accelerated exchange of best practices and lessons learned across regional and national boundaries is indispensable. A good example is the European Commission's Coal Regions in Transition Platform that was launched in December 2017 and that aims to facilitate the development of projects and long-term strategies in coal regions in the EU, with the aim of kick-starting the transition process and responding to environmental and social challenges. International- and national-level conversations will need to involve a variety of stakeholders, public authorities, and line ministries to adequately cover all aspects of transitions effectively and to ensure that emerging needs can be addressed and financed. There are ample opportunities to begin plugging in just transition on the international policy agenda, including through revised nationally determined contributions (NDCs), the Talanoa Dialogue, the EU members' national energy and climate plans (NECPs), and the 2018 G-20.

As international policymakers and stakeholders begin to look at building a global just transition agenda, several key issues must be kept in mind:

- **Taking stock of where transitions are occurring will facilitate peer learning.** Developing best practices can help communities learn from one another while also identifying where further support is needed from the international policy community. More research and examining case studies will be important to better understanding successful just transition policies, but existing case studies also need to be brought together in online platforms to serve the needs and interests of a global community. Sharing experiences of successful transitions as well as failed approaches to restructuring local economies will go a long way to enabling a fast diffusion of insights and knowledge. Sharing case studies also helps build support for and by communities that
- **are able to see transition in a way that protects their livelihoods.** A larger global perspective is also needed to ensure that high-carbon industries are not merely exported to countries where issues of justice or climate are not high priority.
- **In order to be effective, just transition efforts must begin now.** There are economic areas where transitions are happening regardless of climate policy, such as coal. These cases can either be managed well or allowed to disrupt livelihoods. If not managed well, not only will communities be negatively affected, but future transitions in other areas will be at stake as communities lose confidence that just transition is possible.
- **Transitions must ensure that a more just and equitable system is created.** In areas like energy, this can mean, for example, that everyone has equitable access to energy and a stake in how new energy systems work, in addition to new jobs in clean energy being decent, secure, and well paid. For instance, new German laws allowed for citizens to create energy cooperatives where they could pool resources and share ownership in their own energy supply. It is vital for such schemes to remain in place when an energy transition achieves scale.
- **It is vital to include a variety of public authorities and line ministries, such as labor, health, and finance, in the conversation on transitions.** A more holistic approach will be key to ensuring that a variety of issues are accounted for, which may not always be on the agenda of—or in the power of—an environment or energy minister. Connections to areas outside environment ministries also help to tap other resources for transitions, such as regional development funds.

One of the most important international policy processes coming up in the climate space is the Talanoa Dialogue in 2018, focused on how to ratchet climate ambition in NDCs to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement. The inclusion of workers, employers, and affected communities in this process will be important to ensuring that climate ambition includes just transition. One opportunity for creating this connection is the 2018 Global Climate Action Summit in California, where ambitious subnational actors will gather to showcase climate action and make new commitments. It may also be used to make policy asks of nations and the international community, including through the Talanoa Dialogue process.

There are also opportunities to take advantage of policy platforms that already exist. The 2050 Platform, for instance, was developed to help nations and subnational actors create roadmaps to zero-carbon economies by 2050. This platform already includes subnational actors and may be a natural place to begin involving the various affected communities and stakeholders in conversations on transition. Argentina, the host of the G-20 in 2018, has already placed climate high on the agenda. In addition to climate, Argentina has

also prioritized jobs and energy for G-20 discussion. This may be an opportunity to put just transition on the agendas of many countries and signal internationally the importance of this issue. In addition, online platforms, mailing lists, and working groups with a focus on just transition are emerging and expanding in a range of countries, regions, and networks (see box below).

Online Platforms and Working Groups

As groups such as the International Trade Union Confederation and the Just Transition Fund expand their work on just transitions, the importance of information hubs has emerged. Several online platforms for information sharing exist, including:

- Just-Transition.info portal (<http://www.just-transition.info/>)
- Just Transition Centre (<https://www.ituc-csi.org/just-transition-centre>)
- Just Transition Fund (<http://www.justtransitionfund.org/>)

These platforms are useful for sharing information on specific regional case studies as well as information that is useful across geographic regions.

Conclusion: The Urgency and Promise of Just Transition

Getting the world on track to 1.5° C requires urgent action, and as industries such as coal face demise earlier than many predicted, the conversation around just transition must begin in earnest now. If early transitions—such as from coal to clean energy—are unjust, key climate action allies in communities like labor will be lost, and the success of future transitions will be put at risk. Working together with these movements on the important social issues affecting them can provide the spark needed for communities to take on further climate action that ensures an equitable future for all.

Stakeholders must now begin the work of connecting various communities and movements, and discussing just transition with governments at all levels, businesses, and civil society. Several actors are leading the way on just transition, including the International Trade Union Confederation, the ILO, and EDGE Funders Alliance, and increasingly, environmental nongovernmental organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund and Greenpeace. These groups represent workers, employers, governments, multilateral institutions, philanthropy, and grassroots communities. The ILO's Just Transition Guidelines offer a starting point for discussions and have already done the difficult task of creating consensus across employers, governments, and workers. The International Trade Union Confederation's Just Transition Centre has worked closely with unions around the world, connecting them with the international climate policy process, among other international spaces. The climate community must continue to develop these connections in order to ensure a climate-safe world for vulnerable communities and move forward with the support of these communities.

Furthermore, just transition can provide a lens for broader efforts to rethink the social contract—the relationship and interactions between and among people, the state, and the economy—which has recently been called into question through automation and technological advances, increased efficiency of firms through competition in a global marketplace, and rising inequality in some regions. The climate community should approach this topic with care and coordination, but it does offer an opportunity to examine the effects of the dual emerging economic trends of decarbonization and automation on workers and vulnerable communities. A key question to tackle is, if increasingly people cannot be absorbed by the labor market, what is the relationship between paid work and human dignity, and how else can human beings find meaning and fulfillment? Excluding people from the labor market because their skill sets do not match could lead to social disaster. Or, just transition policies can help reimagine a future social contract.

Policymakers, including in the climate community, could begin developing “top-shelf” ideas, which can be readily implemented when social and economic changes emerge. For example, when considering social protections in a just transition program, should this include new ideas like universal basic income? The climate community can offer these formative ideas of a new social contract to publics anxious about even greater economic change. It is still uncertain what the role and responsibility of climate advocacy is in this regard, and this will need to be further examined. Yet with this in mind, just transition is not only a set of policy tools to avoid social disruptions as the global economy changes but potentially an approach for social movements to spark broader action and change to achieve a fair, just, and safe climate future.

Endnotes

- ¹ Brian Kohler, “Sustainable Development: A Labor View – The Real Choice Is Not Jobs or Environment. It Is Both or Neither,” presentation at the Persistent Organic Pollutants Conference, December 5, 1996, Chicago, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.sdearthtimes.com/et0597/et0597s4.html>.
- ² Sharan Burrow, “A Call to Action: Climate & Secure Jobs,” speech to the Climate Change Conference, March 13, 2015, Oslo, Norway, accessed February 23, 2018, <https://www.ituc-csi.org/sharan-burrow-s-speech-to-the?lang=en>.
- ³ Labour Network for Sustainability, “‘Just Transition’—Just What Is It?” 2016, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://www.labor4sustainability.org/uncategorized/just-transition-just-what-is-it/>.
- ⁴ Tony Mazzocchi, “A Superfund for Workers,” *Earth Island Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1993, p. 40.
- ⁵ Kentuckians for the Commonwealth, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://kftc.org/issues/new-energy-and-transition>.

Participant List

Roundtable Organizer

Rei Tang, Program Officer, The Stanley Foundation

Chair

Sabrina Schulz, Head of Berlin Office, E3G Third Generation Environmentalism

Rapporteur

Mark Conway, Program Associate, The Stanley Foundation

Participants

Safa' Al Jayoussi, Executive Director and Head of Climate and Energy Campaigns, IndyACT

Jessica Eckdish, Senior Policy Advisor, BlueGreen Alliance

Ivetta Gerasimchuk, Lead, Sustainable Energy Supplies, International Institute for Sustainable Development

Brian Hanson, Vice Chair—Programming, Board of Directors, The Stanley Foundation and Vice President for Studies, The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Samantha Harvey, Just Transition Institute Fellow, Edge Funders Alliance

Claire Healy, Director, Climate Diplomacy, Risk and Security Programme, E3G Third Generation Environmentalism

Emily Hickson, Manager, Net-Zero by 2050, The B Team

Petr Hlobil, Campaigns Director, CEE Bankwatch Network

Binnu Jeyakumar, Program Director, Electricity, Pembina Institute

Sivan Kartha, Senior Scientist, Stockholm Environment Institute

Jason Kowalski, US Policy Director, 350.org

David Leviã, Director for Climate, Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations

Nora Löhle, Program Director, Energy and Environment, Heinrich Böll Stiftung North America

Santiago Lorenzo, Head of Green Finance, Global Climate and Energy Initiative, WWF International

Hoi-Fei Mok, Program Officer, ICLEI Local Governments for Sustainability USA

Lidy Nacpil, Regional Coordinator, Jubilee South Asia/Pacific Movement on Debt and Development

Michalis Prodromou, Energy Policy Advisor, World Wildlife Fund

Janet Redman, US Policy Director, Oil Change International

Anabella Rosemberg, Policy Officer on Environment and Occupational Health and Safety, International Trade Union Confederation

Lauren Vriens, Director, Coal Secretariat, Electricity Division, Alberta Energy, Government of Alberta

Brandon Wu, Director of Policy and Campaigns, ActionAid USA

Erick Zeballos, Acting Director, Washington Office, International Labour Organization

Affiliations are listed for identification purposes only. Participants attended as individuals rather than as representatives of their governments or organizations.

The Stanley Foundation

The Stanley Foundation advances multilateral action to create fair, just, and lasting solutions to critical issues of peace and security. Our work is built on the belief that greater international cooperation will enhance global governance and spur global citizenship. The foundation frequently collaborates with a wide range of organizations using different forums, formats, and venues to engage policy communities. We do not make grants.

Our programming addresses profound threats to human survival where improved multilateral governance and cooperation are fundamental to transforming real-world policy. Current efforts focus on policy improvement to prevent genocide and mass atrocities, eliminate the threat of nuclear terrorism, and drive collective and long-term action on climate change. The foundation also works to promote global education in our hometown of Muscatine, Iowa, and nearby.

A private operating foundation established in 1956, the Stanley Foundation maintains a long-term, independent, and nonpartisan

perspective. Our publications, multimedia resources, and a wealth of other information about programming are available at www.stanleyfoundation.org.

The Stanley Foundation encourages use of this report for educational purposes. Any part of the material may be duplicated with proper acknowledgement. Additional copies are available. This brief is available at www.stanleyfoundation.org/resources.

209 Iowa Avenue
Muscatine, IA 52761 USA
563-264-1500
563-264-0864 Fax
info@stanleyfoundation.org