

# Die sozial(politisch)e Dimension des *Just Transition Mechanism* der EU

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KATHARINA ZIMMERMANN, VINCENT GENGNAGEL

# Sozialpolitik in der Grünen Transformation

- Historische Entwicklung des Sozialstaats als „institutionelles Arrangement gesellschaftlicher Krisenbearbeitung“ (Lessenich 2008: 57)
- Umbau der Wirtschaft als Antwort auf Klimakrise – welche Rolle des Sozialstaats?

*„...die Bergbauleute, die die Steinkohle abgebaut haben. Deren Arbeitsplätze werden vernichtet und Studenten werden nach oben gespült. Klimapolitik bedeutet für den kleinen Mann, dass Arbeitsplätze im Bergbau nicht erhalten bleiben. Es wird eine Minderheitenpolitik gemacht für eine grüne Klientel. Der normale Mann bleibt auf der Strecke. Da wird auf nichts Rücksicht genommen.“ (Peter, FG3\_13.07.2022 – Unterschicht konservativ)*

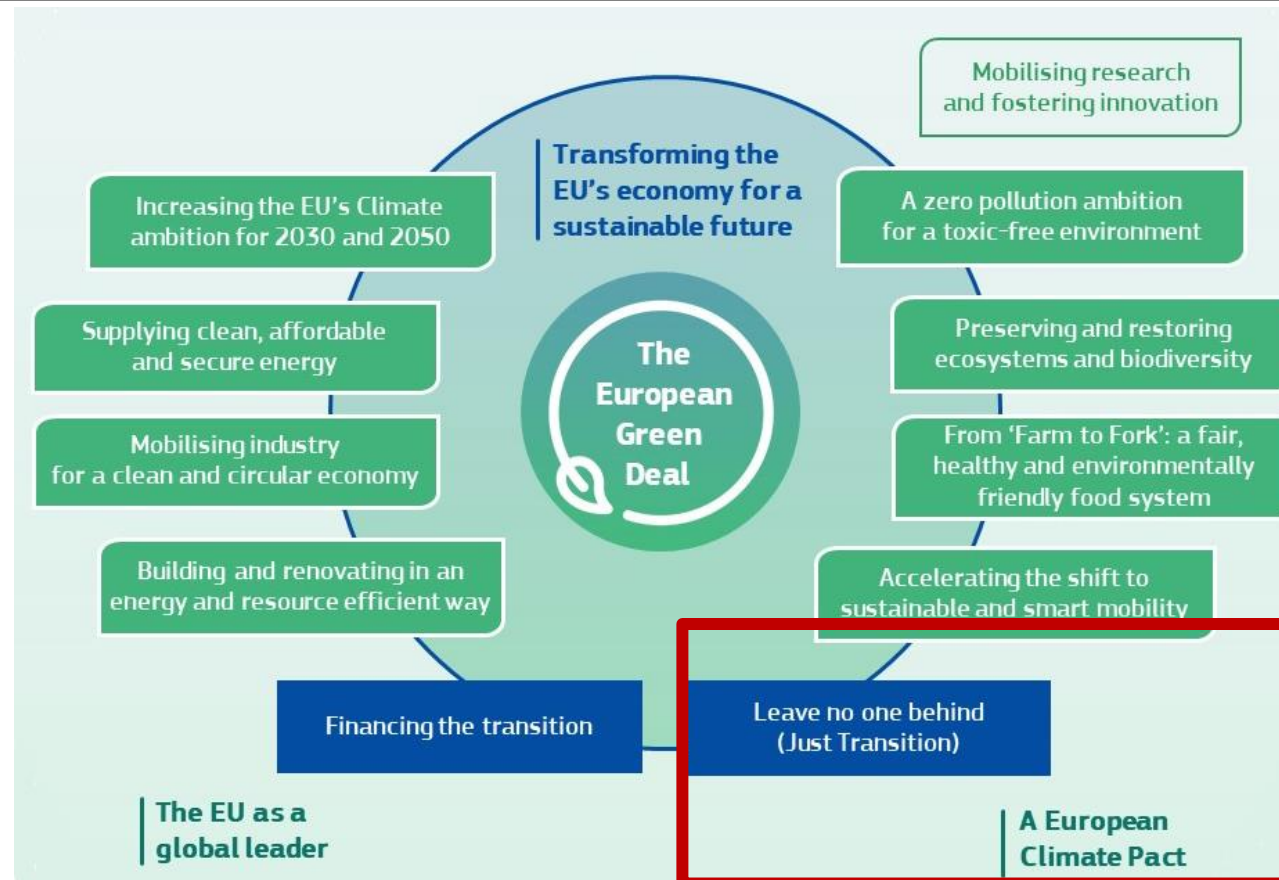
*„Unsere Kolleginnen und Kollegen haben [die Befürchtung], was ja am Ende auch so gekommen ist, dass man [...] versucht, ihnen die Arbeitsplätze zu nehmen. So, die Aktivisten wollen sowas wie eine globale Gerechtigkeit herbeiführen und sagen: „Also ihr müsst jetzt eure Arbeitsplätze verlieren, damit woanders dann kein Hochwasser ist.“ (Gewerkschaftsvertreter, NRW)*

# Sozialpolitik in der Grünen Transformation

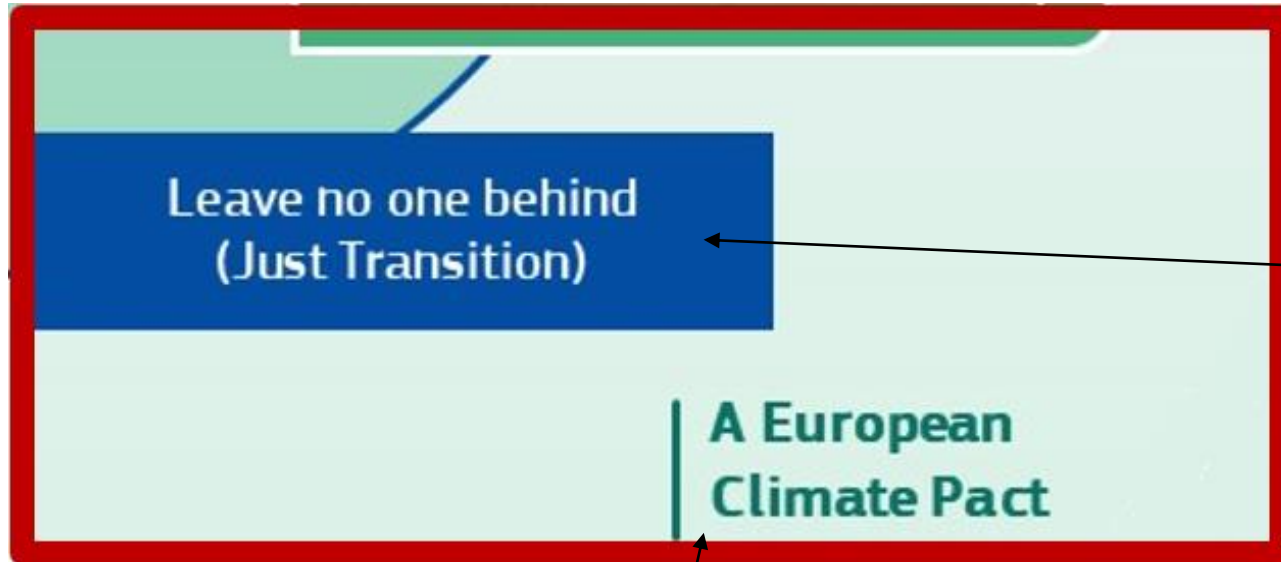
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- Welche gesellschaftliche Krisenbearbeitung (jenseits der de-facto Funktionalität der Politikinstrumente)?
- Welche Verteilungspräferenzen- & forderungen, Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen, Ungleichheitswahrnehmungen?
- Aktuell Debatten auf verschiedenen Ebenen; European Green Deal als vergleichsweise umfassend ausgearbeitetes Strukturwandelprojekt; „Just Transition“ als Schlagwort zur sozialstaatlichen Bearbeitung

# European Green Deal und „Just Transition“



# European Green Deal und „Just Transition“



“A new **Just Transition Fund** of €19.2 billion in current prices, is expected to mobilise around **EUR €25.4 billion** in investments”

“...to provide affordable solutions to those affected by **carbon pricing policies**, for example through public transport, as well as **measures to address energy poverty and promote re-skilling**. ... For companies and their workers, an **active social dialogue** helps to anticipate and successfully manage change..” (p. 16)

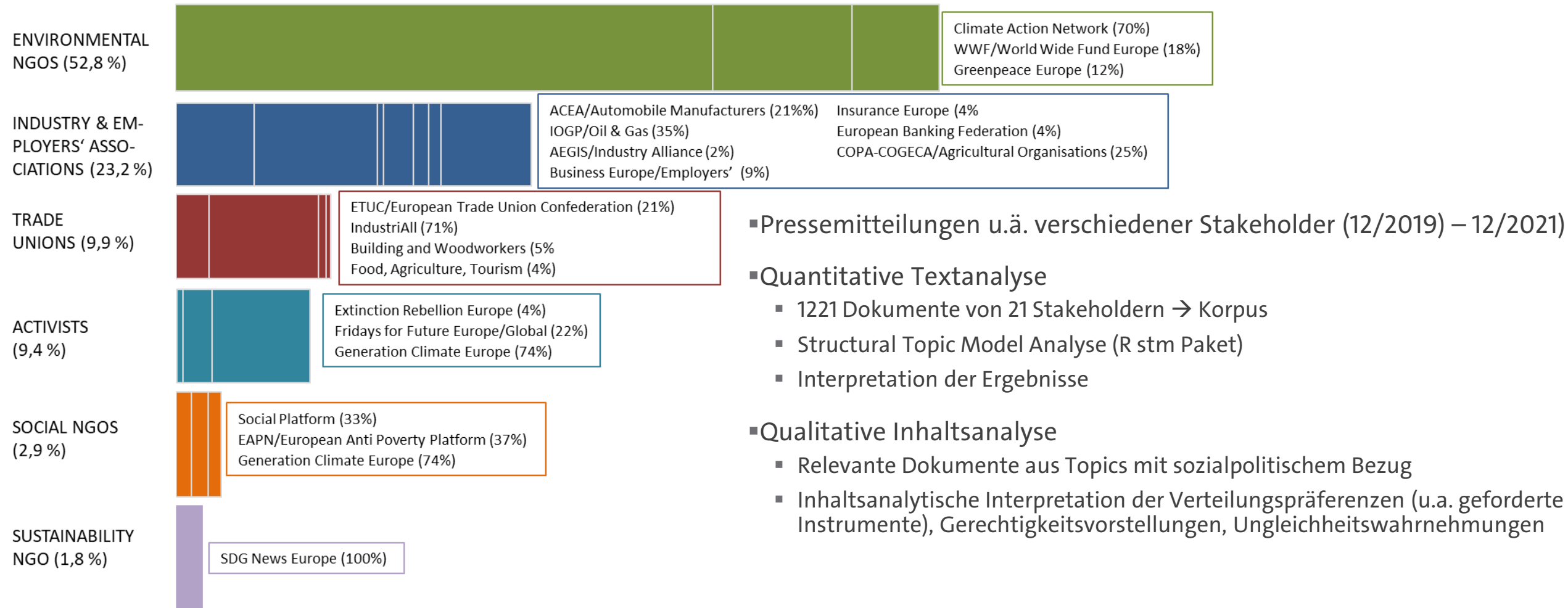
The **involvement and commitment of the public and of all stakeholders is crucial to the success of the European Green Deal**. Recent political events show that game-changing policies only work if citizens are fully involved in designing them. **People are concerned about jobs, heating their homes and making ends meet, and EU institutions should engage with them if the Green Deal is to succeed and deliver lasting change. Citizens are and should remain a driving force of the transition.** (p. 22)

# Fragestellung

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- Wie greifen verschiedene gesellschaftliche Stakeholder die sozial(politisch)e Dimension des Green Deal im Kontext einer “Just” Transition auf?
- Welche Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen, Verteilungspräferenzen und Ungleichheitswahrnehmungen bilden die Grundlage für Allianzen, aber auch Cleavages und disparate Zugriffe (welche Sozialpolitik, welche Sozialkritik)?

# Methoden

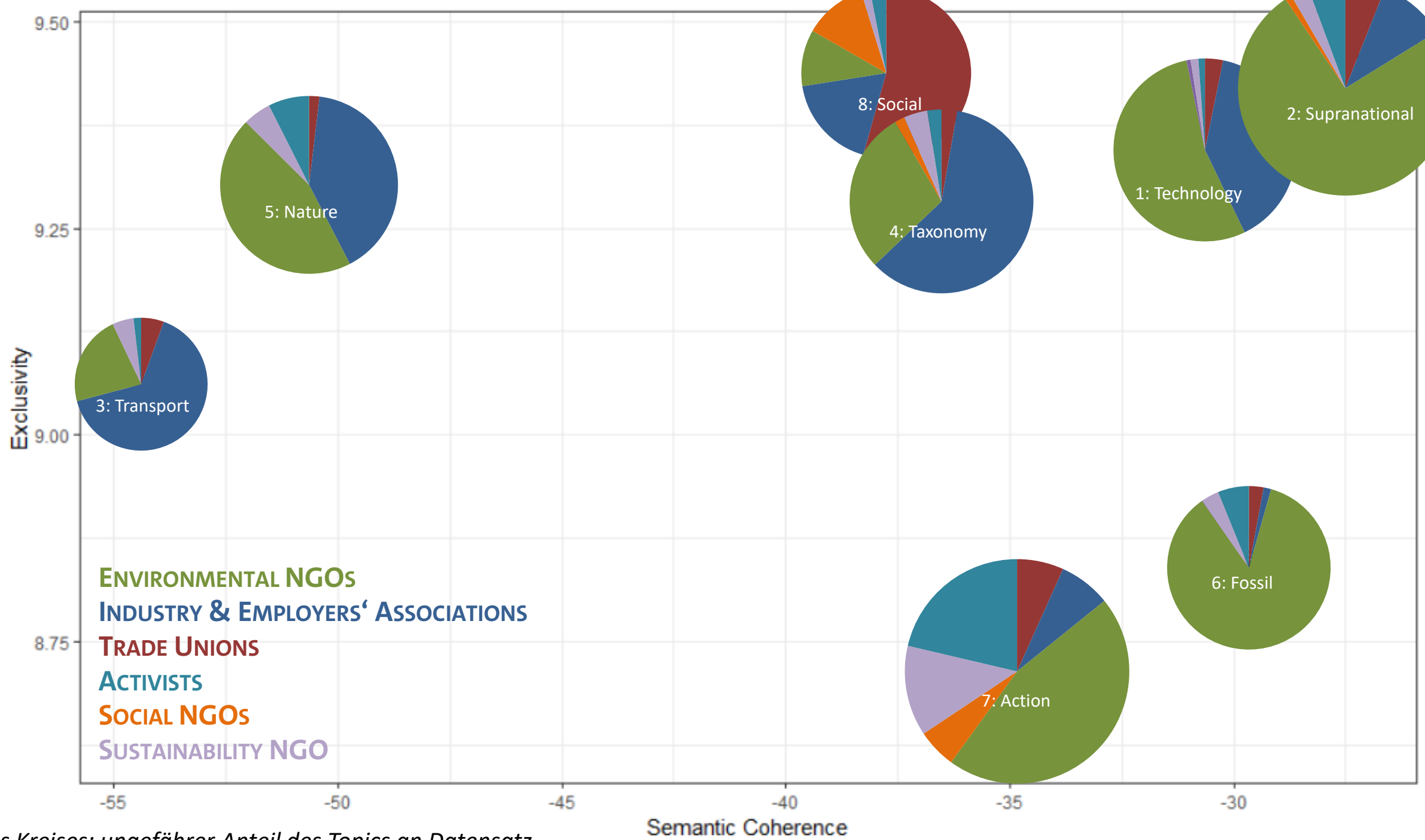


- Pressemitteilungen u.ä. verschiedener Stakeholder (12/2019) – 12/2021)
- Quantitative Textanalyse
  - 1221 Dokumente von 21 Stakeholdern → Korpus
  - Structural Topic Model Analyse (R stm Paket)
  - Interpretation der Ergebnisse
- Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse
  - Relevante Dokumente aus Topics mit sozialpolitischem Bezug
  - Inhaltsanalytische Interpretation der Verteilungspräferenzen (u.a. geforderte Instrumente), Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen, Ungleichheitswahrnehmungen

# Wozu äußern sich die Stakeholder: Topics

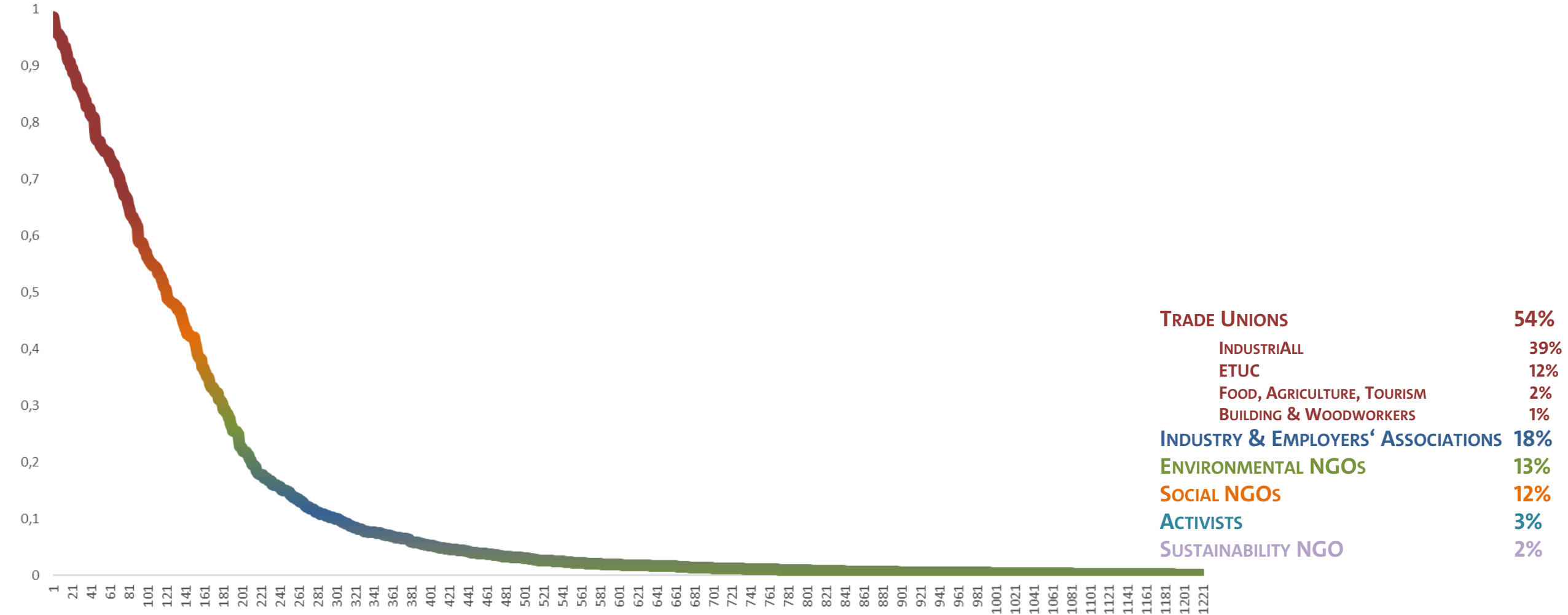
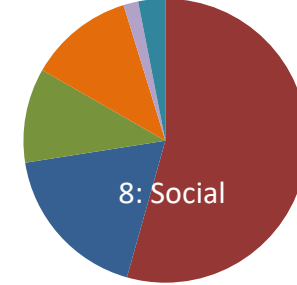
1: TECHNOLOGY	2: SUPRANATIONAL	3: TRANSPORT	4: TAXONOMY	5: NATURE	6: FOSSIL	7: ACTION	8: SOCIAL
energi	climat	transport	sustain	forest	fossil	climat	social
renew	target	carbon	report	european	energi	recoveri	european
gas	emiss	european	taxonomi	agricultur	coal	european	transit
hydrogen	action	emiss	requir	biodivers	fuel	econom	industri
emiss	need	vehicl	compani	farm	gas	peopl	worker
build	agreement	industri	activ	product	fund	sustain	europ
industri	european	car	commiss	strategi	european	green	just
need	increas	sector	implement	polic	plan	action	union
effici	reduct	infrastructur	develop	commiss	transit	crisi	trade
sector	countri	need	provid	cap	climat	chang	need
technolog	polic	charg	regul	sector	invest	environment	strategi
use	pari	also	european	food	state	europ	sector
europ	eu'	market	environment	farmer	pollut	economi	job
fuel	must	cbam	invest	natur	just	societi	support
carbon	financ	target	includ	propos	region	public	work
project	commit	truck	ect	ecosystem	project	develop	polic
infrastructur	least	year	object	need	green	support	must
system	ambit	road	support	sustain	commiss	futur	ensur
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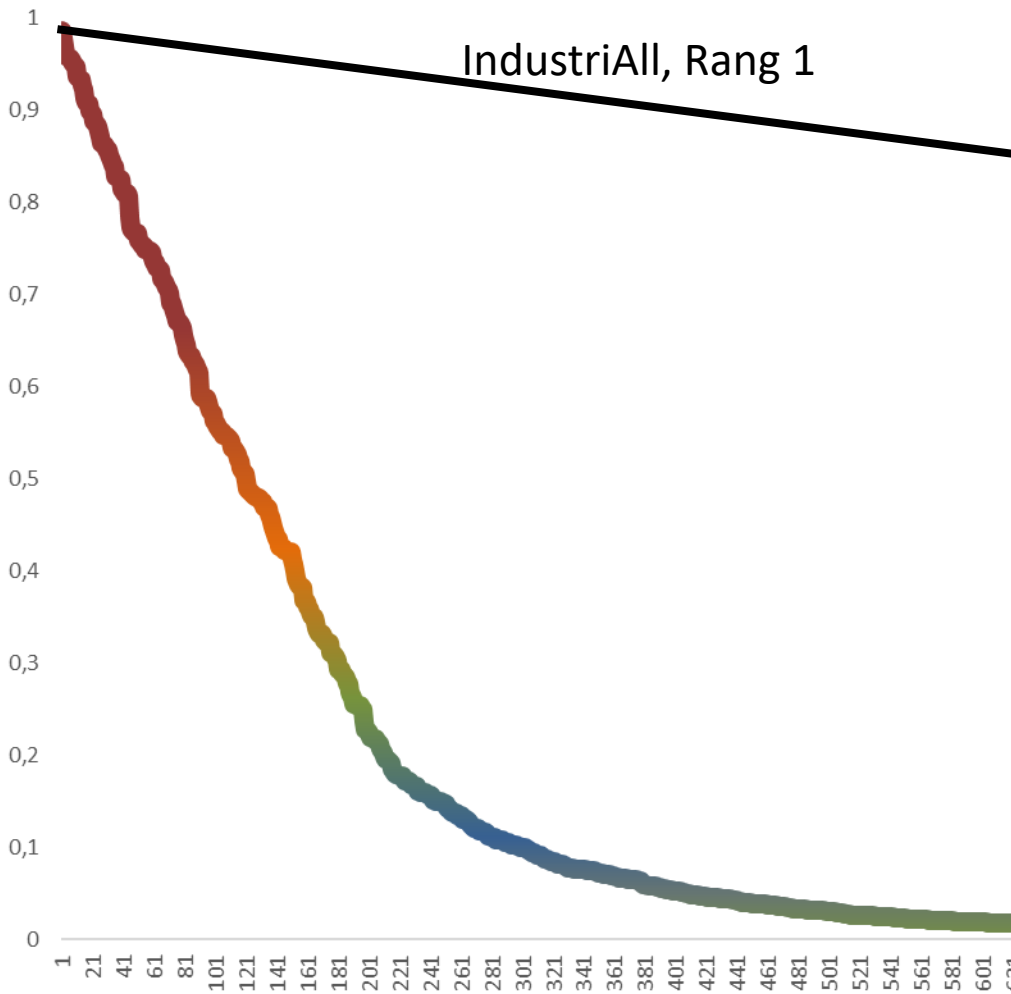
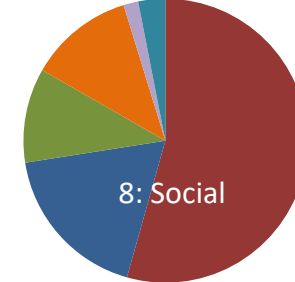


Größe des Kreises: ungefährer Anteil des Topics an Datensatz

# Welche Sozialpolitik? Topic 8

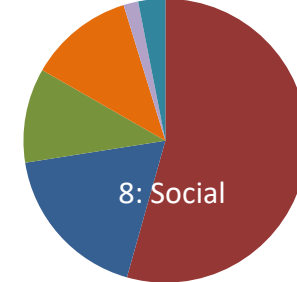


# Welche Sozialpolitik? Topic 8

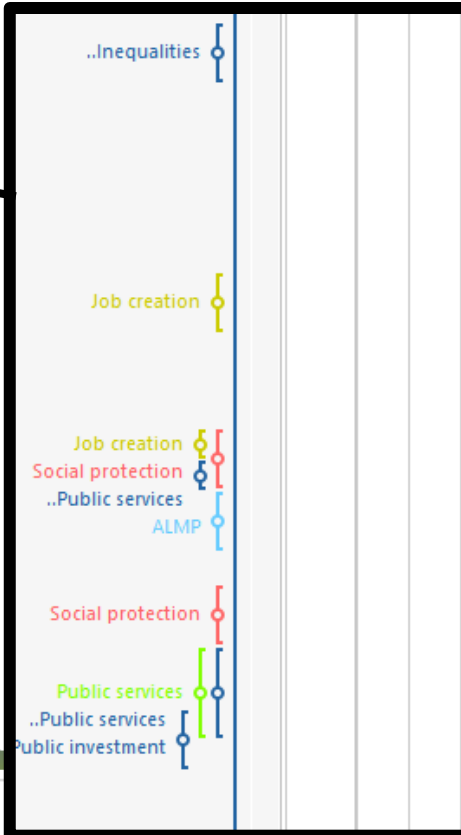
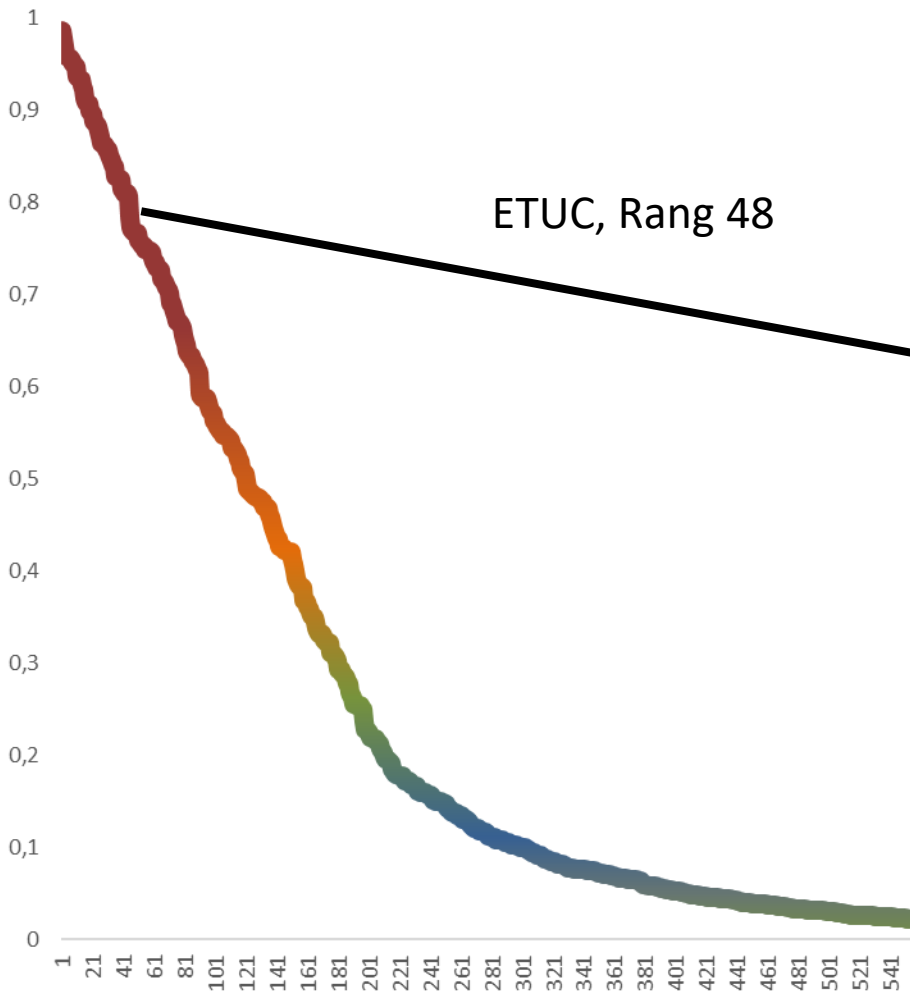


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in	22	Reskilling and upskilling Europe are high on the EU agenda. Several upcoming initiatives (e.g. individual learning accounts) are pushing Member States to adopt ambitious national skills strategies and funding for training. IndustriAll European Trade Union reacts to the training debate with a new position on 'Ensuring lifelong employability through training for future-proof occupational pathways.'
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str	4.	lifelong employability through training for future-proof occupational pathways.' The lack of adequate training will increase the polarisation of the labour market in terms of skills and qualifications
iAl	20	One of the buzzwords in the European Commission's recovery strategy from the COVID-19 crisis is "skills". Training, upskilling or reskilling are presented as key solutions to avoid massive unemployment due to the current crisis and the accelerated twin green and digital transformations. IndustriAll Europe agrees that skills are part of the solution, but highlights that training is not the silver bullet to solving these challenges. Training only makes sense in a job-rich environment. We also need a good industrial policy that leads to the creation of quality jobs, as well as adequate employment policies and fair social policies.
I	21	Training and life-long learning, including reskilling and upskilling, have been long-term priorities for industriAll Europe. Our national members have always been actively engaged in training efforts at all levels. However, the training challenge that we are facing now is unprecedented, because we need to train more people than ever at a much higher speed. Professions, jobs and the entire world of work are changing much faster than expected, due to the acceleration of the twin transformations caused by the COVID-19 crisis. We are facing an urgency for education and training that ensures reskilling and upskilling to equip workers for jobs in a transforming industry. Every worker must have the right to quality training and life-long learning. This right must be combined with future-proof occupational pathways to support the transitions between jobs and respond to the skills needs resulting from a rapidly transforming industry. Both are a must at the level of employment and labour market policies in order to fight unemployment, and to support virtuous competitiveness and social cohesion. Skills development is a shared responsibility between governments, employers, workers and their trade unions. Our demands towards each are listed in our position paper(i). Together with our members, we fight for the right to individual training for workers and for future-proof occupational pathways. Isabelle Barthes, industriAll Europe's Deputy General Secretary said: "For industry and companies to be competitive in a globalised world, education and training are critical to ensure the necessary skilled workforce. This is one of the main assets of the European social and economic models. The lack of adequate training will increase the polarisation of the labour market in terms of skills and qualifications. Social dialogue, collective bargaining and trade union involvement at all levels, as well as good framework policies, are critical to ensure quality education and training. Sectoral social partners are best placed to identify skills requirements. They need to be closely involved in the design and the implementation of training, upskilling, reskilling and life-long learning policies, as well as employability policies to ensure future-proof occupational pathways."



# Welche Sozialpolitik? Topic 8

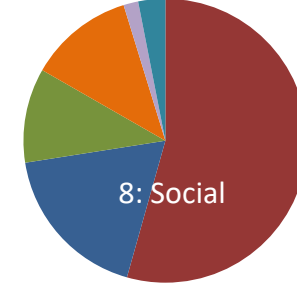


...properly managed in a fair and inclusive way, these two transitions could lead to many opportunities for the EU. However, if not anticipated, these changes could deepen existing inequalities between regions, sectors and people and result in the loss of many European jobs. The ETUC strongly believes that these major transitions are the two faces of the same coin and should be addressed jointly and coherently. It is important that climate policies reinforce digital policies and vice-versa. In both dimensions, the concept of just transition must be central. On 11 March, the European Commission will publish its EU industrial strategy proposal. This initiative will be instrumental in achieving the transition to a climate neutral and digital economy. Ahead of these publications, the European Trade Union Confederation calls on the Commission to include the following key demands in its proposal: Transversal messages The European Industrial Strategy should have a strong social dimension. **The main objective of the strategy should be to create and maintain employment** in the EU while reducing GHG emissions and accompanying workers, public sector and companies into a digital world. EU industrial strategy should provide sustainable opportunities and perspectives to those regions, sectors and workers most affected by the transitions and should guarantee that no one is left behind.

**This social dimension should be reflected by a strong emphasis on employment policies, social protection and the role of public services.** To allow workers to adapt to the tasks and jobs of the future, the EU industrial policy should foresee detailed mapping of skills on employment needs, adapted education and training programmes as well as re-skilling and up-skilling projects. It should make sure that all workers can benefit from these programmes and that they do not deepen existing inequalities such as gender, socio-economic, cultural or geographic. **A reinforcement of social protection mechanisms and labour rights should also be envisaged to support workers in their transition.** It should also be clear that industry relies heavily on the availability of good public administrations, solid legal systems, quality public infrastructures, public education, training and research, as well as other public services (such as elderly care, hospitals, etc.). **Investments in the public sector should therefore be an integral part of the EU industrial strategy.**

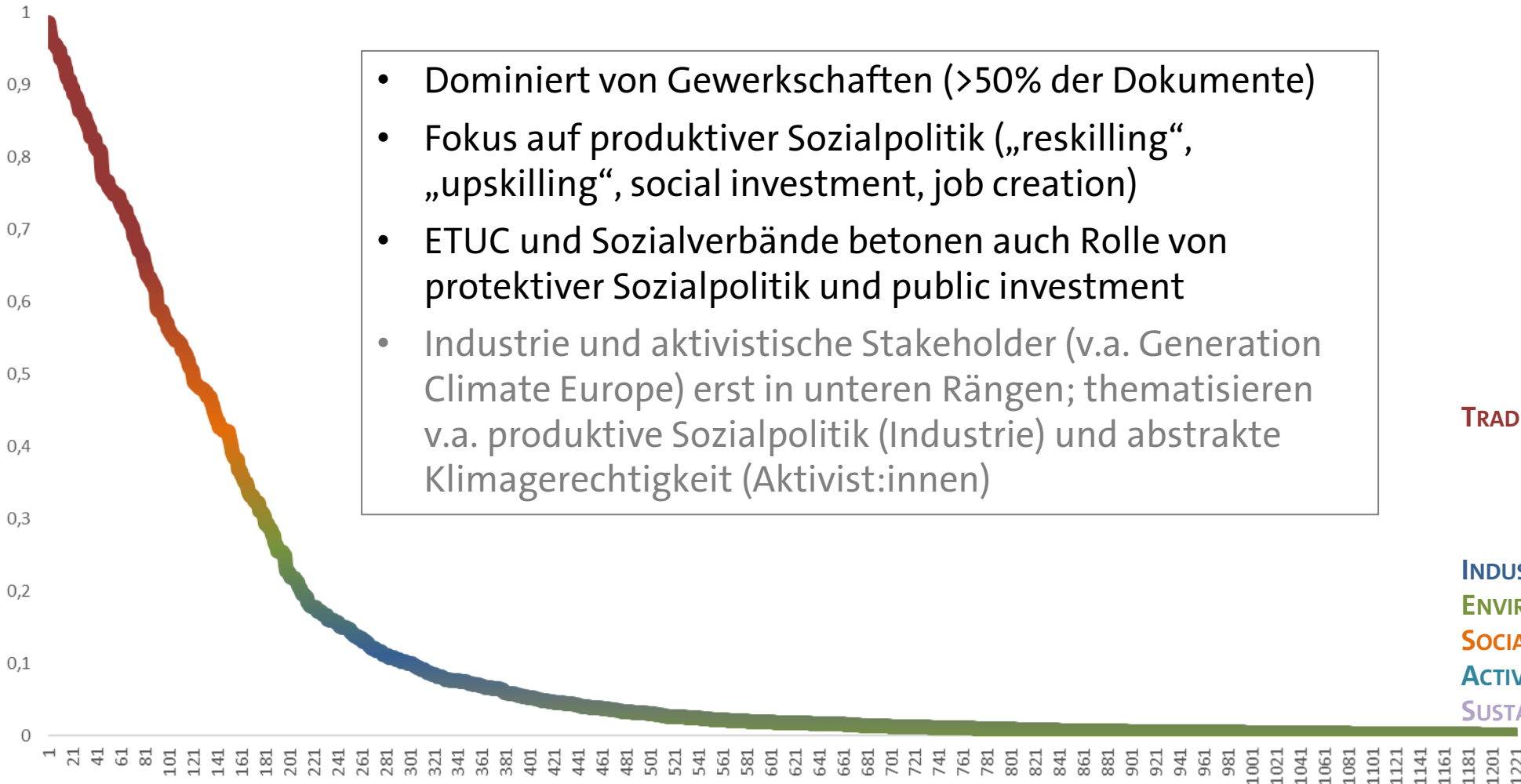
EU industrial strategy should be based on an inclusive governance process where social dialogue and trade unions have a key role. Workers are part of the solution, not of the problem. Trade unions are

# Welche Sozialpolitik? Topic 8

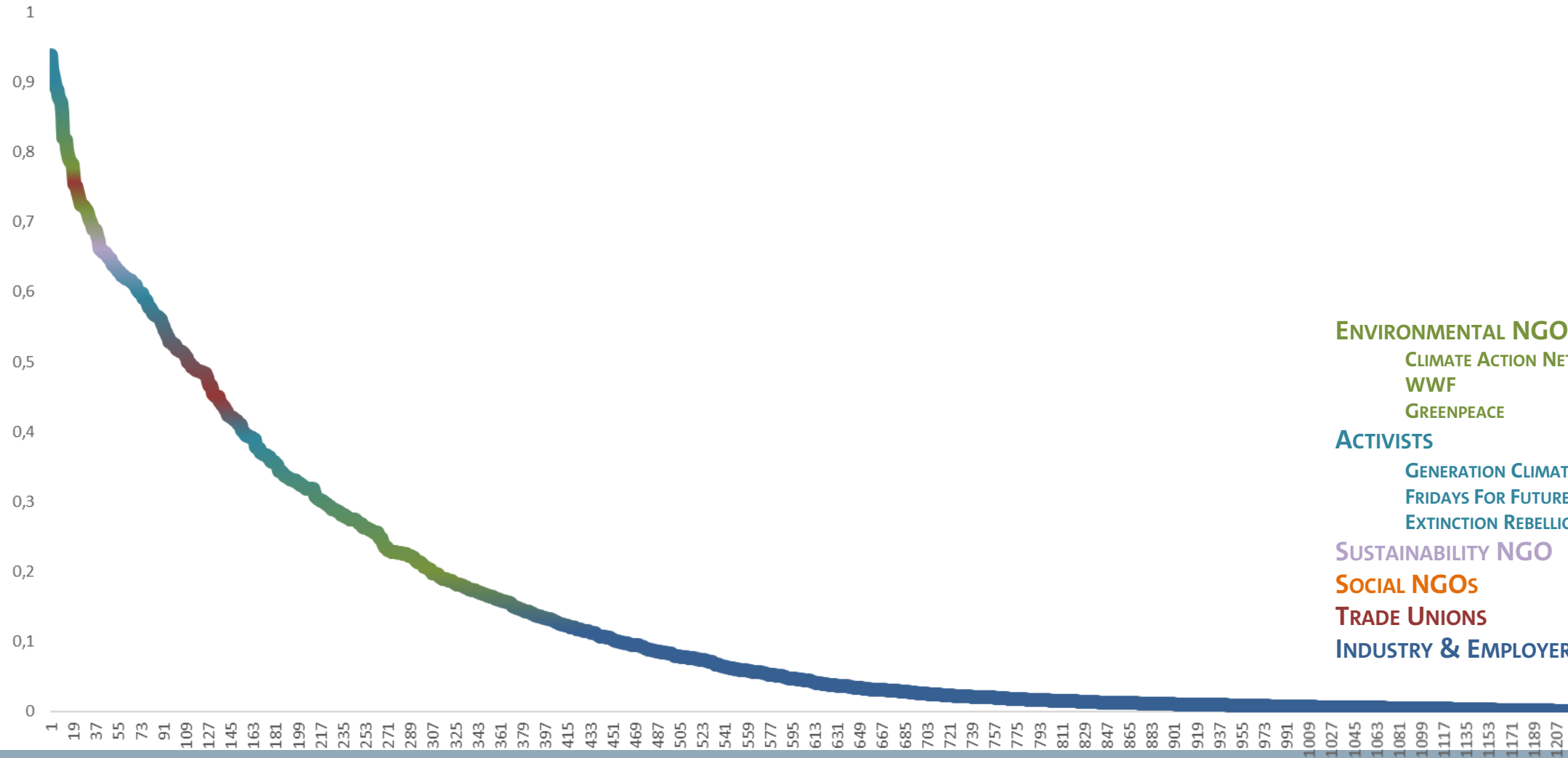
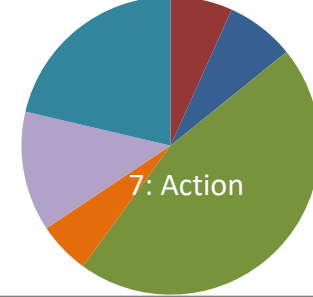


- Dominiert von Gewerkschaften (>50% der Dokumente)
- Fokus auf produktiver Sozialpolitik („reskilling“, „upskilling“, social investment, job creation)
- ETUC und Sozialverbände betonen auch Rolle von protektiver Sozialpolitik und public investment
- Industrie und aktivistische Stakeholder (v.a. Generation Climate Europe) erst in unteren Rängen; thematisieren v.a. produktive Sozialpolitik (Industrie) und abstrakte Klimagerechtigkeit (Aktivist:innen)

<b>TRADE UNIONS</b>	<b>54%</b>
INDUSTRIALL	39%
ETUC	12%
FOOD, AGRICULTURE, TOURISM	2%
BUILDING & WOODWORKERS	1%
<b>INDUSTRY &amp; EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS</b>	<b>18%</b>
<b>ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>SOCIAL NGOS</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>ACTIVISTS</b>	<b>3%</b>
<b>SUSTAINABILITY NGO</b>	<b>2%</b>

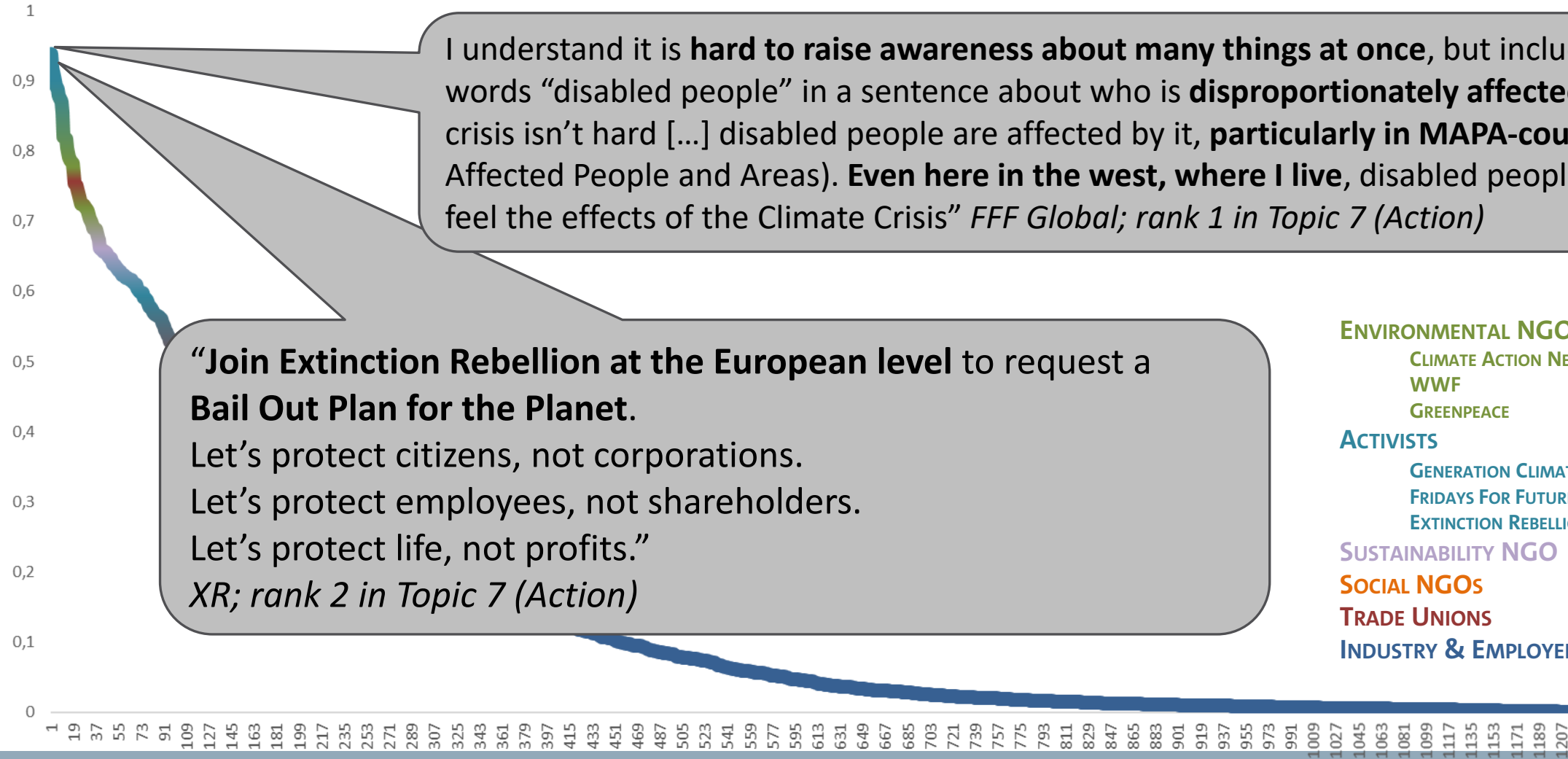


# Welche Sozialkritik? Topic 7



<b>ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs</b>	<b>46%</b>
CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK	29%
WWF	8%
GREENPEACE	8%
<b>ACTIVISTS</b>	<b>21%</b>
GENERATION CLIMATE EUROPE	5%
FRIDAYS FOR FUTURE	10%
EXTINCTION REBELLION	6%
<b>SUSTAINABILITY NGO</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>SOCIAL NGOS</b>	<b>6%</b>
<b>TRADE UNIONS</b>	<b>7%</b>
<b>INDUSTRY &amp; EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS</b>	<b>7%</b>

# Welche Sozialkritik? Topic 7



I understand it is **hard to raise awareness about many things at once**, but including the two words “disabled people” in a sentence about who is **disproportionately affected by the climate crisis** isn’t hard [...] disabled people are affected by it, **particularly in MAPA-countries** (Most Affected People and Areas). **Even here in the west, where I live**, disabled people are starting to feel the effects of the Climate Crisis” *FFF Global; rank 1 in Topic 7 (Action)*

**“Join Extinction Rebellion at the European level to request a Bail Out Plan for the Planet.**  
Let’s protect citizens, not corporations.  
Let’s protect employees, not shareholders.  
Let’s protect life, not profits.”  
*XR; rank 2 in Topic 7 (Action)*

<b>ENVIRONMENTAL NGOs</b>	<b>46%</b>
CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK	29%
WWF	8%
GREENPEACE	8%
<b>ACTIVISTS</b>	<b>21%</b>
GENERATION CLIMATE EUROPE	5%
FRIDAYS FOR FUTURE	10%
EXTINCTION REBELLION	6%
<b>SUSTAINABILITY NGO</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>SOCIAL NGOs</b>	<b>6%</b>
<b>TRADE UNIONS</b>	<b>7%</b>
<b>INDUSTRY &amp; EMPLOYERS’ ASSOCIATIONS</b>	<b>7%</b>

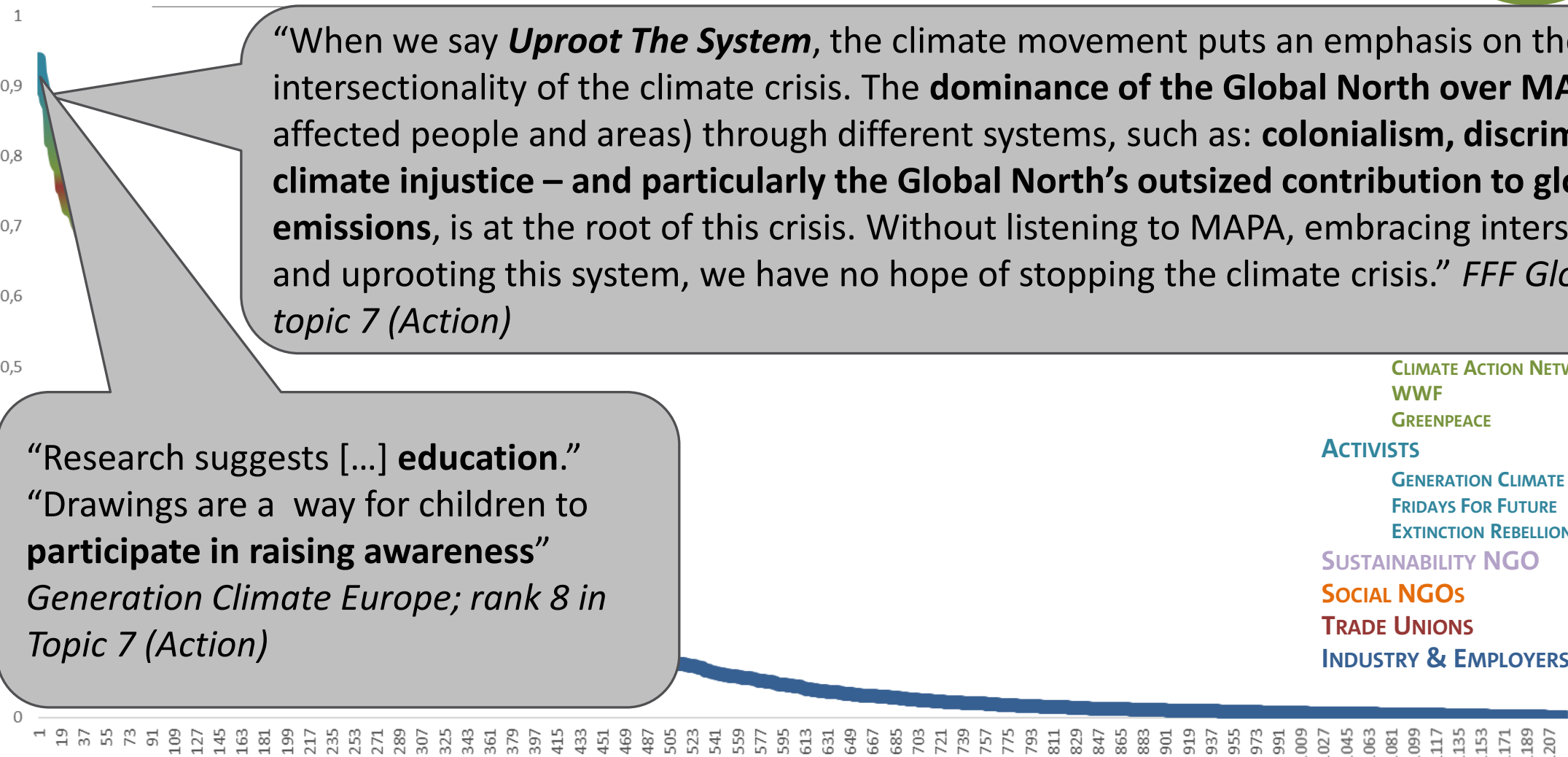
# Welche Sozialkritik? Topic 7



“When we say ***Uproot The System***, the climate movement puts an emphasis on the intersectionality of the climate crisis. The **dominance of the Global North over MAPA** (most affected people and areas) through different systems, such as: **colonialism, discrimination, and climate injustice** – and particularly the **Global North’s outsized contribution to global emissions**, is at the root of this crisis. Without listening to MAPA, embracing intersectionality, and uprooting this system, we have no hope of stopping the climate crisis.” *FFF Global, rank 9 in topic 7 (Action)*

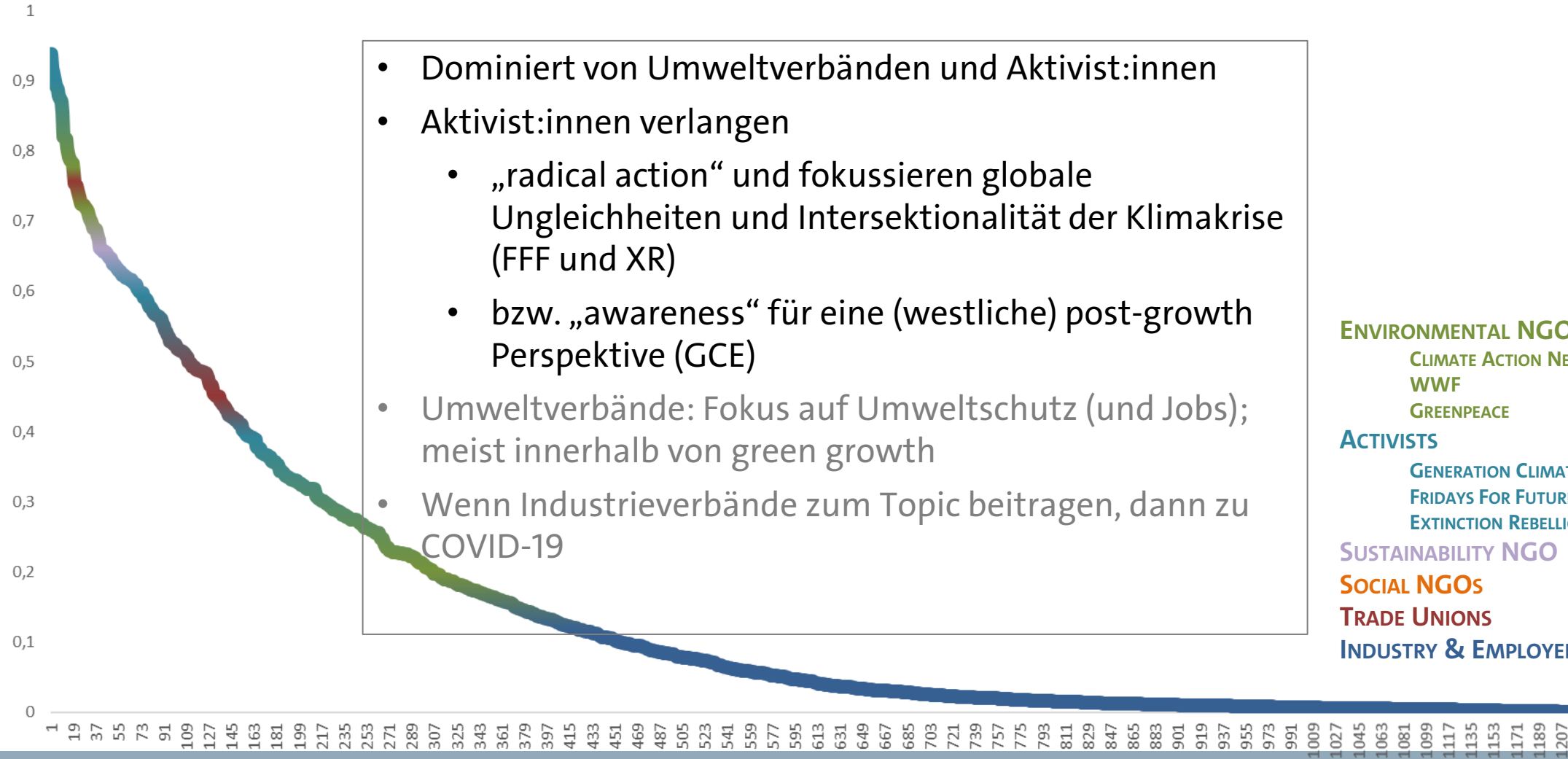
“Research suggests [...] **education.**”  
 “Drawings are a way for children to **participate in raising awareness**”  
*Generation Climate Europe; rank 8 in Topic 7 (Action)*

CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK	29%
WWF	8%
GREENPEACE	8%
<b>ACTIVISTS</b>	<b>21%</b>
GENERATION CLIMATE EUROPE	5%
FRIDAYS FOR FUTURE	10%
EXTINCTION REBELLION	6%
SUSTAINABILITY NGO	13%
SOCIAL NGOS	6%
TRADE UNIONS	7%
INDUSTRY & EMPLOYERS’ ASSOCIATIONS	7%





# Welche Sozialkritik? Topic 7



- Dominiert von Umweltverbänden und Aktivist:innen
- Aktivist:innen verlangen
  - „radical action“ und fokussieren globale Ungleichheiten und Intersektionalität der Klimakrise (FFF und XR)
  - bzw. „awareness“ für eine (westliche) post-growth Perspektive (GCE)
- Umweltverbände: Fokus auf Umweltschutz (und Jobs); meist innerhalb von green growth
- Wenn Industrieverbände zum Topic beitragen, dann zu COVID-19

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# Diskussion – Zwei Befunde zum *Just Transition* Diskurs

- a. Produktive Sozialpolitik dominant im Diskurs, wird aber mit protektiver Sozialpolitik zusammen gedacht
  - Im innereuropäischen Konflikt um soziale Folgen der Transformation (v.a. Jobs; tlws. auch Energiearmut etc.)
  - Fast ausschließlich von Gewerkschaften und Sozialverbänden
  - **Wird das Verhältnis von Aktivierung und sozialer Sicherung im „grünen Kontext“ neu verhandelt? Neu legitimierte Schutzbedürftigkeit?**
  
- b. Disparate Sozialkritik: Innereuropäische soziale Gerechtigkeit vs. soziale Folgen globaler Umweltkrisen
  - Wird als globaler Verteilungskonflikt wahrgenommen („Kohlejobs hier -> Hochwasser dort“)
  - Wenig gegenseitige Bezugnahme der jeweiligen Befürworter:innen, große „Fallhöhe“
  - **Was können (europäische?) Sozialstaaten in diesem Konflikt leisten?**
  - **Ökologisches Modernisierungsprojekt: geeignet als „institutionelles Arrangement gesellschaftlicher Krisenbearbeitung“?**

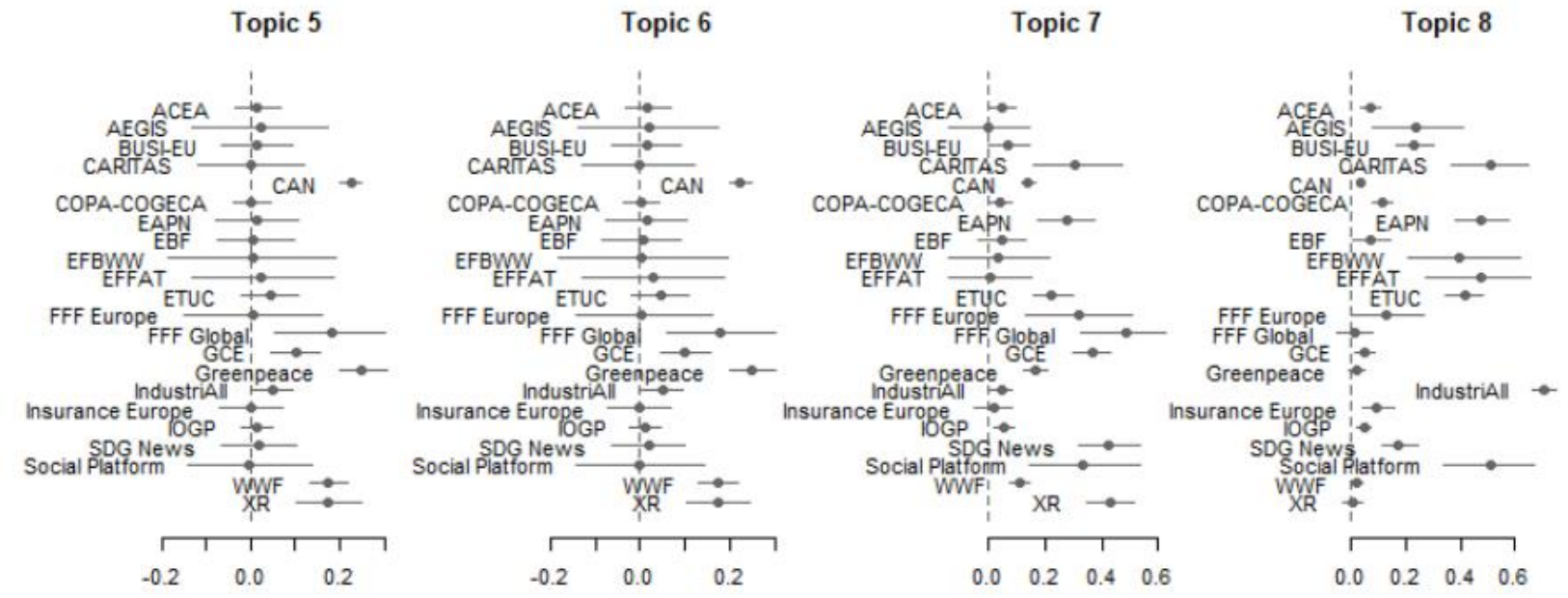
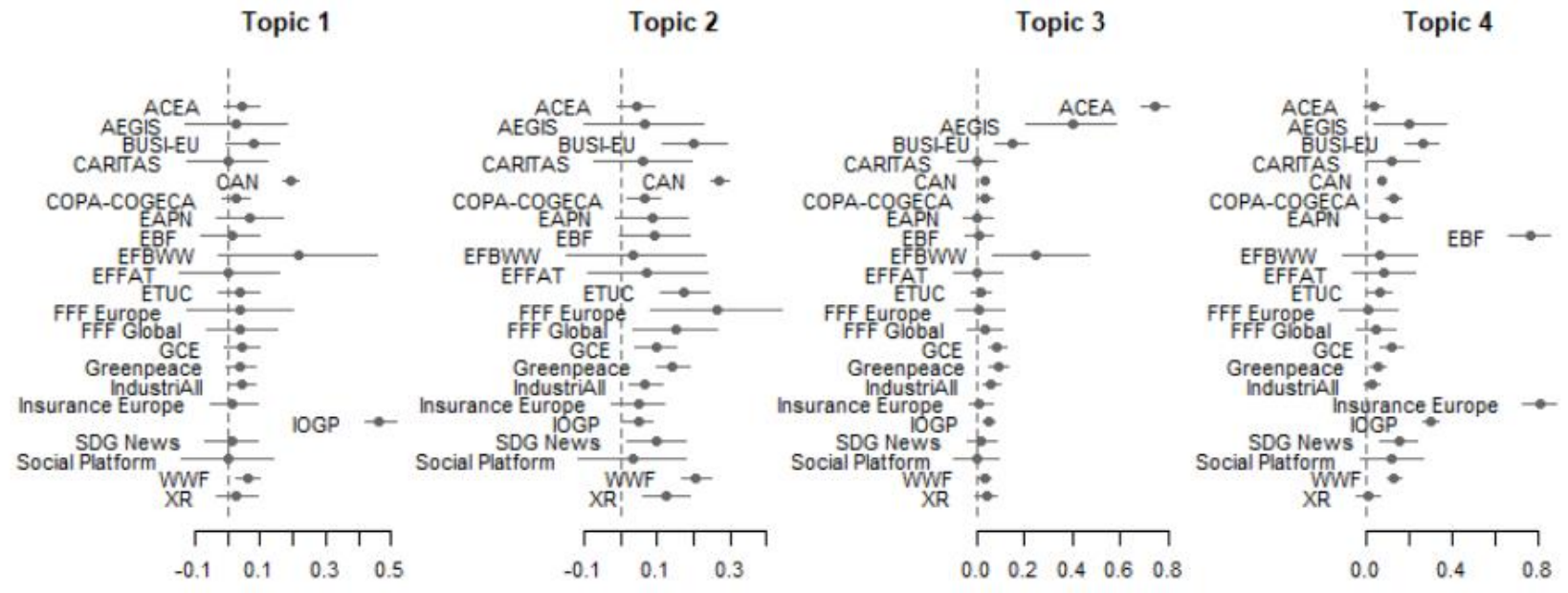
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Herzlichen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

# Thesen zum Ausblick

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- Starkes Konfliktpotenzial in Bezug auf sozial-ökologische Verteilungsfragen im globalen Kontext
- Geringes Potenzial für starke Allianzen pro integrierter sozial-ökologischer Politik und gemeinsame sozial-ökologische Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen
- Ökologisches Modernisierungsprojekt der EU (green growth) nicht geeignet als Interessenkompromiss; als traditioneller Klassenkompromiss vielleicht, als gesellschaftspolitischer nicht



# European Green Deal und „Just Transition“

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- European Green Deal als vergleichsweise umfassend ausgearbeitetes Strukturwandelprojekt; „Just Transition“ als Schlagwort zur sozialstaatlichen Bearbeitung
- Trotz schwacher Regulierungskompetenz von EU Sozialpolitik und Fokus auf „soft law“: (Angestrebte) Neuordnung des Verhältnisses von EU Social Model (produktiv) und nationalstaatlichen Sozialsystemen im Kontext European Green Deal?
- Legitimation des „green growth“ Strukturwandels durch Interessenausgleich im Rahmen einer „Just Transition“ – Impliziter Gesellschaftsvertrag unterhalb eines Verfassungsreferendums?
- Welche Interessen werden verhandelt, welche Interessenkonflikte werden sichtbar?