



Women and Just Transition: Steps trade unions can take to promote gender justice

Emma Samman, Research Associate
Gender Equality and Social Inclusion, ODI
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Acronyms

COP – Conference of the Parties
COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSW – Commission on the Status of Women
GHGs – Greenhouse Gas Emissions
JT – Just Transition
ILO – International Labour Organization
IEA – International Energy Agency
ITUC – International Trade Union Confederation
LO Norway – Landsorganisasjonen i Norge
NSDI – National Social Dialogue Institution
PSI – Public Services International
SEWA – Self-Employed Women’s Association
TUED – Trade Unions for Energy Democracy
WIEGO – Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing

Executive Summary

The 2023 United Nations Climate Change Conference (Conference of the Parties, COP28) represents a key turning point in the transition to greener forms of energy. Notably, it is the first COP to call explicitly upon countries to accelerate a global shift from fossil fuels in a manner that is 'just, orderly and equitable'.ⁱ This landmark decision underscores growing recognition of the imperative to address climate change while ensuring fairness and inclusivity in the transition process. Indeed, COP28 was hailed as 'a major victory for trade unions' owing to a specific reference to labour rights in the Just Transition Work Programme and to social protection in the agreement on adaptation.ⁱⁱ

Launched by trade unions in the 1990s, the Just Transition agenda aspires to a fair and inclusive transition from fossil fuel-dependent economies to sustainable, low-carbon growth models. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), 1.2 billion jobs (40% of the global labour force) depend on ecosystem services and a stable climate,ⁱⁱⁱ underlining the urgency of a labour response. Buoyed by the ILO's adoption of the Guidelines for a Just Transition towards Environmentally Sustainable Economies and Societies for All in 2015, this agenda has gained a foothold in trade union strategies worldwide.

Conventional strategies aiming to manage the shift to cleaner energy have focused predominantly on the (mostly male) workforce in traditional forms of energy production such as oil and gas. However, central to the Just Transition agenda is the imperative to mitigate the impacts of the transition on all workers, particularly those in the informal economy, and to ensure universal social protection. A gender transformative approach highlights the gendered impacts of climate change. It recognizes that climate change affects many sectors in the labour market in which women are particularly active, and often more economically vulnerable than men. It stresses additionally the negative impacts of climate change on unpaid care work and gender-based violence, both of which disproportionately affect women. It also acknowledges the effects of transition on different groups of women, underlining the need for a disaggregated focus and for ensuring the meaningful participation of concerned groups in policy design and implementation.

This paper explores how trade union bodies and their allies can support women workers by advocating for gender-inclusive Just Transition policies and ensuring their full representation in trade union policy, strategy and activities. The objective is to examine how LO Norway and its partners can enhance and incorporate efforts towards gender equality within Just Transition processes.

The paper begins by highlighting a critical concern, that the majority of current efforts geared at Just Transition are gender-neutral, and therefore inadvertently biased against women. In response, it offers an alternative approach: a gender-transformative vision that acknowledges the disproportionate impacts of climate change on many women workers.

This vision recognizes the need to ensure that the transition bolsters other marginalized workers, such as those in the informal economy. Having described this ideal, the paper proceeds to outline the activities various unions are taking concerning Just Transition, based on interviews with trade unionists. Their responses illustrate various degrees of progress in embedding the concept and related activism in core union activities.

At one end of the continuum, some unions are engaging with the agenda through basic educational activities or campaigns that did not differ significantly from earlier environmentally focused efforts. Other unions have adopted the concept in principle and are in the process of working out how to put it into practice, with various degrees of focus on gender. At the opposite end of the spectrum, some unions have embraced the concept of gender-transformative Just Transition as a comprehensive framework guiding their advocacy for both climate action and gender justice on a significant scale.

Finally, the paper proposes seven types of activities trade union bodies and solidarity organisation partners could undertake to advance efforts towards a gender-equitable Just Transition. These activities encompass strategies for embedding the concept within union structures, promoting it amongst their affiliates and integrating it in their externally focused activity. The activities include:

1. Awareness raising and sensitization,
2. Strengthening capacity on links between gender equity and Just Transition,
3. Ensuring meaningful gender-diverse representation in Just Transition discussions,
4. Developing policy positions and translating them into projects and advocacy,
5. Institutionalizing gender-equitable Just Transition in union structures,
6. Supporting the upskilling and career advancement of women workers,
7. Utilising analytical frameworks and monitoring tools, and
8. Gathering evidence on the gendered impacts of Just Transition processes.

The paper describes why each type of activity is important and provides diverse examples of good practice. These proposed activities together are intended as a comprehensive roadmap for trade union bodies and solidarity organisations to contribute actively to the realization of gender-equitable Just Transition objectives.

The agenda is undoubtedly a challenging one, requiring concerted efforts across sectors and contexts to define what Just Transition means for different groups of workers and to determine the most effective strategies for moving forward. However, the wealth of experiences trade unions have accumulated in adapting to constantly shifting conditions, and in bolstering the representation of women and other underrepresented groups, should prove invaluable in advancing this agenda.

1. Motivation for a focus on gender and Just Transition

The 2023 United Nations Climate Change Conference (Conference of the Parties, COP28) represents a key turning point in the transition to greener forms of energy: It is the first COP to call explicitly for countries to accelerate a global shift from fossil fuels in a manner that is 'just, orderly and equitable'.^{iv} This decision was part of the first global stock take to accelerate action towards the goals of the 2015 Paris Agreement,^v which had included the appeal for 'a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs'.^{vi} COP28 was also hailed as 'a major victory for trade unions' owing to a specific reference to labour rights in the agreement on the Just Transition Work Programme and to social protection in the agreement on adaptation.^{vii} The conference thus marks a critical step for efforts to combat climate change, the effects of which are most pronounced in lower-income countries and among marginalized populations within these countries.

Launched by trade unions in the 1990s, the Just Transition agenda aspires to a fair and inclusive transition from fossil-fuel-dependent economics to sustainable, low-carbon growth models. According to the ILO, 1.2 billion jobs globally depend on ecosystem services and a stable climate,^{viii} underlining the urgency of a labour response. In 2015, the ILO adopted the Guidelines for a Just Transition towards Environmentally Sustainable Economies and Societies for All, which set out a clear framework to address the labour impact of climate change. Since then, the agenda has gained a foothold in trade union strategies worldwide. The ILO guidelines highlight the need for countries to mitigate the impacts of the transition to low-carbon growth by creating decent jobs at scale, minimizing impacts on affected workers, making economies more inclusive, eradicating poverty and promoting social protection.^{ix} They describe the potential of 'well-managed' processes to result in net employment gains, improvements in job quality and incomes, and social inclusion while citing the need for economic restructuring, adaptation to climate change and energy price hikes as potential obstacles. In June 2023, the 111th International Labour Conference in Geneva resulted in the 'strong unanimous endorsement of the ILO just transition mandate'.^x

The global shift to clean energy carries significant implications for workers worldwide. With nearly 32 million people employed in fossil fuel industries globally,^{xi} the transition will have spillover effects throughout global supply chains. The measures countries take to adapt to changing demands will necessarily lead to shifts in employment patterns. The risk is that displaced workers may struggle to find decent employment in renewable energy for several reasons. Investments in clean energy infrastructure may fall behind the reduction of jobs in fossil fuels. Newly created jobs may not offer the same pay, benefits or job security as those which are eliminated. Many affected workers, often older and lower-skilled, may require retraining. Furthermore, the geographic concentration of fossil fuel reserves may create a gap between where workers are located and where new job opportunities arise.

Conventional strategies aiming to managing this shift have focused primarily on the (mostly male) workforce in traditional forms of energy production such as oil and gas. Energy use is a major source of greenhouse gas emissions, contributing over 70% of the total.^{xii} Other sectors like agriculture and transport are also significant. Agriculture contributes nearly 20% of global greenhouse gases,^{xiii} while transport (a subset of energy use) is estimated to account for around 16% of emissions.^{xiv} These figures signal the need for a broader policy response that addresses the various contributors to global warming. While some policy issues, such as workforce training and social protection, apply across sectors, others are sector-specific. For example, addressing transportation emissions may require investments in public transport and electrification systems, while the agricultural sector may benefit from the promotion of land rights and ownership and investments in climate sensitive agriculture.

For women workers, the transition to cleaner energy presents both risks and opportunities. In the traditional energy sector (oil and gas), they represent only 16% of workers, with even fewer in managerial positions.^{xv} In five European countries, IEA (2022) found that the gender gap in employment was twice as large as in the non-energy sector, and that the gender pay gap was higher too, with female employees earning almost 20% less than their male counterparts (see Box 1).^{xvi} Commenting on these disparities, IEA (2023) observes that the shift towards sustainable energy sources ‘provides a golden opportunity for greater gender diversity.’^{xvii}

The connection between clean energy and gender equality is far from certain. Although estimates suggest that adopting sustainable practices could result in a net increase of 18 million new jobs globally by 2030,^{xviii} most of these jobs, such as over 80% in Latin America and the Caribbean, will be in male-dominated sectors.^{xix} A study by IRENA (2019) covering 144 countries revealed that women constituted 32% of full-time employees in the renewable energy; while above their 22% share in the traditional energy sector, it falls well below their 48% share in the global labour market.^{xx} The concern, as expressed in analysis of the EU’s Just Transition Mechanism, is that supposedly gender-neutral policies are ‘centered around a male model, hence disproportionately benefiting the predominantly male workforce’.^{xxi} This discrepancy is attributed to a lack of awareness among industry representatives and policymakers. IRENA (2019), for example, found that only 40% of men working in the sector, compared with 75% of women, perceived the existence of gender-related barriers.^{xxii}

Box 1 – A diagnostic of key barriers affecting women in the traditional energy sector

According to the IEA (2022),^{xxiii} several key barriers hinder women from entering and thriving in the traditional energy sector:

- Recruitment and promotion practices resulting in low employment rates for women, and the concentration of women in low-wage firms and segregated occupations.^{xxiv}
- A gender pay gap, fueled by discrimination and unequal bargaining power, with the result that women earn less than men with similar skills.
- Lack of mentoring programmes, role models, career guidance and training.
- Limited career mobility and opportunities, which hinder attraction and retention.
- A pipeline problem, namely a disproportionately low number of women with Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) degrees, which reduces the pool of potential female applicants for certain roles.
- Lack of provisions for work-life balance, such as flexible work options, parental leave and affordable childcare.
- Instances of inappropriate workplace behaviour and sexual harassment, which can create a hostile environment for women employees.

These issues also emerge women's own reports of the traditional energy sector. For example, a 2021 Nuclear Energy Agency survey of over 8000 women working in nuclear energy globally revealed significant concerns. These included 'a lack of pay transparency and fairness, workplace sexual harassment, a lack of female role models, and absence of measures to help with work-life balance, particularly concerning pregnancy and family related-duties' all of which the respondents identified as having negative effects on wages and career trajectories.^{xxv}

The transition to cleaner energy presents wide-ranging opportunities for women to benefit. For instance, this shift could free up time spent on unpaid activities such as fuel collection^{xxvi} or cooking with traditional stoves, thereby enabling increased engagement in paid economic activity. It can also create new entrepreneurial opportunities, particularly in areas such as solar product distribution, small-scale renewable projects and energy efficiency services, which may offer accessible entry points for women.

However, the impact of climate change on workers and of policies aimed at mitigating and adapting to its effects extends far beyond clean energy. According to the 2022 United Nations Commission on the Status of Women Global Unions Statement:

'The people most affected, and those predicted to bear the brunt of future climate consequences, are living and working in poverty, the vast majority of whom are women, many belonging to marginalized groups and working in the informal economy and in precarious jobs' (my emphasis).^{xxvii}

This broad understanding points toward a more expansive and gendered concept of Just Transition that incorporates a range of highly feminized sectors of the workforce, including agriculture, public service provision and health and care work. Indeed, Public Services International (PSI) has documented ways in which many women workers are affected by being in jobs or sectors which are particularly vulnerable to climate change. For example, subsistence farmers grapple with challenges like a loss of habitats, soil erosion and desertification, all of which threaten food security.^{xxviii} Women, who are responsible for more than half of small-scale food production, have 'limited entitlements, assets, and access to resources required for adaptation and resilience' compared with their male counterparts.^{xxix} Health and care workers, 70% of whom are women,^{xxx} face an increased risk of natural disasters, heat stress and a higher disease burden. Similarly, providers of water and other utilities face direct effects from heat, such as issues with waste collection and disruptions to supply chains.^{xxxi}

In addition, climate change affects nutrition, health, sanitation and utilities, such as water, electricity, fuelwood, in ways that can increase women's unpaid care workloads, thereby limiting their ability to undertake productive work.^{xxxii} According to WECAN (2023), 'fossil fuel derived air, water, and soil pollution impact women's fertility, mental health, and daily work and responsibilities'.^{xxxiii} Extreme weather events, one result of a reliance on fossil fuels, are linked to increased levels of gender-based violence.^{xxxiv} Accordingly, Coles et al. (2021) argue that: 'The shift to green jobs offers an unprecedented opportunity to create a new paradigm for gender equality and women's economic empowerment as we shift away from fossil fuels and build resilience to climate impacts and toward an economy that is fairer and more inclusive.'^{xxxv}

The ongoing transition therefore presents a valuable opportunity for unions and other actors to bolster possibilities for women in transitioning and low carbon sectors. It also offers an entry point to promote decent work and quality social protection coverage for all workers, particularly the 2 billion workers globally who are employed in the informal economy. However, as expressed by a Confederation representative interviewed for this study, a lot of the activity occurring in the field is gender blind, perhaps because of a focus to date on the energy sector where women are underrepresented.

This briefing paper considers what trade union bodies can do to support the needs of women workers by ensuring that Just Transition policies are gender-inclusive and that women are fully represented in trade union policy, strategy and activities. The primary goal is to examine how LO Norway and its partners can enhance and incorporate efforts towards gender equality within Just Transition processes. This analysis aims to identify

policy gaps, provide examples of best practices, and offer recommendations on how Just Transition can effectively serve as a tool for promoting gender equality. The paper draws heavily on the insights from trade unionists and their allies regarding union activities on Just Transition and gender equity (Box 2).

Box 2 – Methodology for this paper

The analysis is based on a review of academic and grey literature, and materials from international organisations and media regarding Just Transition, gender equity and trade union efforts to engage with Just Transition processes from a gendered perspective. Information on specific unions derives from interviews conducted with representatives in LO partner countries or solidarity support organisations. Additionally, the paper incorporates insights from representatives of other unions recognized for their progressive activity in promoting gender transformative Just Transition (see Annex Table 1 for details).

The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 discusses the concept of gender-transformative Just Transition. Section 3 describes the current engagement of various trade unions with the Just Transition agenda, assessing the extent to which this activity includes a gender perspective. Section 4 outlines a series of actions that trade unionists and solidarity support organisations could take to advance Just Transition and gender equity in tandem. Where relevant, the analysis highlights the experiences of LO Norway partners in five countries: Colombia, Ghana, Peru, Philippines and Thailand.

2. Entry points for action on gender and Just Transition

The 2022 Global Unions Statement elaborates a detailed vision of what Just Transition should look like from a gendered perspective:

'Adequate and increased investments in a Just Transition towards a gender responsive and inclusive green and caring economy is critical. This requires guarantees to provide decent work for all, including the formalization of informal work and universal access to social protection. Universal access to public quality care, health and education services, including transport services, overcoming sectoral and occupational segregation, realizing equal pay for work of equal value, eradicating wage and skills gaps and providing occupational health and safety are also central tenets of a Just Transition.'

From the outset, it is crucial to ensure that as the renewable energy sector grows, it does not repeat the gender biases that are evident in traditional energy production. Coles et al. (2021) highlight the opportunity to promote gender equality throughout supply chains in

green sectors.^{xxxvi} They stress the importance of examining the gendered dimensions of renewable energy procurement, including the impacts on local communities and the potential to support women-owned businesses.

Looking at the bigger picture, it is widely agreed that achieving a gender-transformative Just Transition involves understanding how climate change impacts women's work across various sectors and occupations. This means going beyond 'green jobs' in energy to consider the wide array of low-carbon jobs that contribute to overall societal resilience. These include roles in healthcare, education, caregiving, and small-scale agriculture—sectors where women are often overrepresented but face challenges that include low pay, precarious contracts, and long hours.^{xxxvii}

It follows that Just Transition processes offer a range entry points for action on gender equity (see Table 1). This broader perspective also stresses how climate change exacerbates existing issues in women's working lives, such as heavy unpaid care responsibilities and the risk of violence and harassment in the workplace. Addressing these challenges is essential for creating a fair and inclusive transition to a sustainable future.

A gender perspective accounts for the interconnections between drivers of inequality such as climate change, gender, poverty and migration. Climate change, for example, is a key factor leading to migration, with varying impacts on men and women. Just Transition frameworks must recognize these linkages to understand and address the challenges women workers face. A union representative of SENTRO^{xxxviii} in the Philippines expressed this perspective as follows:

'[F]or SENTRO, this openness to integrate [issues of gender equality, migration, Just Transition] comes from our structural analysis of the problem [which we view] fundamentally as an issue of precariousness... [B]ecause we are vulnerable to climate [change] ... this precariousness forces so many of our people to work abroad, and a huge chunk of them are women, and as women ... because of society's biases... they are thrown to domestic work, they are thrown to vulnerable ...industries, vulnerable jobs... because [in] the Philippines, like so many global South countries, we do not have, for example, an industrial policy ... Our national development plan is to export our workers.'

'So, you have this structured analysis ... what's the source of this precarity and what you can do about it, which leads to both a focus on Just Transition and within Just Transition on who are the vulnerable groups and what can be done. We don't just have to respond to climate change as one of the countries [that are] most vulnerable, but also to address poverty. I think, and this is especially true for the Global South countries, climate change must and can only be addressed necessarily by addressing the problem of underdevelopment ... That's why it's easy ... for us to incorporate Just Transition, climate

justice, gender equality in our labour struggles, because in the lived reality for our members, they are inseparable.'

A renewed focus on gender and Just Transition also highlights the need to address social protection 'as a key instrument in climate change adaptation and mitigation'^{xxxix} for workers involved in the energy transition, those who find work in renewable energy and others affected by climate change. ILO analysis finds that social protection can cushion and compensate for adverse impacts of transition on workers, while providing incentives for green investments and for acquiring the skills needed for new employment opportunities. A key component of strengthening social protection systems involves addressing persistent gender gaps, notably how low wages and the gender pay gap affect pension entitlements. This is particularly urgent for women engaged in part-time, temporary or non-standard work, as well as those who take breaks from paid work for pregnancy, childbirth and care.^{xi}

Finally, the transition offers an opportunity to highlight the situation of informal workers, who tend to use more sustainable working practices (Box 3). It underscores the need for a progressive improvement or formalization of their working conditions to ensure they are covered by fundamental labour and social rights. This emphasis this not only promotes fairness but also reinforces the importance of integrating sustainable practices across all sectors, enhancing the overall impact of the green transition.

Box 3 – Workers in the informal economy

Two billion workers – more than 60% of the workers globally – are engaged in informal employment. While a higher share of men than women work informally globally, in low and lower-middle-income countries, the situation is reversed. Recognizing and supporting informal workers is a critical part of the Just Transition agenda because of ‘their tremendous current and potential contribution to reducing carbon emissions, as well as to mitigating the impacts of climate change and other forms of pollution. This is both because their work tends to be more climate friendly (involving natural and degradable materials and a higher likelihood of recycling, reuse and repair) and because they are integrated in shorter supply chains.’ For example, in Tanzania, research from PSI highlights the vital jobs women undertake as street sweepers, waste recyclers and waste collectors – all of which are important in mitigating climate change but remain unacknowledged. The need to incorporate women working in the informal economy in Just Transition discussions underscores a broader imperative: recognizing the heterogeneity of the category ‘women workers’ and to ensure that diverse groups are represented in union activity and Just Transition policies. This must extend beyond gender to encompass factors such as race, ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and other markers of identity or experience that influence employment opportunities, exposure to climate change and the likelihood of benefiting from Just Transition initiatives.

Table 1 – Key elements of a gender-neutral and gender-transformative Just Transition agenda

<i>Gender neutral</i>	<i>Gender transformative</i>
<p>Typically focuses on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Workers in ‘traditional’ sectors affected by climate change, notably those transitioning from fossil fuel to renewable energy production• Worker experiences of paid work• Workers as a homogenous (or broad groups); environmental issues separated from other factors shaping worker experiences• Top-down policy with limited focus on workers’ lived experiences• Workers in formal economy and standard forms of employment• Social protection programs designed without explicit consideration of gender differences	<p>Brings into relief:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Broad effects of climate change on working lives in multiple sectors to include health, public service provision, paid care work etc.• Linkages between climate change and gender issues such as<ul style="list-style-type: none">- paid work and unpaid care (including care of the planet)- violence and harassment at work• Effects of climate change on specific groups of workers based on gender & other elements of identity, location or lived experience – e.g. indigenous women in rural areas, displaced women etc. – and how different elements may be mutually reinforcing• Emphasis on engagement with affected groups, co-creation of policy and meaningful consultation of workers affected by climate change• How climate change affects workers in informal economy or in non-standard employment and the potential of informal workers to advance sustainable forms of production• How social protection can respond to and transform unequal gender relations, notably those exacerbated by climate change

3. Union efforts to advance gender-equitable Just Transition

The interviews conducted with trade unionists and allies suggested that the focus on Just Transition and efforts to establish climate issues as a central concern for the labour movement are relatively new. Most respondents noted that this agenda has gained traction within the last decade. During this period, trade union bodies have become increasingly attuned to global discussions on climate change and its intersection with labour rights, and have begun integrating these discussions in national policies.

When asked to explain the specific activities their organisations were undertaking on Just Transition, the responses of union representatives illustrated various degrees of progress in embedding the concept and related activism in their core activities. At one end of the continuum, some unions were engaging primarily in basic educational activities or campaigns that did not differ significantly from earlier environmentally focused efforts. Other unions had adopted the concept in principle but were still working out how to put it into practice. Meanwhile, some unions had not only adopted the Just Transition framework but were using it to advance campaigns focusing on climate action with differing levels of attention to gender issues. At the other end of the spectrum, some unions had embraced the concept of gender transformative Just Transition as a framework guiding their advocacy efforts for both climate action and gender equality on a broader scale. These unions were actively campaigning for climate justice and for gender justice, viewing the two issues as inherently interconnected.

Limited engagement with the Just Transition agenda

At one end of the continuum, union representatives expressed that the topic of Just Transition was very new to them and that they were in the process of understanding its implications for their organisational activities – particularly in contexts where trade unions face restrictions. One union representative spoke of small-scale activities to raise awareness of Just Transition within his union, in a context where primary efforts were focused on educating members about basic labour rights and equipping them with essential skills, such as how to participate in bipartite and tripartite negotiations. Another interviewee mentioned union campaigns with an environmental focus – such as greater attention to efforts to protect workers from chemical contamination and to support farmers' adaptation to increasingly frequent and severe weather events. However, he expressed that the Just Transition paradigm had not greatly changed the shape of his Confederation's work:

'A little context, [Confederation] did a structural reform more than 15 years ago and created a secretariat responsible for the environment ... These policies were initially about pollution, waste in plants, and so on. Then they reformulated these policies a bit and touched on the subject of Just Transition... Look, in concept, of course [the work of the Confederation] hasn't changed much; the problems are the same... Now I want to be very

sincere in this, it is being applied very little, so a greater mobilization is necessary. You see, raising awareness on these issues is not a very simple thing.'

Adoption of Just Transition policy, efforts to work out implications for activity

Other trade union bodies recognized Just Transition as an important issue and had developed corresponding policies. However, they were still in the process of working out how to translate these policies into practice in their operational activities. For example, as one representative explained:

'For us, the issue of Just Transition is important ... And so, in 2016, we developed a policy on climate change and environment... Let me say that in terms of direct action with respect to just transition, not much has been done.... we are taking [our Just Transition policy] at a slow pace because already the concept of Just Transition or climate change was a bit new... We're hoping to undertake some effective national campaigns ... seeking to sensitize our members or educate them on Just Transition and the green economy ... and then also advocate for retraining of workers who might have been affected in these transitions.'

Adoption of Just Transition framework in campaigning without an explicit gender focus

Further along the continuum, trade union body representatives described how their unions had embedded the Just Transition framework into their campaigns and activities. A trade unionist working with miners in Colombia described a classic Just Transition scenario involving conflictual relationships with both the government and businesses. This dynamic arose from the government's decision to move from traditional mining practices to less labour-intensive methods of clean energy production, without recognizing and compensating workers who would adversely be affected by the transition.

Similarly, in the Philippines, the SENTRO representative described two main campaigns anchored in a Just Transition framework. One campaign involved resistance to the privatization of electricity-producing cooperatives in rural parts of the country. The other campaign focused on the response of an affiliated union, the National Confederation of Transport Workers, to what the representative described as the 'unilateral imposition of Jeepney modernization',^{xli} alongside a stipulation that the drivers form cooperatives:

'The argument was they had to improve the transportation system, they had to address the problem of pollution. So, it was also an environmental question. But the reality was Jeepneys ... weren't even the primary emitters of carbon emissions in the cities, it was private cars... The union position was there should be no Jeepney modernization without Just Transition. So, we activated Just Transition as including the Jeepney drivers and operators in the transition process.'

So how would that happen? It would happen through the transformation of the Jeepney unions and the Jeepney organisations into transport cooperatives... if done right, this model would see worker ownership of a crucial part of transportation in the Philippines. The government, they didn't get it right... So that's our situation right now, that's our current struggles. Our union, we are busy in the process of consolidating and organizing these cooperatives. So that they can actually be run as genuine, progressive, and pro - worker organisations.^{xlii}

When asked their reasons for invoking a Just Transition framework, study informants cited its ability to link the gap between broader environmental changes and their specific effects on working lives and worker realities. As articulated by the SENTRO representative:

'There was a discussion within our unions ... among the Jeepneys drivers, there was that consensus that we should [improve the transportation system in the Philippines]. ... But the issue is really about the process. And ... there's also recognition that we workers do have to provide a response to environmental crisis ...At least for our union ... those two components were integrated.... So one, modernization should be welcomed. But it should be a process that is... sensitive and inclusive of working people... and would center people in the process. And two, this was also a way for workers to respond to our responsibility to do our part ... for transitioning away from carbon based and fossil fuel-based transportation....'

Efforts to link Just Transition and gender

Most trade union bodies involved in this study had not yet grappled with the full implications of adopting a gendered perspective. While most had institutional structures and policies focused on gender, they typically did not explicitly adopt a gendered perspective on Just Transition. Indeed, most interviewees spoke of their gender policies – such as efforts to bolster the representation of women in leadership positions, the establishment of gender task forces, gender sensitization trainings, the conduct of gender audits and associated action plans, policies on sexual harassment, and efforts to ratify ILO Convention C-190 – without reference to Just Transition. However, some unions had made efforts to address the gendered implications of Just Transition in specific ways – for example, in emphasizing the need for universal or gender-sensitive social protection measures, or advocating for broadening the focus of Just Transition to encompass the experiences of women workers.

'[W]e are not putting a lot on the table now. Within the framework we are still making room to see how we introduce Just Transition and then how we work with especially vulnerable women ... to build their capacity.'

In the Philippines, the SENTRO representative highlighted the need for universal social protection measures alongside organizing women to advocate for gender equality in their workplaces and communities:

Climate change [is] intensifying gender inequality, so forcing women into vulnerable work... So, one way to systematically address that is by providing universal social protection... And two, ... outside of women in the sectors directly affected, ...'it's hard to organize what we class support... So for, as a broad policy, that's our framework, that's our call, social protection. But on the ground, that's where we put emphasis on organizing efforts. So the best protection you can have to ensure gender equality ... is ensuring that the communities, that the workplaces are organized, and that they have clear protocols, they have clear policies on gender.

There was also some mention of activity that could be interpreted within a Just Transition framework writ large, although it was not described as such. A general example is lobbying efforts around ILO Convention C-190, an area in which many unions included in the study were actively engaged. Another specific activity involved SENTRO's involvement in establishing Pinay Care Workers Transnational (PINAY) in December 2022. This marked a significant milestone as PINAY became the first transnational union representing migrant Filipino domestic workers, many of whom provide care services.^{xliii}

'[F]or our union, the incentive was there, particularly for migrant domestic workers, because we know for a fact that domestic workers are among the most exploited, not just in the destination countries, but in the origin countries. Which makes unionization a fundamental necessity for these people, the overwhelming majority of whom are women. So for that reason, we've invested a lot of resources, learned a lot of lessons on how to organize and thankfully it paid off.'

In summary, there were relatively few attempts to integrate a fully gender transformative approach recognizing the broad effects of climate change and its effects on women's working lives. However, at the other end of the spectrum, a minority of trade union bodies – mostly those representing highly feminized sectors – were fully committed to promoting gender-transformative Just Transition. A clear example of this commitment emerged in the experiences of organisations representing public service workers, such as Public Services International (PSI), which has undertaken numerous country-based studies on how climate change and exposure to extreme weather events disproportionately affects women workers in highly feminized sectors.^{xliv} In India, Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) has been instrumental in advancing the resilience of self-employed women workers in various sectors such as agriculture, healthcare, education and childcare, amongst other informal workers, in the face of climate change. Similarly, in South Africa, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) – having published a Just Transition blueprint in 2011 that focused on agriculture, transport and mining – was in the process of developing a user-friendly

toolkit aimed at assisting its members in applying a gender lens to Just Transition-related issues. According to a COSATU representative:

'[W]e found the need to have a more specific lens to a speaking to how Just Transition affects various structures of the federation. We then focused on educators and organizers, young workers, but most importantly for this discussion, gender... [W]e convened the gender structure to try to get them to articulate what a Just Transition means for the structure, but more importantly for women... Basically looking at a Just Transition through the gender lens and making consideration to how to best deal with the aspect of gender...the inclusion of Just Transition has been a principled one based on the fact that we are going through Just Transition in various sectors and we needed that gendered lens.'

At a global level, the work of International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the Global Unions Federation also merits mention. ITUC has conducted various studies setting out a gender transformative vision of Just Transition and linking the agenda to issues such as unpaid care and the prevention of violence and harassment in the workplace. An interviewee closely involved with the Global Unions Federation described their extensive lobbying of member states in international fora, including the 2022 Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on gender and climate change, as well as active participation in the UN Women's Generation Equality Forum action coalitions. Notably, this advocacy had culminated with GUF's involvement in negotiations over the outcome document of the CSW, which resulted in the document's inclusion of language relating to gender and Just Transition, and the ILO decent work agenda.^{xlv}

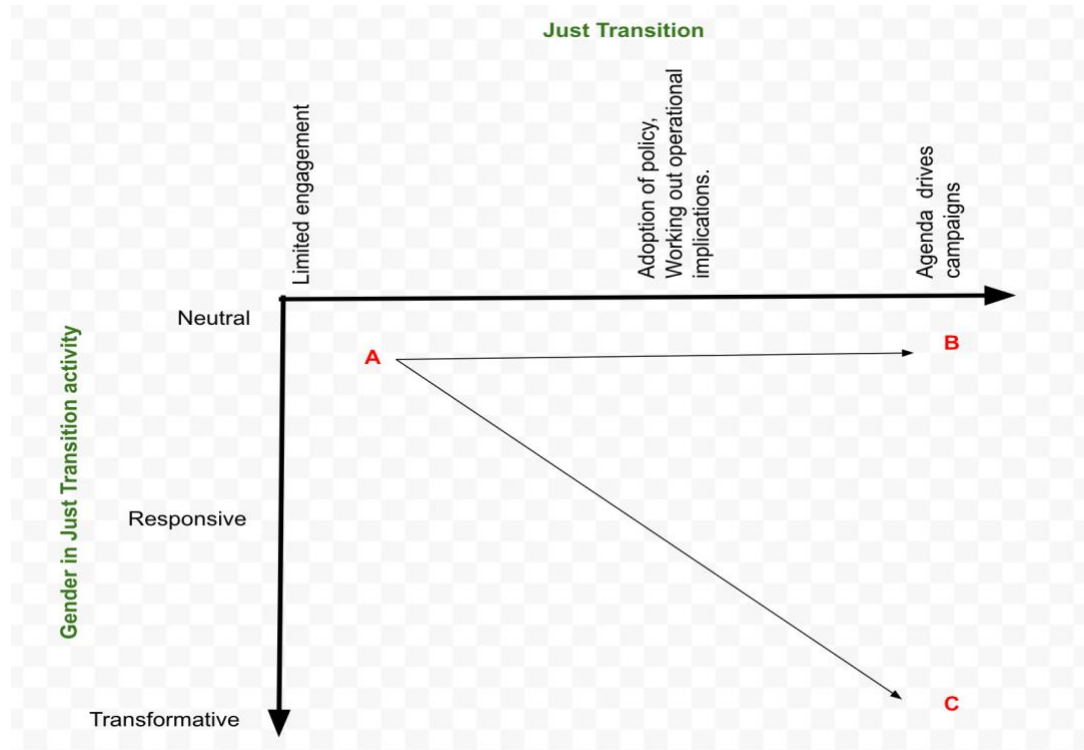
There were few examples of trade union bodies adopting a gender transformative Just Transition policy from the outset, apart from those representing women, such as SEWA, or predominantly composed of female workers, like PSI, where this happened as a matter of course. For most unions, the process was one of first adopting a Just Transition strategy and then undertaking further activities to identify and take forward a gendered perspective. This view was articulated in an interview with a solidarity support organisation representative, which highlighted a general tendency within unions to gradually integrate gender considerations into activities aimed at understanding the impacts of climate change:

'I think with many of our partners still, the climate discussion is still starting up. So ... maybe the first step is to get ... introduced to the whole concept and how is this climate issue changing our sector... That's the first discussion many of our parties are having now. And what does it mean that we should have a voice? ... How can that be put inside the collective bargaining agreements, for example. So, I think those are ... the core things. And then obviously, [the gender angle] comes next... I think that's the reality... I would think probably that it depends on [the stage in] the process. Obviously, unions that are

more advanced ... and probably in sectors that are very female dominated, the gender aspect comes, of course... more actively. But then when it comes to the starting from zero, then that will be the first step.'

Figure 1 depicts the possibilities for trade unions to engage with the Just Transition agenda and adopt a gendered perspective. Some organisations tended to move from limited to more active engagement with the Just Transition agenda without developing a strong gender dimension (moving from A to B on the diagram) while others sought to integrate gender considerations more actively (moving from A to C). This paper is focused on what unions can do to follow this latter path.

Figure 1 - Depiction of the range of options for Confederations to engage with the Just Transition agenda and to adopt a gendered perspective



4. Avenues to advance gender equity in Just Transition processes

This section outlines a range of activities that trade union bodies could take to advance gender-equitable Just Transition processes, derived from a review of the available evidence and discussions with trade unionists and allies. These activities would enable trade union bodies to integrate the agenda in their own structures and amongst their affiliates, and/or

within their externally facing activities such as campaigns or social dialogue (see Annex Table 2). The discussion also considers implications for solidarity support organisations and other allies. Where relevant, it includes the perspectives of union representatives and the opportunities and challenges they perceived. It also cites examples of good practice that emerged from the interviews and evidence review.

4.1 Raising awareness of gender-equitable Just Transition and why it matters

A first step in advancing a gender-equitable Just Transition agenda involves awareness raising and sensitization so that unionists and others understand what it means and why it is important.^{xlvi} Indeed, this need is highlighted in the ILO Just Transition Guidelines, where the first of four provisions directed exclusively at social partners specifies the need to *'raise awareness and understanding and provide guidance among their member about developments relevant to the just transition framework, development, decent work and green jobs for women and men'*.^{xlvii} Such awareness raising has the potential to make the agenda more visible and prominent, ensuring its integration into core union activities and policy positions. In the words of one federation representative:

'We need to have a strong voice and the voice would have to come from the people. And so we need to ...continue to inform the people. In our interaction, in our programs, we need to consciously introduce those discussions. I think we shouldn't shy away from it. ... We need to embrace it. We need to digest the information. We need to understand it and then we need to help our members to also understand it. I think if we do that, we can make an impact.'

Other interviewees offered a similar perspective:

'I think the issue of discussion is key, disseminate it through different media ... propaganda helps a lot, campaigns help a lot because [otherwise], the urgent displaces the necessary....'

'[I]t's about the networking and advocacy work ... that you can make a difference with that. And I think then it can trickle down to really what is the worker's reality.'

From a gender-transformative perspective, it is important to convey an expansive understanding of what Just Transition means and who it includes. As discussed, this should extend beyond the traditional and clean energy sectors to include workers in other sectors affected by climate change such as transport, agriculture and other, often highly feminized sectors, such as healthcare and utility provision. It should underline the importance of the informal workforce, who may be particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Additionally, awareness-raising initiatives should link climate change to issues

disproportionately affecting women such as unpaid care workloads and violence and harassment at work, both of which constrain women's ability to engage in paid work.

Trade union bodies must develop a broad understanding of gender-equitable Just Transition internally, then disseminate that understanding to their membership and through external advocacy campaigns that aim to shift public opinion and put pressure on decision-makers to prioritize gender-equitable Just Transition policies. Public service labour organisations, because of their specific membership, appear to have progressed further in this respect than other organisations with a more diverse membership. However, other trade union bodies also appeared to be taking steps in this direction. As per one interviewee:

'[F]or instance, if you take the agricultural sector, we need to undertake some sensitization program for rural agriculture women, for instance, on Just Transition. So first of all, we need to identify the vulnerable women in the sectors to work with them ... We have a number of rural workers How do we bring the understanding of Just Transition to them? I would say that there's a lot of information out there that can guide our work ... We don't need to reinvent the wheel. Let's make good use of that information and then let's link it to our own peculiar situation and then I think we'll be good to go.'

One international confederation representative stressed the critical need to incorporate politically salient gender concerns such as unpaid care work and violence and harassment at work within the Just Transition agenda. Both issues have garnered considerable attention from unions, governments and other stakeholders, and are areas where global progress is noticeable; indeed, the same interviewee described efforts to tackle workplace violence and harassment as 'campaign number one' for labour activists presently. Leveraging this growing awareness and connecting these issues could therefore accelerate progress and further promote the Just Transition agenda.

A key challenge affecting awareness raising is that climate change discussions often are seen as too technical, remote and abstract. For example, PSI research found that while climate change clearly affected public service provision, women workers in their studies often struggled to connect climate change to their working conditions, except for in the case of extreme weather events. Moreover, they often viewed climate change as 'too technical',^{xlviii} a criticism which also arose in discussion with a federation representative:

'[I]t appears technical, apparently because of the way it was introduced to the world... Myself, [and a colleague] we were chosen at one time as focal persons with [federation] on climate change. I attend the meetings and I'm lost ... So you ask yourself, how do I fit in this discussion?'

This perception of climate change as technical and remote also complicated the efforts of unionists to explain to workers how it was affecting their working lives. In the words of one interviewee:

'[T]he problem that we face with, for example, not just 'Just Transition', but with the broader question of climate justice, is that ... [it's] twice divorced from worker's daily realities, meaning to say, it's not, if it's not directly tied to wages, benefits, employment, workers aren't automatically inclined to devote attention or to be interested. So that's recurrent problem we face.'

Another union representative advanced a similar argument:

'[F]or a long time the discussion has always been on working conditions and measuring working conditions with wages ... with paid leave, maternity leave, ... if we go strictly by say the laws governing industrial relations, governing labor, those laws are empty when it comes to climate change ... definitely it is important we sensitize our members on how such issues can even affect the bread and butter discussions on the table.'

These concerns underline the need to translate technical findings into user friendly language to ensure that workers can connect the often seemingly abstract effects of climate change to their daily lives.

Solidarity organisations have played an important role in raising awareness of gender equitable Just Transition and sensitizing their partners as to its value. One solidarity support organisation representative described this process. Reflecting on the implications of Just Transition being made a priority in her organisation's most recent programming cycle [2022-25], she commented:

'I think that was ... a very important time in our work... how do we start? Little by little introducing that thematic also to our project work and discussing it with the partners... [W]e had a pilot project [in 2019-2020] around how to bring the climate discussion into [trade union] strategies [so that] the local and national trade unions in our partner countries see the importance of climate change as a labor issue as well ... starting with the basic changes they see in their working lives. And how can they start influencing the discussion around those changes. How can they start identifying how it affects their work, how to pronounce those needs and challenges in the collective bargaining discussions and so on. But maybe even one step further back is to raise the discussions within the union. So they start being awake on this topic that it's not an employer thing to organize or manage or settle within the working place, but it's rather [something] that everyone needs to have a voice on.'

A national federation representative also spoke of the value of such exchanges.

'We need to bring those complexities down and then embrace the situation because whether we like it or not, it is staring at our faces. But also if we get our [international] partners ... If we get these groups, at least throwing the light to [the federation]. Perhaps other things are occupying us too much, but we need to give an eye to this important discussion.'

Examples of good practice:

- In South Asia, the Unions of Community Health Workers (CHWs) and Public Services International (PSI) launched a campaign entitled 'Community Health Work is Work' at the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. The initiative aimed to raise awareness of the effects of the pandemic on this marginalised female workforce. Subsequently, they launched a Charter of Demands advocating for improved pay and working conditions.^{xlix}
- In the UK, UNISON, the country's largest union representing public service workers, is campaigning to reduce the carbon footprint of public services.^l Together, these sectors account for 8% of the UK's greenhouse gas emissions. UNISON's campaigning aims to encouraging its affiliates to take steps to make their workplaces more environmentally friendly,^{li} and advocates for government action on climate change.

4.2 Strengthening capacity on links between gender equity and Just Transition

Related to awareness raising is the need to strengthening the capacity of union officials to understand linkages between gender equity and Just Transition, and how these agendas can be advanced in tandem. This was highlighted in an interview with a Confederation representative who emphasized capacity strengthening as a priority activity, based on her perception of a general lack of understanding of Just Transition and the opportunities it offers to promote gender equality.

Opportunities for trade union bodies to engage in capacity strengthening begin with their own staff and affiliates and extend to other key stakeholders such as businesses. The need for labour organisations to support their own representatives and members in understanding Just Transition itself and, possibly more critically, the linkages between gender equity and Just Transition, emerged in several interviews.

'If [implementing just transition] means mainstreaming just transition in all our activities, we need that capacity to be able to do that. If there's a gender department f, how well do they understand the connection?'

Capacity strengthening covers a broad array of activities, spanning from the provision of training materials and courses, to conducting 'trainings of trainers', and facilitating

guidance and mutual learning activities. These may include how to integrate gender equality into Just Transition frameworks and action plans, collective bargaining guidelines and more.^{lii}

For the business sector, trainings could include themes like reducing their carbon footprint, understanding unconscious bias, making workplaces safe and so on. One interviewee flagged this as an important area for solidary support organisations:

'[The Just Transition agenda] is new for our colleagues as well, like ourselves... But also the basic things are really similar. You need the research, you need the knowledge, you need the capacity to negotiate, be it gender issues or be it Just Transition issues. You need those basic capacities. And I think that's where solidary support organisations like us are really helpful for our partners in the best manner...'

Some interviewees highlighted the value of step-by-step guidelines and training materials developed by labour organisations, sometimes with the support of solidary support organisations, to guide Just Transition processes amongst their affiliates. According to one federation representative:

'[W]e need to give guidelines especially at the level of policy and then also reach out to our rank and file for them to understand the impact of what is happening.'

Trade union bodies could also seek out opportunities to convene representatives of affiliated unions who have shown leadership in advancing a gender-equitable Just Transition agenda to foster mutual exchange and collaboration. They might also seek to promote exchanges between unions with varying degrees of involvement in Just Transition initiatives, ensuring that a broad range of workers affected by climate change are represented including energy, agriculture, health and care, and other public services. By incorporating diverse perspectives and experiences, trade union bodies can develop more robust strategies to navigate the complexities of Just Transition and advocate effectively for the rights and interests of all workers.

Example of good practice:

- In South Africa, COSATU is in the process of developing a toolkit to assist their members to understand and apply a gender lens to Just Transition processes. The toolkit focuses specifically on agriculture, transport and mining.^{liii}
- In Denmark, the Danish Union of Metalworkers has developed green technologies and emphasized the need for reskilling. In partnership with other Danish unions, it offers education, conferences and networking activities relating to equality that include a focus on gender, ethnic minority status and disability.^{liv}

4.3 Ensuring meaningful gender-diverse representation in Just Transition discussions

It is important to ensure gender-diverse representation in relevant discussions, particularly at key decision-making moments, and that all participants are given the opportunity to voice their concerns and shape policy. This extends to all trade union engagement – internally, with its officials and members, and in external dialogues. This is important not only from the perspective of equity, but in terms of ensuring diverse voices and perspectives are heard and can influence policy.

Indeed, the COSATU representative interviewed for this study described how the Confederation’s female membership influenced the organisation’s decision to develop a toolkit on gender and Just Transition:

‘We had the blueprint [on Just Transition] taken down to various COSATU affiliates in the provinces ... the women in the room would want to know more about how they fit in, especially because there are other elements of the Just Transition that affect women directly, like unpaid care work, just basically that they are the primary caregivers. So [the toolkit] was formulated from the interest that was shown when we were speaking to the Just Transition broadly ... it would be in the workshopping that we do, it would be shop stewards in the room, it would be educators and organizers as well as members of various structures like gender and youth.’

Her insights hint at the potential benefits for unions and partners of creating opportunities for convening and listening to diverse women and other disadvantaged or marginalized groups affected by climate change. Care should be taken to strengthen the representation of women from diverse constituencies, depending on the context (for example, migrants, indigenous communities, rural areas etc.). Relatedly, unions should take steps to ensure their members represent as diverse a constituency as possible – including women (particularly in multisectoral unions) and informal workers.^{lv}

An equally critical task for unions and their partners is to ensure women are equally represented in Just Transition discussions and decision-making bodies, especially in leadership positions. A 2017 ITUC survey which found that women comprised on average, 42% of ITUC members, whereas in the highest union decision-making bodies within its affiliates, the average was 28%.^{lvi} Moreover, according to ILO (2023: 51): ‘A major challenge in the effective exercise of social dialogue is the persistent underrepresentation of women in employers’ and workers’ organisations and in national social dialogue institutions’.^{lvii} The report cites 2018 data showing that in National Social Dialogue Institutions (NSDIs), female membership ranged from 20 to 35%. They cite this relatively limited participation in social dialogue as a barrier to the ‘stronger incorporation of gender equality as a priority’. PSI research too has found that workers – women in particular – are frequently excluded from government decision-making processes, with the result that their needs are overlooked

and policy implementation remains inadequate.^{lviii} Addressing this gap could involve setting quotas or creating forums specifically for women stakeholders to ensure their voices are heard and considered. Indeed, the union leaders interviewed for this study stressed efforts that had been taken to bolster women's representation in union structures.

Furthermore, as recommended by OECD (2020) in the context of collective bargaining addressing the gender wage gap, adopting best practices includes creating gender-balanced negotiation teams and providing specialized training for negotiators.^{lix} ETUC (2020) suggests extending this training to encompass members of collective bargaining teams, union officials and workplace representatives. Such training could cover not only the mainstreaming of gender and Just Transition into bargaining processes, but also guidance on negotiations strategies and content.^{lx}

Example of good practice:

- In South Africa, COSATU consultations with women members led to the development of a toolkit focused on the gender dimension of Just Transition in mining, agriculture and transport.
- In India, SEWA engagement in social dialogue was important in advocating for the needs of salt pan farmers. The work of these farmers, more than 95% of whom are women, is heavily affected by weather variation, rains and rising energy prices. Through SEWA engagement, the diesel used to pump water into pans for salt harvesting was replaced with solar pumps and the government agreed for solar panels to be installed in a solar park to generate energy and income for the farmers. SEWA provided a platform for salt pan farmers to engage in dialogue with policymakers, enabling them to participate in designing the response to the problem of rising energy prices and high CO2 emissions and to implement the solution.^{lxi}

4.4 Developing policy positions and translating them into campaigns and advocacy

Linking the gender equity and Just Transition agendas requires trade union bodies to rethink policy positions internally and amongst their affiliates, and their external advocacy. As previously discussed, organisations typically initiate this process by developing an internal Just Transition policy then determining how it will be implemented. As one interviewee described:

'[I]t's important that as we prepare for [our upcoming Congress], we don't just document the need for us to take climate change or Just Transition issues seriously. But we strategize on how we implement those activities.'

Solidarity support organisations can support national organisations to develop gender-equitable Just Transition policies and action plans. A practical suggestion that emerged in the interviews involved international confederations choosing one or two countries where they could concentrate their support for unions and other stakeholders. The aim would be to promote gender-transformative approaches within a Just Transition framework during social dialogue and collective bargaining processes. This approach could then be replicated by national trade union bodies, focusing on specific sectors.

The gender-equitable Just Transition agenda also lends itself to diverse external policy positions to take forward in campaigns or social dialogue, including collective bargaining processes. Specific examples of how unions can table issues on gender equitable Just Transition in such negotiations include:

Tackling climate change at the workplace.

Addressing climate change in the workplace encompasses more than just reducing fossil fuel production. It also involves reevaluating how work is organized in various sectors, including agriculture and public service provision. For example, institutions such as hospitals make notable contributions to climate change.^{lxii} This has prompted union efforts to secure measures aimed at providing sustainability within hospitals through collective bargaining processes,^{lxiii} and advocating for supportive government policies.

Example of good practice:

- Global Nurses United, a confederation representing nurse and healthcare worker unions in more than 30 countries, has put forward a five-point strategy aiming to mitigate climate change, while at the same time increasing the resilience of health care systems. This initiative is grounded in the recognition that the climate crisis not only poses a significant threat to environmental sustainability but also has health implications worldwide, and the healthcare sector itself has a sizeable carbon footprint.^{lxiv}

Supporting gender-equitable job creation and employment practices

Efforts to bolster decent work for women include efforts to promote hiring and retention, counter work-place violence and harassment, and to include various equality bargaining instruments in collective bargaining processes.^{lxv} Such negotiations could include initiatives focused on wage transparency, fair and transparent recruitment procedures, systematic pay audits and facilitating surveys.^{lxvi} Additional efforts are likely to be needed to tackle the undervaluation of so-called ‘women’s work’ in sectors traditionally dominated by women – such as sector-specific minimum wage standards or broader legislation aimed at establishing gender pay equity.

Examples of good practice:

- In British Columbia, Canada, the government and the Allied Infrastructure and Related Construction Council (AIRCC), a group representing labour unions, established a groundbreaking Community Benefits Agreement. This agreement embodies a commitment to inclusive practices within the construction industry. Provisions include the priority hiring of underrepresented groups including women, youth, and indigenous peoples within the construction trades. Furthermore, the agreement underscores the need for training and apprenticeships.^{lxvii}
- In Madagascar, IndustriALL affiliates in the mining sector taken steps to promote gender equality in employment opportunities. These unions have monitored job vacancies announcements to ensures the inclusion of gender-neutral language, particularly for technical positions.^{lxviii}
- In New Zealand, collective action by low-wage women and their unions compelled the government to take important strides to reinterpret ‘work of equal value’ and to institute a collective bargaining process for advancing pay equity claims in female-dominated sectors. This process culminated in the 2020 Equal Pay Amendment Act which allows workers or unions to make pay equity claims directly of their employer rather than through courts and provides a simplified bargaining process for addressing wage inequality resulting from historical pay discrimination. As of October 2023, pay equity agreements had been reached with unions representing care workers, nurses, healthcare assistants, midwives, social workers and school support staff, resulting in wage increases of around 23% to 45%.^{lxix}

Extending adequate social protection

A critical element of the Just Transition agenda is ensuring all workers have access to social protection, particularly those who are most vulnerable to the effects of climate change or climate policy.^{lxx} The need is two-fold – firstly to ensure that new jobs being created have adequate social protections and secondly, to extend adequate social protection to all workers, regardless of their employment status. A gender equity perspective underscores the need to account for women’s temporary absences from the labour force due to childbirth, while also recognizing the value of unpaid care work within contributory social security schemes. The need for formalization of the informal workforce is another critical policy area, as highlighted in Box 2. This has particular implications for women, who constitute the majority of informal workers in lower income settings and often occupy more precarious positions within the informal economy.^{lxxi}

Examples of good practice:

- In Philippines, the SENTRO representative interviewed for this study cited the federation’s contribution to the passage of an enhanced maternity leave policy. This victory saw maternity leave expand from 60 to 105 days, benefiting women across the public and private sectors, including those working informally.^{lxxii} The

achievement is ‘one of the main victories’ of its women’s caucus, who engaged in advocacy with legislators and business representatives.

- In India, the Self-Employed Workers’ Association (SEWA) is believed to be the first organisation to establish social insurance for informal workers. Since 1992, the scheme has safeguarded thousands of workers affected by various adversities, including natural disasters. In 2019 alone, the program provided crucial support to 32,000 workers, offering essential services such as healthcare, life insurance, pensions, childcare and credit.^{lxxiii}
- In US, many gig workers remain in highly informal conditions without full access to social protection. The National Domestic Workers’ Alliance, representing home care workers, cleaners and nannies, has developed Alia, a pioneering digital platform offering portable benefits. The initiative allows multiple clients to contribute to individual worker’s accounts, enabling them to purchase essential benefits including disability coverage, accident insurance, critical illness support and paid leave.^{lxxiv} It represents a notable example of a union-driven effort to extend social protection to cover workers in emerging non-standard forms of employment.^{lxxv}

Investing in the care infrastructure and workforce^{lxxvi}

As of 2018, the global care workforce – consisting of health, education and long-term care workers – numbered 381 million workers.^{lxxvii} Demand for care work is projected to increase dramatically as populations age world-wide. Indeed, ILO (2018) finds that appropriate investments could create up to 299 million new jobs by 2035.^{lxxviii} The care sector has the potential to offer low-carbon jobs for men and women transitioning out of polluting jobs. For example, the average job in health or care is estimated to produce 26 times less greenhouse gasses than a manufacturing job, over 200 times less than an agricultural job and nearly 1,500 times less than a job in the oil and gas sector.^{lxxix} A focus on care also offers opportunities to bolster gender equality by shifting norms around care (if more men were to enter the field), improving working conditions for carers and reducing unpaid workloads. This would have significant implications for women and girls, given that they carry out over three times as much unpaid work as men and boys do.^{lxxx} Unions can support this transition in many ways. For example, they might advocate for policies and investments in high-quality universal care systems, for the inclusion of care jobs as ‘green jobs’ in green jobs and green sectors and classifications, for increased male participation in paid care work and for formalizing and improving working conditions in the care sector.

Example of good practice:

- In Philippines, as discussed above, Pinay Care Workers Transnational (PINAY), the first transnational union representing migrant Filipino domestic workers (many of whom provide care services) was established in December 2022. PINAY, representing mostly women workers in Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Hong Kong, Macau, Malaysia, Taiwan, and the Philippines, ‘aims to work towards the complete protection of migrant care workers across the entire migration cycle’.^{lxxxii} Notably, it

played an instrumental role in advocating for legislation in Hong Kong that prohibits migrant workers from being forced to clean windows in high-rise buildings, a hazardous task that had tragically resulted in many deaths.

- In California, in 2023, unions representing over 560,000 In-Home Supportive Services (IHSS) workers – lobbied the state legislature to pass bill AB 1672, enabling these workers to engage in statewide (rather than county-wide) collective bargaining. This was hailed as a victory for in-home care workers, of whom 80% are women, 74% people of colour and 47%, immigrants.^{lxxxii}

4.5 Institutionalizing gender equity and Just Transition in union structures

The need to institutionalize Just Transition principles and gender considerations in union processes and coalitions also is important. Within trade union bodies, this is likely to involve the appointment of dedicated staff tasked with overseeing Just Transition initiatives, promoting gender equity or managing the joint agenda. Additionally, it necessitates creating direct communication pathways between personnel focusing on gender-related matters and those tackling Just Transition issues.

A prominent barrier to advancing the Just Transition agenda that emerged during an interview with a federation representative involved the absence of a dedicated unit or individual tasked with addressing Just Transition issues:

'[W]e still do not have, say, a [designated] desk or a focal person ... perhaps that is what is affecting our active involvement on issues around Just Transition...So I think we need to start gradually, first of all we get a focal person just as we have for migration, we have a department for gender, we have a department for social protection... So, if we can ... identify somebody and train the person, I think it would be good because otherwise we'll still be in ad hoc processes'.

'[I]f I take the migration discussions for instance, for some time migration wasn't really [a big issue in the Federation] ... The support for it wasn't there. But gradually ... we got somebody who did his PhD in migration ... So as soon as he came back, the way he began the migration awareness among the unions, the way he's been participating, the impact he has made. ...Now we think we might even need a department for migration ... So it can be done. ... you need a champion basically for climate change within the [Federation].'

Moreover, she elaborated, this lack of internal capacity was likely to affect how their affiliates perceived and engage with the federation. Specifically, had the federation prioritized the issue by assigning dedicated staff to Just Transition, affiliates might be more inclined to actively engage with the agenda.

Similarly, there exist possibilities to strengthen linkages between gender equity and Just Transition discussions.^{lxxxiii} For example, women's committees could be encouraged to devote part of their conferences to the topic of Just Transition and conversely, convenings focused on Just Transition could set aside time for discussion of gender issues.

In their collaboration with affiliates and external stakeholders, labour organisations can also benefit from building networks and alliances that amplify the voices of women and other marginalized groups in Just Transition processes. As a federation representative expressed:

'I think if [we were] able to, for instance, set up a network among all the unions together with the [federation]. It has worked in the case of child labour ... It has worked in the area of pensions, we have focal persons. So we always have a stronger voice on those things. So my question is, why can't we have focal persons on climate change? Build capacity within the unions together with the [federation] and then we can build on it from there. Otherwise, we can even develop this [Just Transition] framework I'm talking about and it will be in a silo.'

Such networks, in turn, can exert collective pressure on policymakers and industry stakeholders thereby enhancing the inclusivity and effectiveness of these transition efforts. Indeed, one interviewee partially attributed the success of the Global Unions Federation in influencing the 2022 CSW outcome document on some two-decades of networking and relationship building with representatives of feminist and women's rights movements. Through participation in the UN Women's Gender Equality action coalitions, she highlighted an additional opportunity to engage in discussions regarding the vital interconnections between decent work, Just Transition, the care economy, and gender-based violence and harassment. This platform, consequently, enabled the development of comprehensive strategies for addressing gender disparities and promoting inclusive solutions.

Solidarity support organisations have the potential to play an important role by developing guidelines aimed at mainstreaming gender-equitable Just Transition principles into union structures and processes. They might also facilitate the formation of coalitions building, supporting networks of affiliates pursuing issues relating to gender equality and Just Transition issues. Moreover, these organisations could facilitate collaboration between labour organisations, and between labour organisations, women's groups and environmental organisations.

Example of good practice:

- In 2022, the IndustriALL union established a gender equality task force with the aim of integrating gender equality into debates about Just Transition.^{lxxxiv}
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED) is a global network aiming to advance democratic control and social ownership of energy resources; its members include

100 trade union bodies and 12 allied policy, academic and advocacy organisations.^{lxxxv} TUED has emphasized the need to involve women and marginalized communities in decision-making processes related to energy democracy and transition.

4.6 Utilising analytical frameworks & monitoring tools

A key area in which unions – and their supporters – can advance gender-equitable Just Transition is by developing tools to facilitate analysis and raise awareness of gender gaps within Just Transition processes. A review of the instruments developed by unions and other stakeholders to highlight and systemically analyse gender gaps hints at their potential to catalyse action. These include ‘gender-mainstreaming tools (such as gender-neutral classification and evaluation schemes) in bargaining rounds [as well as] ... tools for systematic equality audits of each new agreement’.^{lxxxvi}

The systematic assessment of pay, facilitated by platforms like Wageindicators systems or other pay transparency tools,^{lxxxvii} and assessments of other aspects of job quality can also be used for potential campaigning and sanctioning. The types of tools most useful to advance gender-equitable Just Transition are wide-ranging and varied, depending on the audience – whether it be workers, businesses, or the government - and the objective they aim to achieve. These objectives may include providing information, guiding collective bargaining, monitoring progress, or holding stakeholders accountable for their commitments.

Examples of good practice

- In Gujarat, India, where 80% of women engaged in paid work are employed in agriculture, the Self-Employed Workers Association (SEWA) created ‘a voice-based agro-advisory information system on weather, pests and markets’. This innovative system empowers women to effectively respond to climate change-induced weather events, enabling them to make informed decisions and adapt their agricultural practices accordingly.^{lxxxviii}

4.7 Supporting the upskilling and career development of women workers

Trade union bodies worldwide have embarked on a range of activities to directly support women workers. A key element is the provision of training to women to ensure they have the necessary skills to participate effectively in the emerging green economy. This may involve lobbying for businesses and the government to provide such training. An example of this advocacy is seen in PSI’s proposition to train environmental workers in integrating adaptation plans into their work, such as tree planting, vegetable gardening, and improving storm drainage, which could mitigate the impacts of climate change and increase the value of their work.^{lxxxix}

Upskilling initiatives could focus on sectors where women are underrepresented, such as in STEM fields related to renewable energy and sustainability, and on precarious groups of women (and men) such as informal workers who are central to the Just Transition agenda. ETUC (2020) stresses the importance of providing training and providing career development possibilities for women engaged in part-time work and those under flexible working arrangements.^{x^c} Related initiatives include apprenticeships for younger workers, on-the-job-training, career guidance mentorship schemes, and the promotion of women's achievements in areas related to Just Transition efforts.

Examples of good practice:

- In Canada, Unifor, the country's largest private sector union 'has been addressing the underrepresentation, stereotypes, and lack of skills and knowledge internally through education. The union has organized, in partnership with training institutes, several trainings and awareness raising programmes for women members to encourage them in entering or returning in STEM sectors. The aim of these activities is to build confidence in their female members and to bring women into the trades.^{x^{ci}} By empowering its female members and advocating for their inclusion in traditionally male-dominated trades, Unifor is working towards a more equitable and diverse workforce.
- In the United Kingdom, Unite the Union, along with other unions, has invited students to workplaces to showcase STEM careers.^{x^{cii}}
- In both Canada and the United States, the North America's Building Trades Unions (NABTU) has developed an initiative known as Lean In Circles for Union Tradeswomen program. This programme is described as 'a mentorship and retention program developed for and by tradeswomen to empower building tradeswomen as they address unique and critical issues of tradeswomen in the workforce.^{x^{ciii}} NABTU also acknowledges the exceptional contributions of tradeswomen through a monthly awards programme. The awards recognize the efforts of four 'outstanding tradeswomen' within their affiliate unions, two apprentices and two journey workers, who are nominated by the union's local, state and international leaders.^{x^{civ}}

4.8 Evidence gathering on the gendered impacts of Just Transitions

Finally, research on the gendered impacts of Just Transitions can help to inform appropriate policy and investments. Per ILO (2023: 55), '[u]nreported inequalities, including in the world of work, conceal their existence, driving policy makers to gender and inclusion-absent approaches to climate action'. Central to such efforts is the collection of gender-disaggregated data to understand how climate change is experienced differently by men and women. PSI, for example, points to a general lack of disaggregated data on the impact of climate change on public sector workers, the majority of whom are women.^{x^{cv}}

The documentation of gender inequalities has been an important driver of transformative change. According to ETUC (2020), for example, '[w]orkplace equality plans and/or income reports disaggregated by sex, equal pay surveys, "equality allowances" have proven to be successful tools in combatting direct and indirect discrimination against women and helped reduce the gender pay gap... A periodical assessment of collective agreements and applicable pay scales and job classification schemes is necessary to find if they have been successful in closing the gender pay gap'.^{xvii}

The same logic applies to the array of objectives linked to gender-equitable Just Transition. For example, unions and their partners can compile data on the levels and quality of women's participation in transition programmes and in clean energy jobs. They might also analyse working conditions in sectors with a predominantly female workforce, comparing them with male-dominated sectors to identify disparities. Additionally, they can assess the scope and effectiveness of social protection schemes and identify examples of best practice.

Strengthening the capacity of partners and affiliates to conduct relevant research, including the collection and analysis of gender-disaggregated data, is integral to advancing this agenda. By enhancing research capabilities, stakeholders can generate robust evidence to support advocacy efforts and drive meaningful progress towards gender equality within the framework of Just Transition.

Examples of good practice:

- Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) has worked extensively with the ILO and other national and international bodies to generate widely-cited sex-disaggregated statistics on the size and composition of the informal workforce.^{xviii}
- PSI has prepared detailed qualitative case studies on the impacts of climate change on women workers in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia to use in advocating for greater attention to gender-transformative Just Transition.

5. Conclusion

This paper has discussed what a gender transformative Just Transition entails, the engagement of LO Norway partner unions with this agenda, and the practical steps trade union bodies and their allies can take to advance gender equity and Just Transition in tandem. Just Transition strategies aim to ensure that the necessary economic transitions towards low-carbon growth occur in a manner that minimizes adverse impacts on affected workers. These transitions should simultaneously promote decent work, particularly for those in the informal economy, and universal social protection. Given that women

experience the impacts of climate change disproportionately, a gendered approach aligns naturally with Just Transition objectives.

A gender-transformative lens is concerned with the broad array of sectors that are affected by climate change, many of which are highly feminized. It stresses the importance of adopting a multisectoral approach that links the transition to other gender-related issues, such as inequalities in unpaid care work and gender-based violence, both of which climate change worsens. It further emphasises the different effects of transition on different groups of women, which requires a disaggregated focus and efforts to ensure the meaningful participation of affected groups in policy design and implementation.

The agenda is undoubtedly a challenging one, requiring focused efforts across sectors and contexts to define what Just Transition means for different groups of workers and to identify the most effective responses. However, the wealth of experiences that unions have accumulated in adapting to constantly shifting conditions, and in bolstering the representation of women and other underrepresented groups, should prove invaluable in driving the agenda forward.

Annex Table 1 – Trade union body or solidarity support organisation representatives interviewed for study and basic organisational information

Country	Union	Representative	Union structure	Women members (%)
LO Norway partner unions				
Colombia	CUT (Central Unitaria de Trabajadores)	Jorge Triana, President of Sintramienergética Seccional Codazi Cesar y Secretary of Mines and Energy of the CUT Seccional Cesar	CUT, founded in 1986, has 615,747 members organized in 773 unions. CUT is a member of ITUC.	46%
Ghana	Ghana Trade Union Congress (G TUC)	Mary Akosua Karimu, Deputy Director at the Labour Research and Policy Institute of the TUC	GTUC, formed in 1945 has 23 affiliated unions within most sectors of the economy, with an estimated 509,703 members. In 2015, the 5 informal economy associations were brought under the umbrella of the Union of Informal Economy Associations (UNIWA).	31%
Peru	Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (CGTP)	Pablo Checa, Executive Director of CUT research centre Instituto de Estudios Sociolaboral y Ambiental (IESI)	CGTP, founded in 1929, has approximately 385,000 members organized in 19 affiliated unions. Mainly represents manufacturing workers.	36%
Philippines	Sentro ng mga Nagkakaisa at Progresibong Manggagawa (SENTRO)	Benjamin Alvero, Campaign Officer, SENTRO	SENTRO, established in 2013, has 83,420 members organized in 19 regular affiliates and 14 independently registered unions. It organizes workers in the private, public and informal sectors.	49%
Thailand	State Enterprises Workers' Relation Confederation (SERC)	Banpot Sungkasuk	SERC has 144,396 members organized in 41 affiliated unions (38 from the state enterprise sector, 2 from the private sector and 1 made up of short-term contract workers in the Ministry of Public Health).	40%
Other unions and allies				

South Africa	Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)	Boitumelo Molete, Social Development Policy Coordinator	COSATU, founded in 1985, represents workers in manufacturing, public service, mining, and agriculture	
Multinational	Public Services International	Sandra Van Niekerk, Project Coordinator, South Africa	Founded in 1907, PSI represents 11 Global Union Federations and 210 million public service workers in 163 countries.	60%+
Multinational	International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)	Marieke Koning, Policy Advisor Equality	Established in 2006, ITUC has a membership base of approximately 207 workers from 160 countries.	~40%
Multinational	The Trade Union Solidarity Centre of Finland (SASK)	Anna Perttula, Advisor for Just Transition	SASK is the workers' rights organisation of the trade unions of Finland.	

Annex Table 2 – Summary of avenues to advance gender equity in Just Transition processes for trade union bodies and allies

	Confederation policies			Solidarity organisations
	Internal structures	Affiliates	External facing	
Awareness raising and sensitization	Develop a broad understanding of impacts of climate change and the importance of gender-equitable Just Transition across multiple sectors	Promote a broad understanding of impacts of climate change and the importance of gender-equitable Just Transition across multiple sectors	Promote a broad understanding of impacts of climate change and the importance of gender-equitable Just Transition across multiple sectors in campaigns to shape public opinion & mobilise action	Promote a broad understanding of impacts of climate change and the importance of gender-equitable Just Transition across multiple sectors among partners
Strengthen capacity on links between gender equity and Just Transition	Enhance capacity on Just Transition and on linkages between gender equity & Just Transition	Provide learning materials / opportunities for training and education on Just Transition, and linkages between gender equity & Just Transition	Seek opportunities to educate public on Just Transition, and links between gender equity & Just Transition	Provide opportunities for capacity enhancement on Just Transition, and linkages between gender equity & Just Transition
Ensure meaningful gender-diverse representation in Just Transition discussions	Create opportunities for convening & listening to women/gender diverse individuals affected by Just Transition processes	Create opportunities for affiliate exposure to various women/gender diverse individuals affected by Just Transition processes	Seek opportunities to amplify voices of women/gender diverse individuals affected by Just Transition processes	Convene gender ‘champions’ – unionists who have shown leadership related to gender to discuss Just Transition

Policy positions, and their translation into action plans and projects	Develop gender-equitable Just Transition policy to inform union activity	Identify common approaches/policy positions in conjunction with affiliates	Develop policy positions focused on gender equitable Just Transition to inform social dialogue & CBAs	Support partners in developing gender-equitable Just Transition policy
Institutionalisation	-Assign focal points or dedicated staff to Just Transition -Foster connections between gender & Just Transition staff	-Provide guidelines regarding ways to embed Just Transition in union structures / bridge gender equity & Just Transition -Connect 1. affiliates with more and less involvement in Just Transition and 2. representing broad range of workers affected by climate change	Connect with unions, environmental organisations, women's' organisations with common interest in gender-equitable Just Transition	-Develop guidelines regarding ways of embedding gender-equitable Just Transition in institutional structures and bridging gender equity & Just Transition

Confederation policies				
	Internal structures	Affiliates	External facing	Solidarity organisations
Analytical frameworks & monitoring tools	Develop action plans, audits, monitoring mechanisms focused on gender equitable Just Transition	Disseminate and provide support in development of action plans, audits, monitoring mechanisms focused on gender equitable Just Transition	-Build tools to foster analysis of gender gaps in national policies, within sectors & within companies -Establish mechanisms to monitor impact of Just Transition policies	Support development of action plans, audits, monitoring plans focused on gender equitable Just Transition

<p>Support representation, retention & advancement of women</p>	<p>-Ensure gender parity & advancement in union structures, leadership, negotiating teams etc.</p>	<p>-Advocate for gender parity & advancement in union structures</p> <p>-Promote apprenticeships & mentoring schemes focused on women in Just Transition-relevant sectors</p> <p>-Identify opportunities to recognize and champion women workers in Just Transition-relevant sectors</p>	<p>Advocate for national and business-level apprenticeships, mentoring schemes & awards focused on women in Just Transition relevant sectors</p>	<p>--Advocate for gender equitable union structures and provide guidelines of how this can be accomplished</p> <p>-Gather and share evidence of best practices globally in supporting women workers in Just Transition-relevant sectors</p>
<p>Evidence gathering</p>	<p>Undertake context specific research on links between gender equity & Just Transition</p>	<p>Encourage affiliates to undertake relevant research on links between gender equity & Just Transition</p>		<p>Support research & enhancement of research capacity amongst partners on links btw gender equity & Just Transition</p>

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- ⁱ <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/13/climate/cop28-climate-agreement.html>. Countries are enjoined to triple global renewable energy production and slash methane emissions by 2030, and to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050.
- ⁱⁱ <https://www.ituc-csi.org/Recognition-of-labour-rights-is-a-major-victory-for-trade-unions-at-COP28#:~:text=Recognition%20of%20labour%20rights%20is%20a%20major,finally%20reached%20in%20Dubai%20on%2013%20December>.
- ⁱⁱⁱ ILO, 2018 cited in ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 2.
- ^{iv} <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/12/13/climate/cop28-climate-agreement.html>. Countries are enjoined to triple global renewable energy production and slash methane emissions by 2030, and to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050.
- ^v <https://www.carbonbrief.org/cop28-key-outcomes-agreed-at-the-un-climate-talks-in-dubai/>
- ^{vi} https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/parisagreement_publication.pdf
- ^{vii} <https://www.ituc-csi.org/Recognition-of-labour-rights-is-a-major-victory-for-trade-unions-at-COP28#:~:text=Recognition%20of%20labour%20rights%20is%20a%20major,finally%20reached%20in%20Dubai%20on%2013%20December>.
- ^{viii} ILO, 2018 cited in ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 2.
- ^{ix} ILO (2015) Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all. Geneva: ILO, https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/green-jobs/publications/WCMS_432859/lang-en/index.htm
- ^x https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/green-jobs/news/WCMS_886213/lang-en/index.htm
- ^{xi} <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-employment/executive-summary>
- ^{xii} <https://ourworldindata.org/ghg-emissions-by-sector>.
- ^{xiii} <https://ourworldindata.org/ghg-emissions-by-sector>. Though per ActionAid (2019): 'When taking into account the emissions from activities across the cycle of production and consumption - including deforestation, production of synthetic nitrogen fertilisers, soil loss, livestock emissions, transport, heating and waste - food systems can account for around 20-30% of global GHGs.' https://actionaid.org/sites/default/files/publications/Principles%20for%20a%20just%20transition%20in%20agriculture_0.pdf
- ^{xiv} <https://ourworldindata.org/ghg-emissions-by-sector>. See also <https://www.itfglobal.org/en/resources/just-transition-urban-transport-workers-0>
- ^{xv} <https://www.iea.org/topics/energy-and-gender>
- ^{xvi} The five countries are Austria, France, Germany, Portugal and Spain. IEA (2022), *World Energy Employment*, IEA, Paris <https://www.iea.org/reports/world-energy-employment>.
- ^{xvii} IEA (2023), *Gender and Energy Data Explorer*, IEA, Paris <https://www.iea.org/data-and-statistics/data-tools/gender-and-energy-data-explorer>
- ^{xviii} 'Measures taken in the production and use of energy ... will lead to job losses of around 6 million as well as the creation of some 24 million jobs. The net increase ... will be the result of the adoption of sustainable practices, including changes in the energy mix, the projected growth in the use of electric vehicles, and increases in energy efficiency in existing and future buildings' (ILO 2018: 1). ILO 2018. *World Employment and Social Outlook 2018: Greening with jobs*. Geneva: ILO.
- ^{xix} Saget et al. 2020: 70-71. Saget, C., Vogt-Schilb, A. and Luu, T. 2020. *Jobs in a Net-Zero Emissions Future in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington DC and Geneva: Interamerican Development Bank and International Labour Organization.
- ^{xx} <https://sdg.iisd.org/news/irena-reports-that-strengthening-womens-roles-in-renewable-energy-is-key-to-achieving-multiple-sdgs/>

^{xxi} Michalikova, K. (2023), 'Climate change and gender: Redefining the European Just Transition', 16 January. <https://mondointernazionale.org/en/focus-allegati/climate-change-and-gender-redefining-the-european-just-transition>. Montúfar (2022) echoes this point: 'So far, the dominant approach to a just transition has revolved around the transition of predominantly male workers from fossil fuel industries to other jobs, including manufacturing and renewable energy generation.' Montúfar, V. (2022) 'A feminist just transition must be anti-patriarchal and decolonial' May 19. <https://publicservices.international/resources/news/a-feminist-just-transition-must-be-anti-patriarchal-and-decolonial?id=13045&lang=en>

^{xxii} Cited in Habersbrunner, K. et al. (2021), 'Gender Dimensions of the Energy Transition as an Important Pillar for Successful Climate Policy', in <https://eeb.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Report-16-1.pdf>

^{xxiii} <https://www.iea.org/articles/understanding-gender-gaps-in-wages-employment-and-career-trajectories-in-the-energy-sector>

^{xxiv} To this Michalikova (2023) adds: 'preferential hiring and promotion policies that have affected the representation of women (Williams et al., 2014)'. See Endnote 11.

^{xxv} For the full survey, see https://www.oecd-neo.org/jcms/pl_78831/gender-balance-in-the-nuclear-sector.

^{xxvi} Around 2.3 billion people were reliant on harmful and polluting fuels for cooking in 2022. IEA 2023 cited in cited in ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 2.

^{xxvii} https://pop-umbrella.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/324effe2-351f-48ed-b81a-b0837386be73_UNCSW66_Global_Unions_Statement_FINAL.pdf

^{xxviii} Ibid. (Global Unions Statement). Per Davies (2023): 'According to the FAO, women produce between 60 and 80 percent of the food in most developing countries', <https://www.fao.org/family-farming/detail/en/c/1634537/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%20FAO%2C%20women,is%20only%20recently%20being%20recognized>.

^{xxix} ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 27.

^{xxx} Ibid. (Global Unions Statement)

^{xxxi} The impact on health and other public sector workers is described in van Niekerk (n.d.).

^{xxxii} van Niekerk (n.d.).

^{xxxiii} https://www.wecaninternational.org/files/ugd/d99d2e_99f73731ae9d45bda45073daf7a16364.pdf (p. 7)

^{xxxiv} Daalen et al., 2022; UNFPA, 2023, cited in https://odi.cdn.ngo/media/documents/ODI_Where_next_for_FFP_on_tackling_the_Climate_Crisis_Final011223.pdf. Reasons include heightened socioeconomic instability and mental stress, as well as a deterioration in law enforcement and social services.

^{xxxv} <https://www.bsr.org/en/blog/gender-equity-in-the-just-transition-and-the-shift-to-green-jobs>

^{xxxvi} <https://www.bsr.org/en/blog/gender-equity-in-the-just-transition-and-the-shift-to-green-jobs>

^{xxxvii} <https://iufap.org/2022/12/16/founding-of-the-tnu-social-and-economic-justice/>

^{xxxviii} SENTRO or 'Sentro ng mga Nagkakaisa at Progresibong Manggagawa' translates to 'Center of United and Progressive Workers'.

^{xxxix} https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/documents/publication/wcms_867426.pdf

^{xl} ETUC (2020), <https://www.etuc.org/en/document/resolution-collective-bargaining-our-powerful-tool-close-gender-pay-gap>

^{xli} Jeeps are refurbished, World War II era, American military vehicles, used widely for public transportation in Philippines.

^{xlii} He went on to explain that tangibly this work involved both building the capacity of cooperatives technically – to manage the fleets, the finances, crowds as well as 'convincing our members that cooperativism is not just about dividends, but so much more. It's about the public goods, about identity, it's about trying to build the social economy'.

^{xliii} <https://iufap.org/2022/12/16/founding-of-the-tnu-social-and-economic-justice/>.

^{xliiv} Van Niekerk (n.d.).

^{xlv} For details of the relative language in the CSW agreement, see UN Women (2023), p. 4. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/11/policy-brief-a-gender-responsive-just-transition-for-people-and-planet>

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- ^{xlvi} Sensitization efforts have the more ambitious aim of changing the attitudes and behaviors of a particular group, often through the direct engagement of affected individuals.
- ^{xlvii} ILO (2015), Guidelines for a Just Transition, p. 10.
- ^{xlviii} van Niekerk n.d.
- ^{xlix} <https://publicservices.international/resources/campaigns/community-health-work-is-work?id=11393&lang=en>
- ^l <https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2021/11/26609.pdf>
- ^{li} https://www.unison.org.uk/content/uploads/2020/02/26042_leaflet.pdf
- ^{lii} See ETUC 2020 on discussion of these topics in the context of union contributions to gender equality.
- ^{liii} Interview with COSATU representative.
- ^{liv} https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/funding/just-transition-fund/toolkit-considering%20gender%20in%20regional%20transformations.pdf#:~:text=The%20task%20force%20aims%20to%20integrate%20gender,to%20promote%20women's%20rights%20and%20reduce%20inequalities, p.5.
- ^{lv} ILO, 2022n cited in ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 53.
- ^{lvi} ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#)
- ^{lvii} ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#)
- ^{lviii} van Niekerk (n.d.).
- ^{lix} <https://www.oecd.org/gender/collective-bargaining-and-gender-wage-gap-2020.pdf>
- ^{lx} See ETUC (2020) on bargaining for gender pay equity.
- ^{lxi} ILO, 2022n cited in ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 52-53.
- ^{lxii} In OECD countries, China, and India, health care accounts for 5% of the national CO₂ footprint, on average. Pichler, P.P., Jaccard, I.S., Weisz, U. and Weisz, H. (2019), International comparison of health care carbon footprints. *Environmental research letters* 14(6), p.064004.
- ^{lxiii} Van Niekerk n.d.
- ^{lxiv} https://www.nationalnursesunited.org/sites/default/files/nnu/documents/1123_01_ENG_COP28_GNU_State%20ment.pdf
- ^{lxv} See OECD 2020, <https://www.oecd.org/gender/collective-bargaining-and-gender-wage-gap-2020.pdf>, ETUC 2020.
- ^{lxvi} ETUC (2020: 1).
- ^{lxvii} Berglund, L. and Miles, J., 2022. British Columbia's community benefits agreement: Economic justice for indigenous workers in relation to union politics in urban infrastructure projects. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 13(2), pp.1-28.
- ^{lxviii} <https://www.industriall-union.org/women-in-stem-a-challenge-for-trade-unions>
- ^{lxix} https://natlex.ilo.org/dyn/natlex2/r/natlex/fe/details?p3_isn=110160, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/nurses-and-healthcare-assistants-accept-pay-equity-settlement/MTDFRJUNFBB3FHQ3IVFW42S2UY/>, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/pay-equity-milestone-achieved-midwives>, <https://www.sspa.org.nz/our-mahi/pay-equity-claim#:~:text=So%20we%20strongly%20welcomed%20the,are%20working%20in%20the%20community%20C>, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/teacher-aides-win-historic-pay-equity-wage-rises-of-23-to-34-per-cent/SQ6IWWC6Q5IC4ZQUNLJW5YAKW4/>
- ^{lxx} ILO 2023, [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#), p. 43.
- ^{lxxi} See <https://odi.org/en/publications/informal-is-the-new-normal-improving-the-lives-of-workers-at-risk-of-being-left-behind/> WIEGO work on pyramid, Stuart et al. 'Informal is the new normal'
- ^{lxxii} <https://ogletree.com/international-employment-update/articles/july-2020/philippines/2020-05-26/philippines-extends-maternity-leave-from-60-days-to-105-days/>
- ^{lxxiii} Silpakar, S. and Gurung, K. (2022), <http://tinyurl.com/mrxzrs9s>
- ^{lxxiv} <https://www.domesticworkers.org/>, <https://odi.org/en/publications/women-in-the-gig-economy-paid-work-care-and-flexibility-in-kenya-and-south-africa/>
- ^{lxxv} See Hunt and Samman 2020, women gig workers in Kenya & South Africa.
- ^{lxxvi} This paragraph draws on ILO 2023 unless otherwise stated. [Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide](#)

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- lxxvii https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_633135.pdf
- lxxviii https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_838653.pdf
- lxxix <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/11/policy-brief-a-gender-responsive-just-transition-for-people-and-planet>, p. 7.
- lxxx <https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/documents/Publications/Measuring%20time%20use.pdf>
- lxxxi <https://iufap.org/2022/12/16/founding-of-the-tnu-social-and-economic-justice/>
- lxxxii <https://www.thedoubleshift.com/heres-why-care-worker-unions-are-a-really-big-deal/>
<https://www.seiu2015.org/assembly-vote-brings-ihss-caregivers-closer-to-solving-home-care-crisis/?ref=thedoubleshift.com>
- lxxxiii Per ETUC 2020: Coherent action and strategic cooperation between collective bargaining and gender equality/women's committees must be ensured.
- lxxxiv <https://www.industriall-union.org/industriall-forms-gender-equality-task-force>
- lxxxv <https://www.tuedglobal.org/participating-unions-and-allies>
- lxxxvi OECD 2020.
- lxxxvii <https://www.oecd.org/publications/pay-transparency-tools-to-close-the-gender-wage-gap-eba5b91d-en.htm>
- lxxxviii <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/Inclusive-Adaptation.pdf>
- lxxxix van Niekerk (n.d.).
- xc ETUC (2020), <https://www.etuc.org/en/document/resolution-collective-bargaining-our-powerful-tool-close-gender-pay-gap>
- xci <https://www.industriall-union.org/women-in-stem-a-challenge-for-trade-unions>
- xcii <https://www.industriall-union.org/women-in-stem-a-challenge-for-trade-unions>
- xciii Smith, S. (2021), https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/CSW/66/EGM/Expert%20Papers/Samantha%20SMITH_CS66%20Expert%20Paper.pdf, <https://nabtu.org/twbn/>
- xciv <https://nabtu.org/twbn/>
- xcv van Niekerk n.d.
- xcvi ETUC (2020), <https://www.etuc.org/en/document/resolution-collective-bargaining-our-powerful-tool-close-gender-pay-gap>
- xcvii See, for example, <https://www.wiego.org/resources/wiego-world-africa>



The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions
Landsorganisasjonen i Norge
Torggata 12, 0181 Oslo
www.lo.no