

**CLIMATE JUSTICE
DEBATES, ACTORS AND
DEMANDS AT THE
INTERNATIONAL LEVEL**

OBJECTIVE FOR THE SESSION

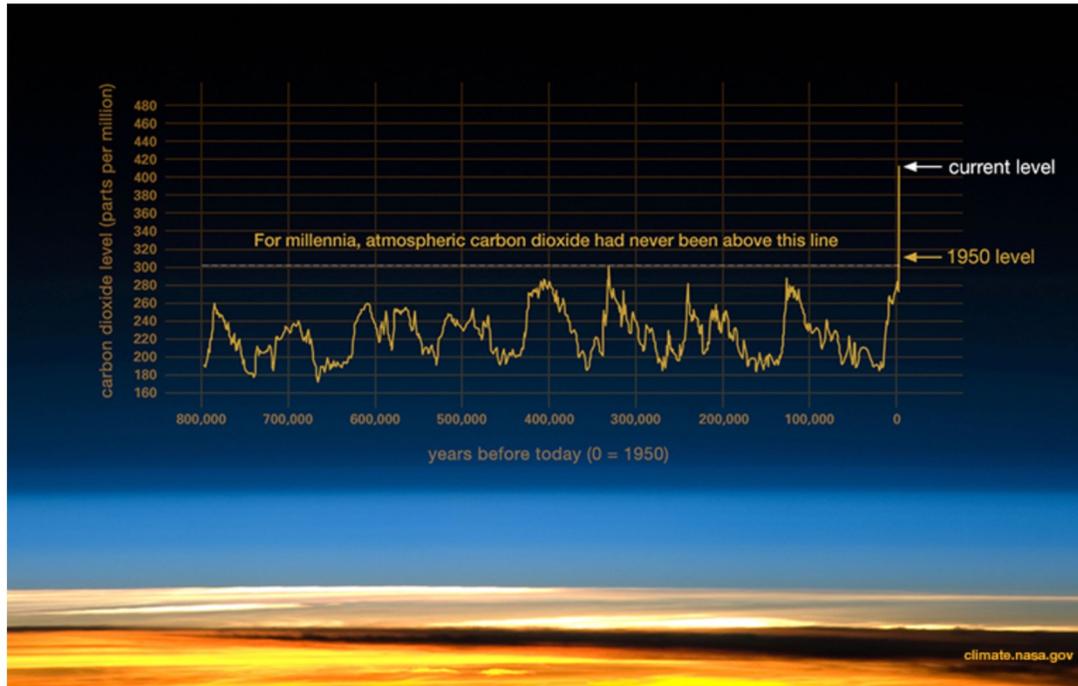
Become familiarized with climate justice actors, theories and key demands at the international level.

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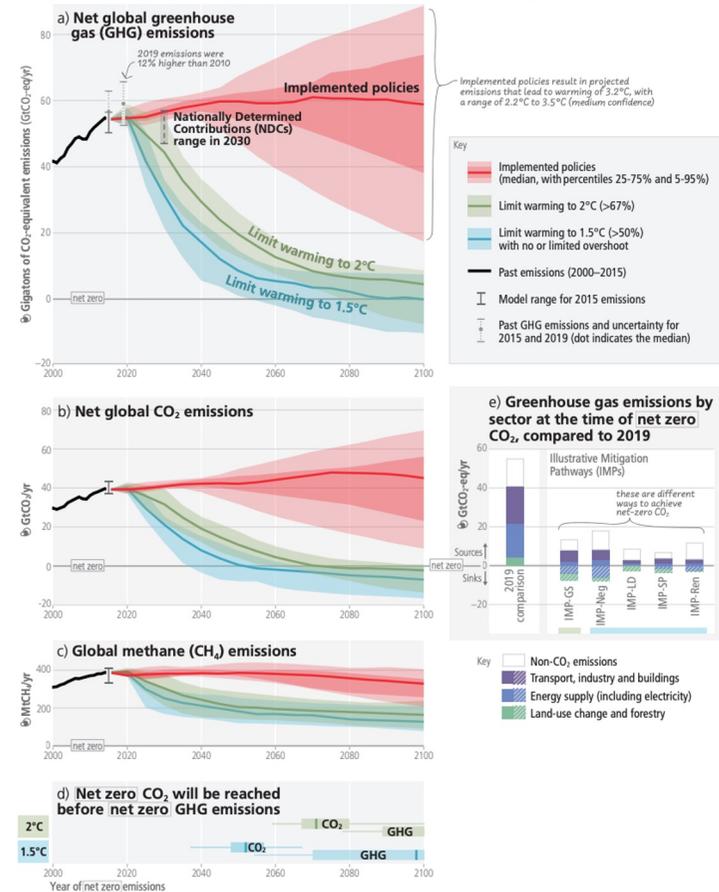
COEQ/ PPM CONCENTRATIONS/ PROJECTIONS



Robust CO₂ data from ice cores covering the last 800,000 years. From climate.nasa.gov

Limiting warming to 1.5°C and 2°C involves rapid, deep and in most cases immediate greenhouse gas emission reductions

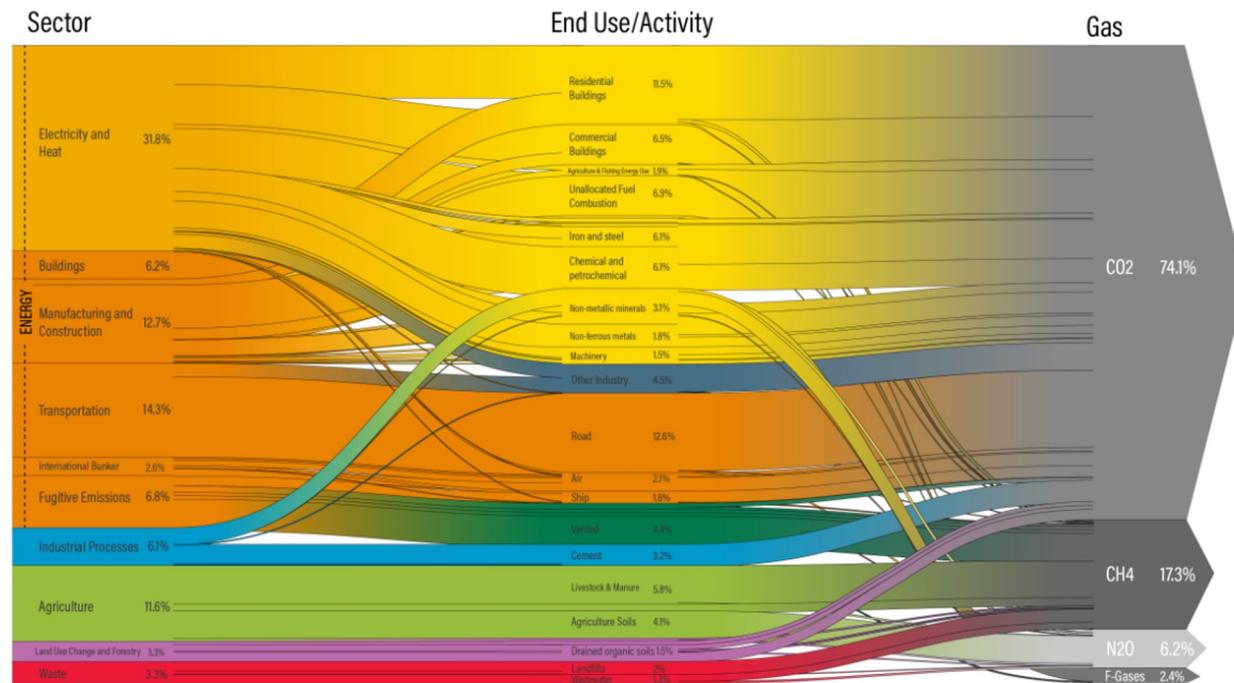
Net zero CO₂ and net zero GHG emissions can be achieved through strong reductions across all sectors



EMISSION SHARES (SECTOR, HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITIES)

World Greenhouse Gas Emissions in 2019 (Sector | End Use | Gas)

Total: 49.8 GtCO₂e



Source: Climate Watch, based on raw data from IEA (2021), GHG Emissions from Fuel Combustion, www.iea.org/statistics; modified by WRI.

WORLD RESOURCES INSTITUTE

Responsibility for climate breakdown

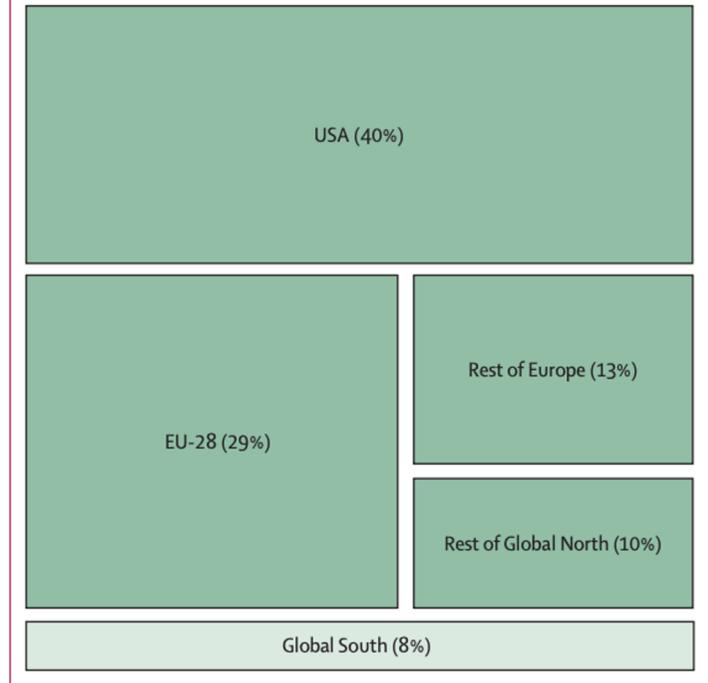


Figure: Responsibility for excess emissions

For the purposes of this analysis, the term Global North refers to the USA, Canada, Europe, Israel, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, whereas the term Global South refers to the rest of the world: Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

EMISSION SHARES (INCOME)

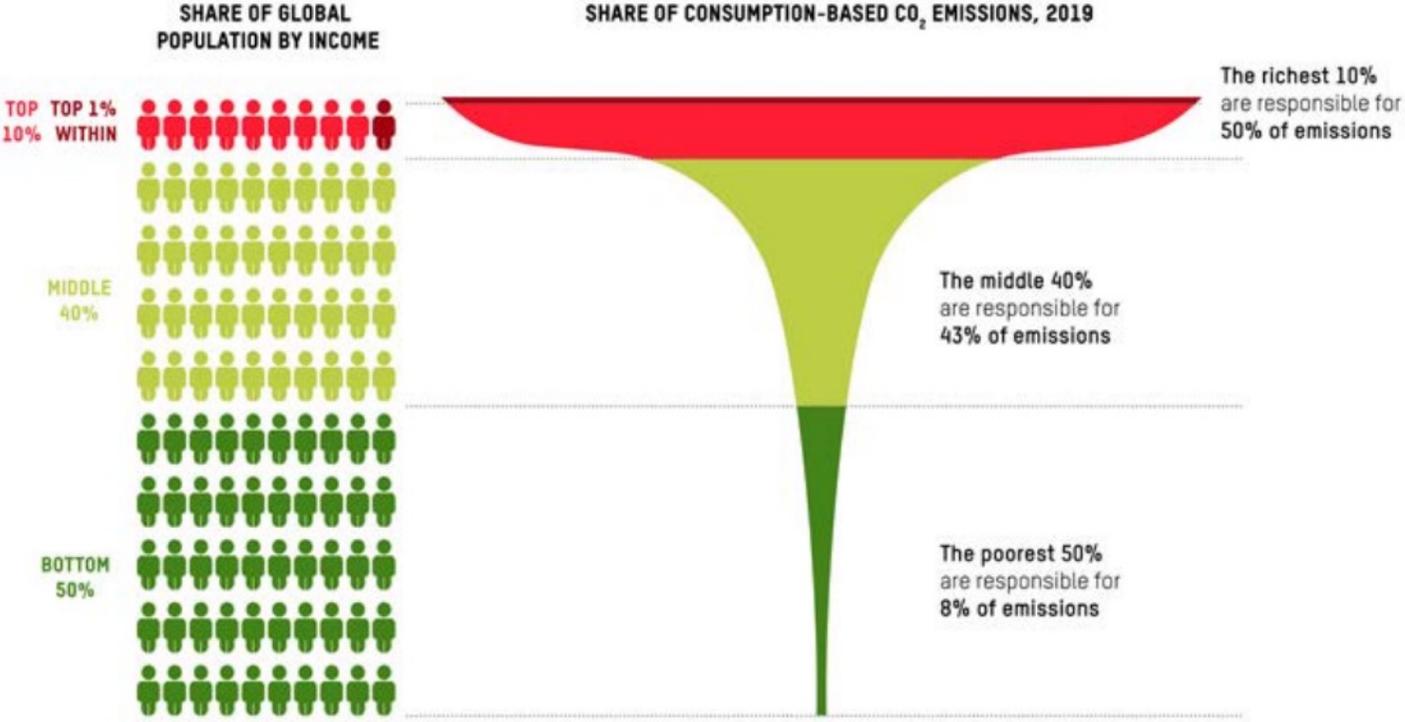
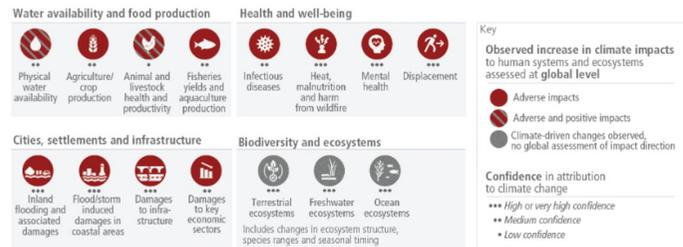


Figure ES.2 Global income groups and associated consumption emissions in 2019. Source: Oxfam/SEI.

IMPACTS

Adverse impacts from human-caused climate change will continue to intensify

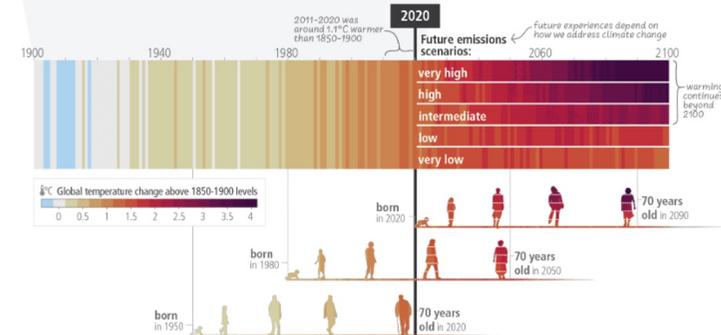
a) Observed widespread and substantial impacts and related losses and damages attributed to climate change



b) Impacts are driven by changes in multiple physical climate conditions, which are increasingly attributed to human influence

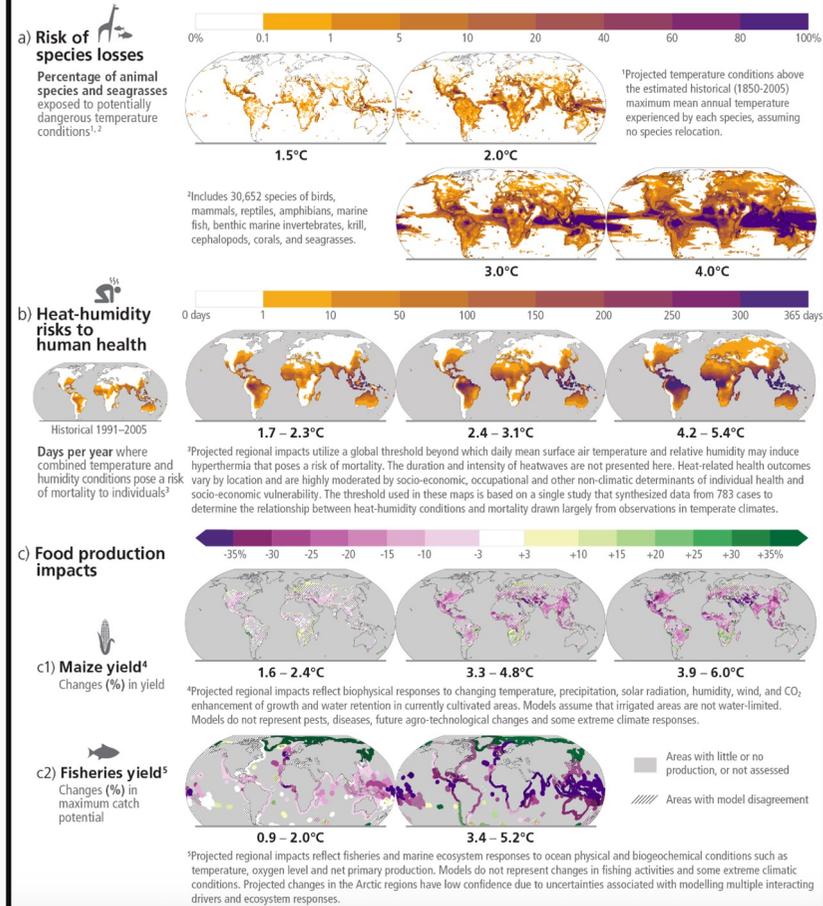


c) The extent to which current and future generations will experience a hotter and different world depends on choices now and in the near-term



Future climate change is projected to increase the severity of impacts across natural and human systems and will increase regional differences

Examples of impacts without additional adaptation



"EFFICIENCY" VS JUSTICE

Emissions and attempts to cut them are in dynamic relationship with other variables defining societies (inequalities - N/S, intra), gender/ethnic/class oppressions, etc).

If the latter is ignored for the sake of "efficiency", "speed", "simplicity"
=> climate policies become an additional driver of status quo => risk of legitimizing those opposing climate action across the board.

UNFCCC: A BATTLEGROUND FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE

UNFCCC as a space for defining climate governance:

- CBDR-RC ; Equity principles
- Expanding coverage of issues
- Relatively flexible (not without effort) to new constituencies

Aykut/Dahan "globalisation of the climate problem" : extension of jurisdiction of the climate arena, encompassing ever-growing number of problems

- + A "climatisation of the world": climate lens applied to other issues according to dominant logics of the climate regime.

JUSTICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME

(Orekeke, 2010)

Mitigation and Burden Sharing

Distribution of risks, cost, and benefits of burden of emission reductions among individual countries (ie equal entitlement for each country, polluter pays principle, historic responsibility, GDP, ...)

Impact and Adaptation

Support vs compensation - idea that compensatory finance owed by the richest and highest-polluting nations to the most vulnerable communities and countries that are bearing the brunt of impacts of climate change. ie Loss and Damage debates now.

Procedural Justice

Connection between fairness of an outcome and the legitimacy of the process by which it is determined - important on the light of "minilateralism" developing in parallel with UNFCCC.

Systemic Injustices

Systemic bias in the international system (in terms of rules, access rights, terms of trade, etc.), which reflects historical patterns of inequity between the political North and South. Where are the big picture rules of the game decided? (debt, trade, IPRs)

ADDITIONAL JUSTICE DIMENSIONS

Gender justice

Indigenous peoples' rights

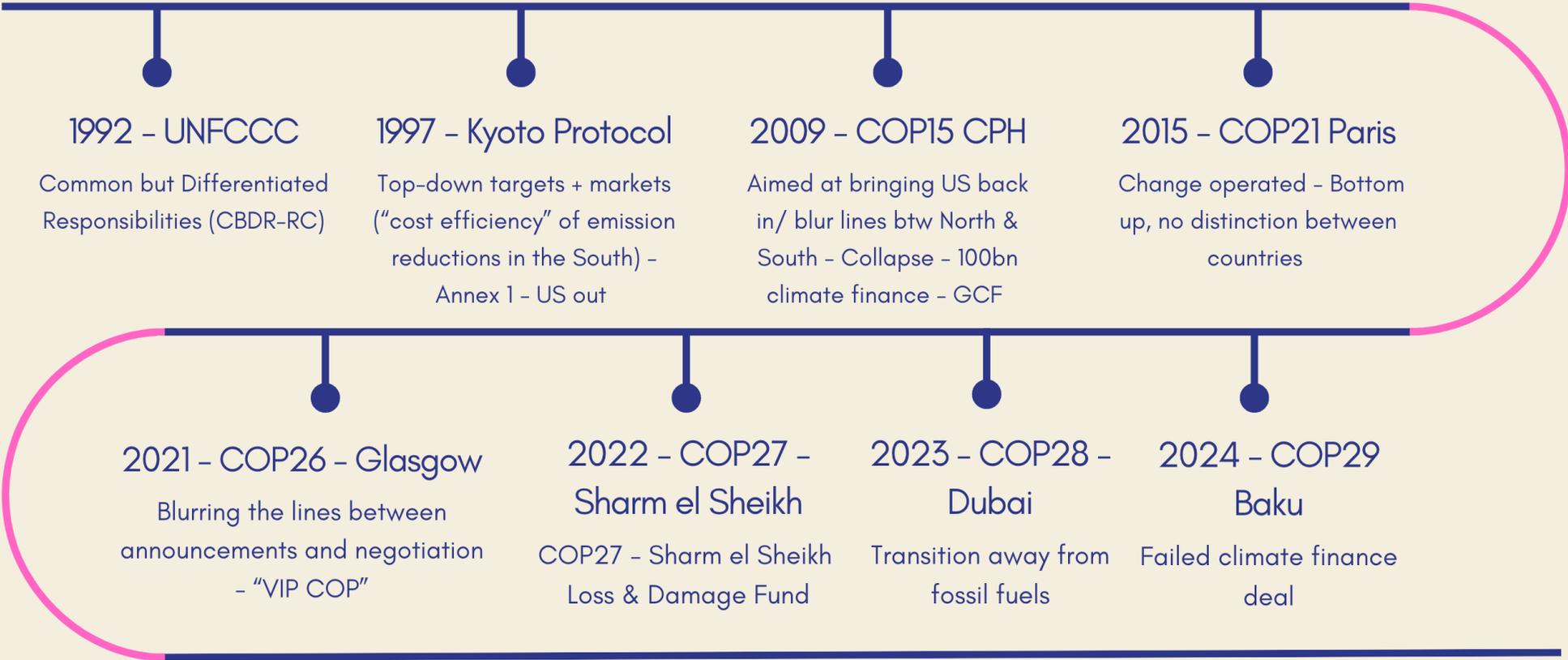
Environmental justice/ human rights

Just transition/ labour rights

Intergenerational justice

...

Snapshot key developments at UNFCCC - COP (Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC)



WHO CARRIES DEMANDS?

Governments, through

- COP Presidency
- Negotiating groups:
 - Official: EU, G77+China, Umbrella group, African Group, AOSIS, SIDS, EIG
 - "Fluid": LMDC, AILAC...
 - Ministerial level - High ambition coalition

Each one of those pushes a specific set of demands

NON-STATE ACTORS – HOW DO THEY INTERACT WITH THE UNFCCC SPACE?

Newell's categories

Agenda-setting (activation of public concern, politicise/"create" an issue, an expectation, nurture "frames of interpretation")

Negotiation-bargaining (lobbying - dependent on operating reach-"insiders")

Implementation/enforcement (weak governance leads to embarrassment being lever for implementation) - "insiders" included in dialogue with institutions - "outsiders" marginalised in terms of access.

NON-STATE ACTORS/JUSTICE DIMENSIONS

Key constituencies:

- Non governmental organisations – Climate Action Network (CAN) and Demand Climate Justice (DCJ, former Climate Justice Now)
- Trade unions
- Women and Gender
- Indigenous Peoples
- CBDR-RC
- Equity within and between countries
- Human rights
- Intergenerational justice
- Just transition / labour rights
- Gender justice
- Women rights
- LGBTQ+ rights
- Loss & damage
- Impacts of false solutions (markets, geoengineering, etc)
- Indigenous Peoples Rights
- Rights of nature

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A FEW CLIMATE JUSTICE DEMANDS

- #FairFastForever - equitable fossil fuels phase out
- Loss and Damage Fund
- PayUp / Pay climate debt - 5tn USD demand
- Just Transition for workers & communities / Gender-Just Transition/Global JT

In the negotiations themselves: Obtain equitable transition away from FF, NCQG (new collective quantified coal on finance), Just Transition Work Programme...

**LET'S THINK
ABOUT SOCIAL-
ENVIRONMENT
TENSIONS**

Recommended reading

- Okereke, C. (2010), Climate justice and the international regime. *WIREs Clim Change*, 1: 462-474.
- Newell, P. (2000). Conclusion: States, NGOs and the future of global climate politics. In *Climate for Change: Non-State Actors and the Global Politics of the Greenhouse* (pp. 154-172). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jen Allan: *The new climate Activism - Chapters about Gender/Labour and climate justice*
- Buller, A. (2022). "Introduction". In *The Value of a Whale*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press. Retrieved May 24, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526166036.0000>
- Civil Society Equity Review (2022) *The Imperative of Cooperation: Steps Toward an Equitable Response to the Climate Crisis*. Manila, London, Cape Town, Washington, et al.: Civil Society Equity Review Coalition.
- Gabor, D. (2023, May 17). The (European) Derisking State. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/hpbj2>
- Chancel, L. Global carbon inequality over 1990–2019. *Nat Sustain* 5, 931–938 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41893-022-00955-z>
- Aykut, Stefan, Edouard Morena and Jean Foyer (2020), "'Incantatory governance: global climate politics' performative turn and its wider significance for global politics', in *International Politics*, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-020-00250-8>

Q&A

**CLIMATE JUSTICE
DEBATES, ACTORS AND
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INTERNATIONAL LEVEL**



OBJECTIVE FOR THE SESSION

Become familiarized with climate justice actors, theories and key demands at the international level.
Today's focus: Use an example to see how CJ can be promoted at the international level

FEEDBACK TO THE GROUP EXCERCISE

Amazon rainforest / deforestation because of Bolsonaro
Just Stop Oil demonstrations protesting against climate change whilst blocking roads
The cost of “green” products tends to be higher
Technology can advance wellbeing and at the same time increase climate and environmental impacts
Fuel taxation can disproportionately affect people without public transportation options
Clean air zones disadvantage people with older cars
Tension between animal welfare and protection of local species (ie Beavers)
Tension between animal protection and culture/sport/traditions (ie fox hunting, indigenous peoples traditions)
Pollution at seas
Tension between wind farms and landscape
Job losses among poorer families because of coal shut down (ie Thatcher’s Britain)
Trump leaving Paris Agreement
Tension between rural and urban communities around fracking as extraction technique
Tension between food security and environmental/soil impacts of pesticides
Tension between rewilding and agriculture land
Tension between supporting employment creation under GND and giving public money for energy sector
Natural disasters disadvantage even further poorer countries and populations

- Business-as-usual vs climate action ✓
- 'Anti social' mitigation ✓
- Some tensions with other priorities ✓
- Continuation of an unjust Business As Usual ✓

We could have reflected on others: N-S impacts, Short term-Long term, Gender, tensions between climate other priorities (foreign currency, climate vs other enviro)

The **barriers** to climate justice are to be found both, on the pressures from those rejecting climate action as from those **offering “solutions” that further us away from rights/justice-based approaches.**

Thinking Climate Justice approaches

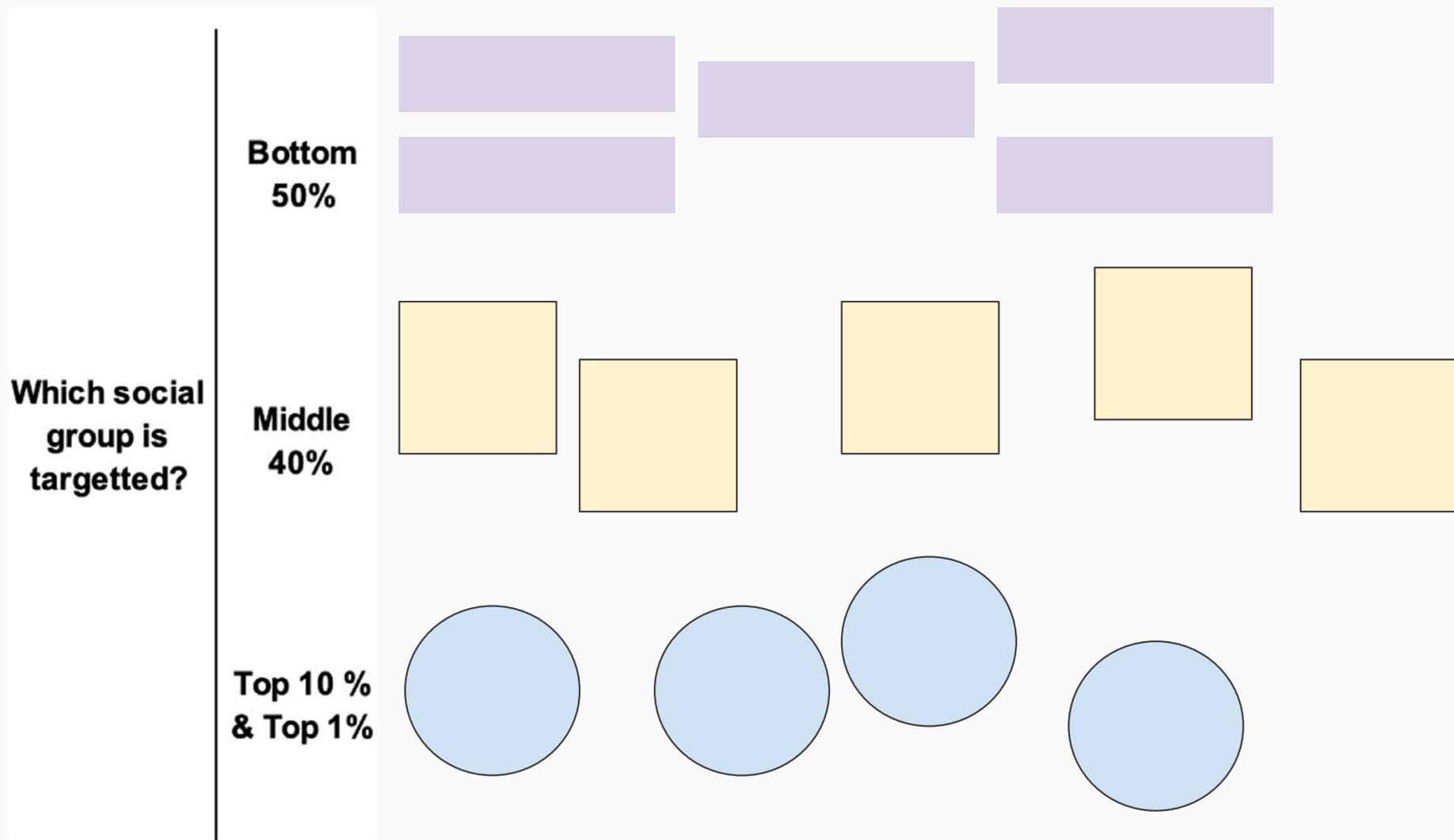
- How can we think differently about solutions?
- How to organise fair shares internationally?
- How to think climate policies with a stronger justice lens domestically?

CONCERNS

NEEDS

IDEAS

**LET'S THINK
ABOUT CLIMATE
POLICIES**



Placing Climate policies with an income-disaggregated lens

		What kind of climate policy?		
		Increase green energy supply	Increase green energy access	Switch in energy end-uses (building, transport, industry)
Which social group is targeted?	Bottom 50%	Industrial policy: public investments in renewables (off or on-grid); Social protection: increase transfers to workers in industries affected by the transition	Public investments in green energy access (e.g. clean cookstoves; construction of new zero carbon social housing)	Develop public transport systems: low-carbon bus, rail, car-sharing strategies; energy retrofitting in social housing; cash-transfers to compensate increase in fossil energy prices
	Middle 40%	Same as above + Financial incentives to encourage middle-class investments in green energy. Bans on new fossil investments	Subsidies for green housing construction; Buildings regulations; penalty and bans on sales of inefficient housing	Same as above; Stricter regulations & taxes on polluting purchases (SUVs, air tickets); Subsidies on green alternatives (elec. vehicles)
	Top 10 % & Top 1%	Wealth or corporate taxes with pollution top-up to finance the above & accelerate divestment from fossils; Bans on new fossil investments	Wealth or corporate taxes with pollution top-up (see left); Fossil fuel subsidy removal*	Strict regulations on polluting purchases (SUVs, air tickets); Wealth or corporate taxes with pollution top-up (see left); Carbon cards to track high personal carbon footprints & cap them

Extended Data Fig. 2 | Inequality check for climate policies. Notes: The table presents a non-exhaustive list of different types of climate policies and of their potential impacts on social groups. *Fossil fuel subsidies typically benefit wealthy groups more than poorer groups in rich and developing countries. See also SI section 8.2.

An example:

**Advancing the idea of Just
Transition at the global level**

THE GENESIS OF JUST TRANSITION

The Just Transition concept was not the product of theoretical debate.

Developed by U.S. workers in response to ‘job blackmail’ in the late 1970s when the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, led by Anthony Mazzocchi, sought support for workers who were asked by their employers to choose between their jobs and their health.

In the 1990s -> ‘Superfund for Workers’ to provide financial support and higher education opportunities for workers in affected industries. By the late 1990s, several U.S. and Canadian unions had endorsed the Just Transition as an approach, and the environmental justice (EJ) movement took on the concept, calling for the allocation of funds to support the transition for workers and communities dependent on the fossil fuel industry.

At the international level, from Kyoto onwards, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) began including Just Transition wording in their statements at global climate and sustainability conferences. JT emerges as an approach seeking to secure workers’ support for climate action.

JUST TRANSITION IN THE UNFCCC

COP16 - For the first time the concept of Just Transition made it into an official decision at the UNFCCC

COP21:

- JT was included in the Preamble of the Paris Agreement: '[Take] into account the imperatives of a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs in accordance with nationally defined development priorities [...]
- Decision 11 - the "Just Transition of the workforce, and the creation of decent work and quality jobs", is adopted as a key area within the work programme - Within the agenda item on Improved Forum on the impact of the implementation of response measures".

COP24 - the "Solidarity and Just Transition Silesia Declaration" / strong workers' focus

COP26 - builds on that + commits to support developing countries and emerging economies' economic growth, the creation of decent and sustainable green jobs and new sustainable investments as, globally, we transition to net zero

Just Transition Work Programme

- Agreed in COP27 (2022) in Sharm el Sheikh
- Scope adopted in COP28 in Dubai:
 - addresses the workforce and other socio-economic dimensions, discusses international cooperation and covers ongoing work on just transition outside the UNFCCC
 - Acknowledgment of the importance of respecting human rights, social justice, gender equality, etc.
 - Recognition of labor rights, social protection and social dialogue.
- Action-oriented nature of the WP not explicit, and historical tendency for WP to end up as talk shops.

At a glance

- A simple narrative: Just transition is needed for climate ambition - yes, there are job opportunities, but leadership must send a signal of commitment to working people on them not carrying the burden of the transition.
- An unusual configuration of government support (from both G77 and developed countries) - Argentina + US and then some EU, other progressist G77 countries.
- A cross-constituency block on human rights to get the others.

Context has changed...

Notably since the adoption of Just Transition language in the Paris Agreement, the concept has been “embraced” at multiple levels, from the most progressist to quite conservative, leading to confusion in terms of its meaning and systemic transformation potential.

Even leaving supporters of the status quo aside, there are multiple and not always consistent initiatives named “just transition” being developed by think tanks, NGO, trade unions, philanthropy, often focused on the national and local level, each one with its checklists, tools, workshops, etc.

Employment/precarious work crisis

Inequalities exploding

Additional social and economic challenges arising from phase out of fossil fuels

Job destruction/displacement

Public services and government income under attack (national and local)

Pressures on low-income households

A legacy of health and environmental damage

Countries, especially developing countries are struggling to diversify their economies – policy and fiscal space are not there.

...but the justice imperative remains

Some trends

Recurrent use of

“leave no one behind”

“Social dialogue”

“Participation”

Frame in the context of energy, and pointing out to workers in the sector

Narratives tend to frame Just Transition as a necessary evil to advance on climate - how do we feel about this and what does it mean to the importance of achieving justice overall?

A challenging context

Never the needs have looked bigger - pre-existing injustices, status quo of “solutions”, communities facing un-just transitions.

Never the multilateral system has looked in such a poor shape (both generally and at the UNFCCC)

Just Transition reduced to its minimal expression/ social washing risks

What to do? What is the opportunity?

Depends on where/who you stand for.

Reclaim and think big -

“Only a crisis - actual or perceived - produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around”

Milton Friedman

Have been used against justice over and over - need to learn how to use it ourselves.

CONCERNS

NEEDS

IDEAS

WHAT DID WE DO?

CAN WORK 2023-2024

- **RECLAIM CONCEPT**
- **GROUND IT**
- **ORGANISE A CONSTITUENCY**
- **FIGHT FOR SYSTEMIC SOLUTIONS**
- **BUILD THE SOCIETY WE NEED TO
CONFRONT WHAT IS COMING**

ADVOCACY

Bilaterals/Engagements With G77, South Africa, Brazil, EU, Colombia, Chile, Canada, Argentina, US, Bolivia

Circulation Of Text Analysis

Interventions in the Contact Groups

ECO Articles

INTERNAL COORDINATION

Regular in-person meetings

Tried to coordinate representation of JTWG Members in other CAN WGs

CROSS-CONSTITUENCY COLLABORATION

Regular in-person meetings with representatives from different constituencies

Joint analysis

Aligning statements

ACTION

Joined The Cross Constituency Action On Just Transition For Workers And Communities

COMMUNICATIONS

Spokepeople on JT on CAN Panels + feeding lines to energy spokepeople

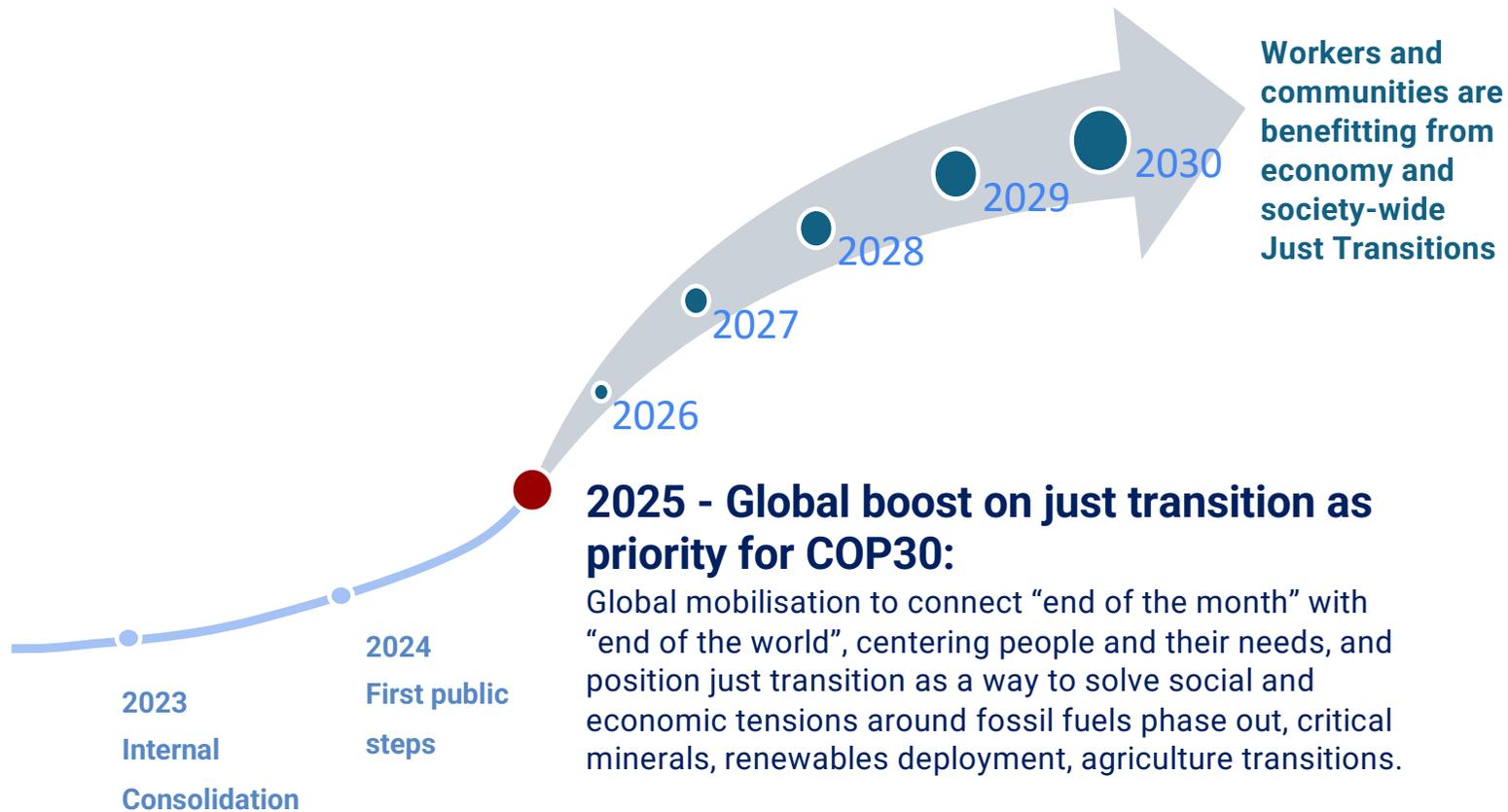
Quotecards

UAE Just Transition Work Programme

- **Scope** addresses the **workforce** and other socio-economic dimensions, discusses **international cooperation** and covers ongoing work on just transition **outside the UNFCCC**
 - Acknowledgment of the importance of **respecting human rights**, social justice, gender equality, etc.
 - Recognition of **labor rights**, social protection and social dialogue
-
- No mandate to deliver **operational decisions**
 - No new **means of involvement for observers**

Beyond official outcomes, CAN's work defined what the debate on the JTWP was going to be (notably on securing a broader scope and adding international cooperation)

Escalating Justice in Just Transition



Allocation of responsibilities between Nodes, WGs, (intl) members and CAN-I Sec will be defined as part of the continued and annual operationalization

What a JT mobilisation could help us win?

A socially acceptable pathway to climate action for the whole economy and when phasing out fossil fuels, transitioning away from industrial agriculture, deploying renewables, etc

A shift in the power balance, as working people are connecting the dots between daily and long term concerns, and mobilising for change

Bringing down global barriers preventing countries' implementation of just transition strategies (ie debt, trade)

Guarantee rights are captured in all Just Transition approaches in country and internationally

Center people in climate policies and ensure inclusion for all right holders

COP30 Demands

Launch a Global Mechanism to accelerate Just Transition (name tbd)

Chart future work on JT in key sectors (fossil, renewables, critical minerals, agriculture/food, industry, transport)

Agree on principles/safeguards for Just Transition (inc need for domestic institutions)

Recognise key JT policies (social protection, skills, ecosystem integrity restoration) as supportive of climate ambition

Secure a seat at the table for all relevant observers

TO BE CONTINUED...

Recommended reading

- Newell, P. and Mulvaney, D. (2013), The political economy of the 'just transition'. The Geographical Journal, 179: 132-140. <https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12008>
- Morena, Edouard & Krause, Dunja & Stevis, Dimitris. (2019). Introduction: The Genealogy and Contemporary Politics of Just Transitions.

Q&A