3. Climate policy in context I: countries within the EU

The research for this book establishes the role of employers’ organizations and trade unions in the climate change policy development process and was based on a qualitative study of the peak representative organizations of employers and workers in the policy process in the international, regional and domestic jurisdictional contexts. International climate change agreements frame the domestic policy process and the European regional policy and programmes are a mature and comprehensive suite of actions, taken up across the 28 member states and are at the forefront of climate change action globally. The eight countries chosen include three of the major industrialized economies in Europe, UK, France and Germany that are accordingly a major influence over European policy and make major contributions to the performance against targets. In selecting the other countries, the common threads that would impact the policy process were identified as the parliamentary and legal process, cultural influences and language. Australia, Canada, Singapore, India and Kenya shared these threads through their historical ties to the British Commonwealth.

The outcomes from the intergovernmental negotiations under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) reflect the terms of the commitment by the Parties to the Convention and the terms under which they will act in their domestic situation. At the 2015 Paris COP the Parties agreed to a range of legally binding conditions, voluntary commitments through their individually determined contributions, commitment to provide finance for mitigation and adaptation initiatives and the role of non-state actors (UNFCCC LPAA, 2016). Previously, the developed countries committed through Annex I of the Kyoto Protocol.

The European Union is a party to the Kyoto Protocol and has committed to ratifying the Paris Agreement. The EU acts in these matters on behalf of its 28 member states, which are bound by the EU’s commitment but can implement in accord with and as appropriate to their domestic circumstances. The EU has adopted the 2030 Climate and Energy Framework which sets three key targets for the year 2030 (Europa, 2016):
At least a 40 per cent cut in greenhouse gas emissions (from 1990 levels);
At least a 27 per cent share for renewable energy;
At least 27 per cent improvement in energy efficiency.

The framework was adopted by EU leaders in October 2014. It builds on the 2020 climate and energy package (Europa, 2010a). It is also in line with the longer term perspective set out in the Roadmap for moving to a competitive low carbon economy in 2050, the Energy roadmap 2050 and the Transport white paper. The EU provides a mature model of sustainability and climate change policy development, effective and considered advocacy in related international and intergovernmental fora and effective management and accountability of the member state activities, industry and the market, civil society and community awareness.

The UK, France and Germany are the largest economies in Europe. Each met their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol, have adopted the EU 2030 Climate and Energy Framework and have in place strategies to advance their commitment to a domestic sustainability agenda (Europa, 2016). The UK 2050 Pathway Analysis (DECC, 2010) and the Carbon Plan (DECC, 2011a), are implemented through the Climate Change Act 2008 and the Energy Act 2008. As such, they represent the UK’s vision and plans for reducing emissions, climate management and energy efficiency. In 2010, the French government adopted the programmes that emerged from its government-hosted stakeholder consultations, which became known as the Grenelle 1 and 2 outcomes (Euractiv, 2010), a strategy that applied across 13 sectors. Its labour market plan is the Green Growth Mobilisation Plan (Ministère de l’Écologie, 2010). To progress still further, during the environment conference of September 2013 the French authorities committed themselves to integrating sustainable development into all their policies. Since the 1980s, Germany has taken a leading role in climate change mitigation and adaptation. In December 2014, the cabinet adopted the Action programme on climate protection 2020. The Programme comprises nine main components, including the 2014 National energy efficiency action plan, as well as transport-specific measures, climate-friendly building and housing and a reform of emissions trading. A 2050 version of the programme is expected to be tabled in 2018, and will be updated every three years.
EUROPE

The European Union (EU) describes itself as a family of democratic European countries, committed to working together for peace and prosperity. The organization oversees co-operation among its members in diverse areas including trade, the environment, transport and employment (BBC, 2016).

The evolution of what is now the EU from a regional economic agreement among six neighbouring states in 1951 to today's hybrid intergovernmental and supranational organization of 28 countries across the European continent stands as an unprecedented phenomenon in the annals of history. For such a large number of nation-states to cede some of their sovereignty to an overarching entity is unique. Although the EU is not a federation in the strict sense, it is far more than a free-trade association such as Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the North African Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or Mercosur, and it has certain attributes associated with independent nations: its own flag, currency (for some members) and law-making abilities, as well as diplomatic representation and a common foreign and security policy in its dealings with external partners.

Internally, the 28 EU member states have adopted the framework of a single market with free movement of goods, services and capital. Internationally, the EU aims to bolster Europe's trade position and its political and economic weight. Despite great differences in per capita income among member states (from US$13,000 to US$82,000) and in national attitudes towards issues like inflation, debt, and foreign trade, the EU has achieved a high degree of coordination of monetary and fiscal policies (CIA, 2016).

The 1993 Maastricht Treaty, the treaty that forms the EU, provides for a highly competitive social market economy aiming at full employment, social progress and improvement of the environment (Europa, 2012c). EU Treaties are binding agreements with member states and set out the objectives and rules for the EU institutions and how decisions are made. Under the Treaties, the EU institutions can adopt legislation on which member states are required to act. The EU cannot propose law that is outside the scope of those Treaties. The laws of the EU function alongside the individual laws of each member nation. When there is conflict between the EU member nations’ law and EU law, EU law takes precedence (Eupolitix, 2013).

EU legislation on climate change has been characterized by a strategy of cooperation with the international community, compliance with the Kyoto Protocol and a will to maintain leadership through ambitious targets and
emission reduction mechanisms. The European Council endorsed the objective of reducing EU emissions of GHGs to 80 to 95 per cent below 1990 levels by 2050. The *Roadmap for moving to a competitive low carbon economy in 2050* (the Roadmap) was adopted by the European Commission in 2011. It describes a cost-effective pathway to reach this objective and gives direction to sectoral policies for all economic sectors, national and regional low-carbon strategies and long-term investments (LSE Grantham, 2015).


The main elements of the EU INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 are listed in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National circumstance</th>
<th>Contribution mitigation</th>
<th>Contribution adaptation</th>
<th>Fairness Review</th>
<th>Means to implement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The EU and its 28 member states</td>
<td>Binding target of at least 40% reduction in GHG emissions by 2030 compared to 1990</td>
<td>Domestic legally binding legislation in place for the climate and energy package</td>
<td>The target represents a significant shift beyond current undertaking of 20% reduction by 2020 and is in line with the EU objective to reduce emissions by 80–95% by 2050 cf 1990</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
represents European business in the international arena, ensuring that Europe remains globally competitive.

BusinessEurope supports an ambitious legally binding global agreement, which reflects the long-term objective of limiting global warming below 2°C. It advocates that development of a global carbon market should play a stronger role in the future. Economic instruments can best help to stimulate investment in innovative low-carbon technologies and products in locations where they deliver the greatest. It also fully endorses the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) as the cornerstone of EU climate policy. It is key to make the ETS work for every sector. This is true for the power sector that requires a carbon price that is meaningful to utilities decisions today and tomorrow. At the same time, the risk of carbon and investment leakage requires keeping strong protection measures for sectors on the global industrial market until main competitors have comparable carbon costs.


European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) membership is 89 national trade union confederations in 39 countries, plus 10 European trade union federations. The ETUC aims to speak with a single voice on behalf of European workers and have a stronger say in EU decision-making. It also aims to ensure that the EU is not just a single market for goods and services but is also a Social Europe, where improving the wellbeing of workers and their families is an equally important priority. The ETUC believes that this social dimension, incorporating the principles of democracy, social justice and human rights, should be an example to inspire other countries.

The ETUC’s action programme 2015–2019 provides that the ETUC will pursue the following objectives:

- The ETUC calls for a change to the European and global economic model, based on long-term investment, a stable but ambitious regulatory framework and a strong social dimension so as to bring about a ‘just transition’ to a green economy for all Europeans.
- A sustainable investment strategy for Europe.
- No funding for projects at odds with the EU’s environmental commitments.
Climate policy in context I: countries within the EU

- Development of a low-carbon and sustainable strategy for European industrial policies.
- A just transition policy framework with strong EU financial support, based on the five pillars of social dialogue, investment in quality jobs, greening of education, training and skills, trade union rights and social protection, to tackle climate change (mitigation and adaptation) both at European and international levels.
- An effective European energy community.
- A resource-efficient Europe.
- The greening of the labour market.

Recent published research and reports include: ‘ETUC position on the structural reform of the EU emissions trading system’ (ETUC, 2015a), ‘A new path for Europe: ETUC plan for investment, sustainable growth and quality jobs’ (ETUC, 2013a), ‘European business, local authorities, civil society and trade unions want EU leaders to live up to their Paris commitments’ (ETUC, 2015b), ‘ETUC declaration on the Paris Agreement on climate change’ (ETUC, 2016), ‘ETUC key demands for the Climate COP21’ (ETUC, 2015c), and ‘Climate change: Implications for employment’ (Scott, 2014).

In the global sphere, the ICC and the ITUC are the principal representative organizations of business, employers and workers. Whereas the ICC and ITUC participate as civil society, BusinessEurope and the ETUC have a role as advisors to the European Commission as a Party to the COP. Combined, they are formidable representatives of their constituents who could not otherwise achieve this level of engagement. In EM terms, they serve as strong and effective civil society advocates.

Europe is a case study of this research and is reported in detail at Chapter 5. It is a leader in climate change policy and demonstrates a culture that is sensitive to the environment and all aspects of environmental management, with social and economic development including a mandated role for civil society. In that sense, Europe provides a model of very strong EM.

UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom is made up of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It has a long history as a major player in international affairs and fulfils an important role in the EU, UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Britain was the world’s first industrialized country. Its economy remains one of the largest, but it has for many years been based on service industries rather than on manufacturing. The
process of deindustrialization has left behind lasting social problems and pockets of economic weakness in parts of the country (BBC, 2016). The UK, a leading trading power and financial centre, is the third largest economy in Europe after Germany and France. Agriculture is intensive, highly mechanized and efficient by European standards, producing about 60 per cent of the country’s food needs with less than 2 per cent of the labour force. The UK has large coal, natural gas and oil resources, but its oil and natural gas reserves are declining and the UK has been a net importer of energy since 2005. Services, particularly banking, insurance, and business services, are key drivers of British GDP growth. Manufacturing, meanwhile, has declined in importance but still accounts for about 10 per cent of economic output (CIA, 2016).

This brief introduction to the UK climate change policies and strategies is supported by a major case study at Chapter 6. The UK 2050 Pathway Analysis (DECC, 2010) and the Carbon Plan (DECC, 2011a) are implemented through the Climate Change Act 2008 and the Energy Act 2008. As such, they represent the UK’s vision and plans for reducing emissions, climate management and energy efficiency. The long-term perspective offers some certainty for decision-makers against the potential short-termism in policy and facilitates regulatory coherence. These initiatives are considerate of the need for industry to remain competitive and to innovate (Glynn, 2014).


The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) is the main representative body for business in the United Kingdom. CBI is a confederation of 140 trade associations, alongside larger and medium-sized businesses who tend to join the CBI directly and represents 190,000 businesses. The CBI’s mission is to promote the conditions in which businesses of all sizes and sectors in the UK can compete and prosper for the benefit of all. Function and objectives as set out in the Royal Charter are to provide for
British industry the means for formulating, making known and influencing general policy in regard to industrial, economic, fiscal, commercial, labour, social, legal and technical questions, to act as a natural point of reference to those seeking industry’s views and to develop the contribution of British industry to the national economy.

On climate change, the CBI has established the Energy and Climate Change Board with the aim of working with the government to set the right conditions to attract investment in low-carbon solutions and drive consumer demand for sustainable products. At August 2016, the board members include the chief executive of Infinis; chairman of Shell UK; vice chairman of Barclays Corporate; chief executive of BT Consumer; chief executive of Siemens plc; and chief executive of Tata Steel. The Board is supported by professional staff. Recent published research and reports include: ‘Setting the bar’ (CBI, 2015a), ‘Priorities for new government’ (CBI, 2015b), ‘Effective policy, efficient homes’ (CBI, 2015c), ‘Small steps, big impact’ (CBI, 2015d), ‘A climate for growth’ (CBI, 2014a), ‘Business and public attitudes towards UK energy priorities’ (CBI, 2014b), ‘Climate change and business: The role of business’ (CBI, 2012a), and ‘The colour of growth’ (CBI, 2012b).

The CBI generates credible and well researched reports, and it communicates regularly with its membership on these issues and declares its opinion is placed before the responsible people in government. That said, the media are not responding and further enquiries within government have failed to establish whether it has traction in the framing of policy.

The UK Trades Union Congress (TUC) is the peak trade union organization, with membership by 52 sectoral and occupational trade unions. The TUC reports that its objective is to raise the quality of working life and promote equality for all. The mission is to be a high-profile organization that campaigns successfully for trade union aims and values, assists trade unions to increase membership and effectiveness, cuts out wasteful rivalry between unions; and promotes trade union solidarity. This broadly reflects the formal objectives recorded at Rule 2 in the Unions Rules and Standing Orders.1

The TUC’s presence on climate change, sustainability and the environment and in its resources available to the union movement and the public is surprisingly narrow. Its website offers references to its Green Workplaces programme (TUC, 2016a) and the environment (TUC, 2016b), which largely refers back to Green Workplaces, a project initiated in 2009 to train green workplace representatives. It supported the outcome from the UNFCCC Paris COP 21 and called on the government to upgrade its efforts, citing the ITUC commitment to the COP 21 outcome on behalf of the broader union movement.

The TUC’, consistent call since the creation of the Green Workplaces...
Business, organized labour and climate policy

programme has been for statutory rights for trade union environment representatives, both in terms of training and facility time. Those rights are to include reasonable time off during working hours to promote sustainable workplace initiatives, carry out environmental risk assessments and audits, consult and receive relevant training. There is nothing to indicate that these demands are achieving traction in industry or with government. Recent published research and reports include: ‘Green collar nation: a just transition to a low carbon economy’ (Garman and Pearson, 2015); and ‘GreenWorkplaces news’ (TUC, 2015).

In summary, it is still to be established whether the TUC has moved beyond the first flush of inspiration and it appears government funding was removed in 2009. The website references are based on activities at that time and it is reasonable to expect that any interest and engagement from the membership is a reflection of activities of their employer or local circumstance.

In the context of ecological modernization, the UK has adopted an optimum EM model, subject to constraints; however, effective engagement with all stakeholders across civil society could be enhanced and the process more transparent. It has fully taken up the EU’s climate and energy package and has a comprehensive suite of regulations, programmes and accountability. The impact of Brexit on adhering to this optimum model remains to be seen.

FRANCE

France has the Eurozone’s second largest economy and is a leading industrial power but has struggled to emerge from the recession since 2008 (BBC, 2016). With more than 84 million tourists per year, France is the most visited country in the world and maintains the third largest income in the world from tourism (CIA, 2016). France today is one of the most modern countries in the world and is a leader among European nations. It plays an influential global role as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, NATO, G7, G20, EU and other multilateral organizations. The French economy is diversified across all sectors. The government has partially or fully privatized many large companies, including Air France, France Telecom, Renault and Thales. However, the government maintains a strong presence in some sectors, particularly power, public transport and defence.

Like many of the developed countries in the EU, the French have been positive in their efforts to introduce measures to effectively manage the environmental and climate change issues confronting the continent. It has embraced the EU’s climate and energy framework and moved beyond its
renewable energy targets. It has also recently announced its intention to include a carbon tax in its autumn 2016 budget, a proposal that would tax EU ETS and non-ETS sectors from 2017 in an effort to set a minimum domestic carbon price of at least 30 euros per tonne. The current traded price for carbon is less than 10 euro (Carbon Pulse, 2016b).

The French government adopted the programmes that emerged from its government-hosted stakeholder consultations, which became known as the Grenelle I and 2 outcomes (Euractiv, 2010). The strategy applies across 13 sectors: building, planning, transportation, energy, water, agriculture, biodiversity, health risks, waste, research, consumption, governance and overseas (Euractiv, 2010). Its labour market plan is the Green Growth Mobilisation Plan (Ministère de l’Écologie, 2010), which addresses jobs growth and is coordinated across the education, business and regional development portfolios.

The French government’s Grenelle Plan-Bâtiment plans the progressive scaling up of capacity to renovate 400,000 units per year by 2013 and 800,000 of the houses that currently use the most energy by 2020. By 2012, all new buildings were to be low power and to be ‘positive energy’ by 2020 (ADEME, 2011). The draft Bill for the law for energy transition and green growth of 2015 organizes several steering tools to achieve transition, such as the development of renewable energy, development of a recycling economy and energy demand control, especially in the residential and transport sectors (LSE Grantham, 2015).

The French government hosted the UNFCCC 2015 COP (Conference of the Parties), which had the responsibility to agree the next generation treaty to succeed the Kyoto Protocol, a mandate that was fulfilled with the adoption of the Paris Agreement and the Lima Paris Action Agenda.

The principle legislative and policy instruments of the French government are the Farming, Forest and Alimentation Framework No. 2014-1170, Grenelle II 2010, Grenelle I 2009, Energy Policy Framework (POPE, No. 2005-781) 2005, Climate Plan (Policy framework) 2013 and the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan 2011. The government supported the EU INDC that was submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 as its intended commitment in the post-Kyoto period. The main elements of the EU INDC are noted in the EU profile above.

The peak business association, Mouvement des Entreprises de France (Movement of the Enterprises of France, MEDEF) MEDEF, is also the peak employers’ organization. MEDEF represents over 750,000 companies of all sizes throughout the country. MEDEF’s 76-member trade federations represent their members with French and European public authorities and in the media to bring attention to the profession’s concerns. They analyse and protect their technical, legal and financial interests. They
also oversee their sector’s collective bargaining agreement and consult with their partners, employee unions, consumer groups and mediation organizations, among others. In 2015 MEDEF was advocating four key reforms: restoring the conditions for the competitiveness of the economy, implementing a real movement to reduce public spending, reconciling business, the economy and French society and setting a course and define a road map for reform.

MEDEF is active on domestic climate change policy and also through BusinessEurope. The three tools for its representations are the Sustainable Development Centre, which aims to make competitiveness central to the energy mix and security of supply policies, promote energy efficiency and the fight against climate change; the Environment Committee, which aims to integrate competitiveness into environmental policies; and the Corporate Social Responsibility Committee. Recently published research and reports include: ‘Entreprises et biodiversité comprendre et agir’ (MEDEF, 2013), ‘Guide sur les initiatives RSE sectorielles première edition’ (MEDEF, 2014), ‘Joint statement high-level business summit on energy and climate change’ (MEDEF, 2015a), and ‘Le MEDEF lance le manifeste des entreprises pour la conférence climat Paris 2015 (COP 21)’ (MEDEF, 2015b).

The Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) is acknowledged as the largest of the five trade union confederations in France. It is largest in terms of electoral votes but second largest by member numbers. Membership is open to all employees, women and men, active, private employment and retired, regardless of their social and professional status, nationality, political opinion, philosophical and religion. Its purpose is to defend their rights and professional interests, moral and material, social and economic, individual and collective. Taking into account the fundamental antagonism and conflicts of interests between employees and employers and between needs and profits, the CGT fights capitalist exploitation and all forms of exploitation of wage labour.

On sustainability and climate change it has a dedicated staff appointment, although it still relies on its peak European and international trade unions for leadership and advocacy. On domestic policy it is involved on climate change mainly as it impacts direct workplace and labour management issues.

In the ecological modernization context, France follows an optimum EM model, which is close to excellent, with engagement across all stakeholders and with well-resourced commitments to the regional and international efforts. Its leadership as host of the 2015 COP was a significant contribution to the outcome and is notable for extending engagement beyond the legally binding Agreement, with the other pillars of voluntary commitments by the Parties, finance and NSAs.
GERMANY

Germany is Europe’s most industrialized and populous country. Germany has become the continent’s economic giant and, as a prime mover of European cooperation Europe’s largest economy, is the main player in the EU and a proponent of closer integration. Germany’s economic success is to a large extent built on its potent export industries, fiscal discipline and consensus-driven industrial relations and welfare policies. It is particularly famed for its high-quality and high-tech goods (BBC, 2016).

Following the March 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster, Chancellor Angela Merkel announced in May 2011 that eight of the country’s 17 nuclear reactors would be shut down immediately and the remaining plants would close by 2022. Germany plans to replace nuclear power largely with renewable energy, which accounted for 27.8 per cent of gross electricity consumption in 2014, up from 9 per cent in 2000. Before the shutdown of the eight reactors, Germany relied on nuclear power for 23 per cent of its electricity generating capacity and 46 per cent of its base-load electricity production (CIA, 2016).

Germany has taken a leading role in climate change mitigation and adaptation since the 1980s. Traditionally, all political parties support action on climate change and the (non-legally binding) short-term national emission reduction target of at least 40 per cent reduction in GHG emissions by 2020 compared to 1990 levels was reiterated in the 2013 coalition agreement (LSE Grantham, 2015).

In December 2014 the cabinet adopted the Action programme on climate protection 2020, which aims to reduce GHG emissions by 62–78 million tonnes CO₂-equivalent by 2020 (as compared to current projections). In the foreword to the Programme, the Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety, Barbara Hendricks, reported:

[T]hat cutting greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40 per cent below 1990 levels is the ambitious target Germany has committed itself to for 2020. Our National Inventory Report showed that we had achieved a 24.7 per cent reduction in 2012 and further cuts will follow as a result of measures we put in place before 2014. Dealing with climate change means facilitating and promoting social and economic change in the best possible way. (The German Government’s Climate Action Programme 2020 Cabinet decision of 3 December 2014)

The Programme comprises nine main components, including the 2014 National energy efficiency action plan, as well as transport-specific measures, climate-friendly building and housing and a reform of emissions trading. A 2050 version of the programme is expected to be tabled in 2018 and will be updated every three years.
While the nuclear disaster in Fukushima, Japan led to the decision to phase out all nuclear power stations by 2022, for a variety of reasons, lignite and hard coal production has been steeply increasing. In order to continue to meet the country’s voluntary climate targets, plans for a new law to limit coal-fired generation have been announced. As well, the government last year reached deals with utilities RWE, Vattenfall, and Mibrag to idle eight of their lignite power units and put them in a reserve to support baseload supply shortages, a move which is forecast to cut Germany’s greenhouse gas emissions by 11–12.5 million tonnes of CO₂ by 2020 (Carbon Pulse, 2016b).

Adding to its suite of initiatives, the government on 12 May 2016 announced that it will invest €17 billion in a ‘broad campaign’ to boost energy efficiency over the next five years, with an ultimate goal of halving energy consumption by 2050. The initiative is aimed at helping the country reach emissions reduction targets adopted both domestically and as part of the Paris Agreement.

The plan, dubbed ‘Effizienzoffensive’, will see the €17 billion spent between 2016 and 2020 and will be comprised of four programmes, which are:

- A competitive tender to find the most cost-effective energy saving measures;
- A pilot programme promoting smart metering;
- An initiative to improve the recovery of waste heat; and
- An initiative to promote cross-cutting technologies, namely those that enhance the efficiency of energy output or its use.

The ministry said a significant increase in energy efficiency is required for the success of the country’s the energy transition, or Energiewende, adding that an expansion in renewable energy sources alone won’t be enough to hit the country’s emissions reduction targets (Carbon Pulse, 2016c).

ment supported the EU INDC that was submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 as its intended commitment in the post Kyoto period. The main elements of the EU INDC are noted in the EU profile above.

In Germany the peak business association and the employer's organization exist separately with discrete mandates. Bundesverband Deutschen Industries (BDI) is the industry organization representing the commercial interests of business and industry in Germany. The BDI is the umbrella organization of German industry and industry-related services. It speaks for 36 trade associations and more than 100,000 enterprises with around eight million employees. Membership is voluntary. Fifteen organizations in the regional states represent the interests of industry at the regional level. BDI has 22 operating divisions and representation from members on BDI committees by over 1,000 people so it is a big and well-resourced organization. The BDI Statutes, at Article 2 and 3 provide that the Association has the task/purpose to protect and foster all common concerns of branches of industries brought together in it. The Association will work with the other leading organizations of entrepreneurship and excluded is the representation of socio-political concerns.

On climate change, BDI has two divisions addressing energy and climate policy, and environment, technology and sustainability, clearly a comprehensive sphere of interest and does not overlook any of the issues. There is no other organization profiled in this research that has committed the level of resources or defined the impact in such all-embracing terms. The many BDI published research and reports include: ‘Resource efficiency in the circular economy’ (BDI, 2016a), ‘Industry supports circular economy initiative’ (BDI, 2016b), ‘Legal and planning certainty for operators of industrial installations’ (BDI, 2016c), ‘Improvement proposals for the BREF process’ (BDI, 2016d), ‘Entrepreneurial freedom vs. further development of medium-related environmental protection’ (BDI, 2016e), ‘More than 300 different soil types in Europe make one-size-fits-all soil protection legislation difficult’ (BDI, 2016f), and ‘Bring economy and ecology into line with each other’ (BDI, 2016g).

The peak employer’s organization is Confederation of German Employers’ Associations (BDA), which has as members 14 cross-sectoral regional associations and 51 leading national sectoral federations of employers. The objectives of BDA are to represent the interests of small, medium-sized and large companies from all sectors in all questions linked to social and collective bargaining policy, labour law, labour market, education and societal policy. It actively helps to shape economic framework conditions, pools the voices of employers and lends them weight in the public debate. It has no climate change or environment responsibility.

The peak trade union, the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund Bundesvorstand...
(DGB), is the umbrella organization for eight German trade unions. Together, the DGB member unions represent the interests of over six million people. The DGB is the political umbrella organization of the German trade unions and is the voice of working people in Germany. Its objective is to unite and represent the interests of its unions and their members to politicians and other organizations at all levels: from local government to European and international bodies. As a political umbrella organization, the DGB is not involved in collective bargaining, does not organize strikes and does not engage in union activities in workplaces; this work is carried out by its member unions.

There is no indication that DGB has a dedicated climate policy. Rather, it is tailoring its activities on climate change to accord with its other social and labour objectives. In an ecological modernization context, the German experience delivers an optimum model of close to an ‘ideal’ version of EM with a maximum rating and the overachievement of it ecological objective. While German policy and programmes are based on the EU 2030 climate and energy package, it has committed to domestic programmes that exceed those of the broader European package.

NOTES

1. TUC rules and standing orders. As amended 2010.
2. It has not been possible to establish the performance against these targets.