4. Climate policy in context II: countries outside the EU

Australia, Canada and Singapore are developed countries with internationally competitive advanced economies. However, each is vulnerable to the challenges of climate change. Australia, which is the driest inhabited continent on earth and vulnerable to issues such as floods, drought and bushfire, is frequently criticized for the lack of a national climate change policy and action plan. Canada faces the challenges of conflict between developing its diverse energy resources while maintaining its commitment to the environment. Canada withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol in 2011 and pursued the development of its oil tar sands. The change of government in 2015 promises a change in attitude and leadership on climate change and sustainability policy and to harnessing the authority of its provinces to deliver effective emission reduction programmes. Singapore is a low-lying area that has already experienced rises in sea levels and ambient temperatures. The first Singapore Green Plan was adopted in 1992 and in 2009 it adopted the Sustainable Singapore Green Plan that outlined the sustainable development targets to 2030. The Sustainable Development Blueprint 2015 is the product of feedback obtained from 130,000 people and in 2015 6,000 people were engaged through dialogues, surveys and Internet portals.

In contrast, India and Kenya are developing countries and have maintained a development agenda. India has declared its overriding priorities as economic and social development and poverty eradication. Both are vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and are susceptible to climate-related events. India’s climate sensitive sectors are agriculture, water and forestry, while Kenya is experiencing irregular and unpredictable rainfall resulting in drought during the long rainy season and other regions are experiencing floods during the short rains. The Indian government adopted a climate change action plan in 2008 that was revised in 2014. Its 12 missions are solar, enhanced energy efficiency, sustainable habitat, water, sustaining the Himalaya ecosystem, green India, sustainable agriculture, strategic knowledge for climate change, wind energy, health, coastal resource and waste to energy. Earlier this year, 2016 the World Bank Group signed a joint declaration with India to collaborate further on
increasing solar energy use and will provide more than US$1 billion to help India’s solar plans. Kenya’s Constitution requires the attainment of ecologically sustainable development. In 2010, the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MENR) launched the National Climate Change Response Strategy and later the 2013–2017 Climate Change Action Plan. Over the five years to 2015 the MENR has produced several drafts of the National Environment Policy that recognizes climate change as one of the direct causes of natural disasters and proposes measures to address climate change.

AUSTRALIA

Australia ranks as one of the best places to live in the world by all indices of income, human development, health care and civil rights. The sixth largest country by landmass, its comparatively small population of approximately 23 million people in 2016 is concentrated in the highly urbanized east coast of the continent. The island combines a wide variety of landscapes, deserts in the interior, hills and mountains, tropical rainforests and densely populated coastal strips with long beaches and coral reefs off the shoreline (BBC, 2016).

Australia has become an internationally competitive, advanced market economy and its location in one of the fastest growing regions in the world. Long-term concerns include an aging population, pressure on infrastructure and environmental issues such as floods, droughts, and bushfires. The services sector is the largest part of the Australian economy, accounting for about 70 per cent of GDP and 75 per cent of jobs. Australia plays an active role in the World Trade Organization, APEC, the G20 and other trade forums (CIA, 2016).

Australian legislation and programmes to address this vulnerability to climate change are wide ranging, as are detailed below. Professor Garnaut (2011), in his report to the Australian government, observed that Australian climate policy was being reflected in a range of ad hoc programmes at a cost of approximately AUS$1 billion per annum. The analysts Energetics, however, have reported that the current suite of climate policies, including a not yet finalized National Energy Productivity Plan, can cut GHG emissions by a total 960 million tonnes of CO₂ by 2030, enough to meet the nation’s 26 to 28 per cent below 2005 reduction target (Carbon Pulse, 2016a).

Climate change has been a contentious issue in Australia, with controversy over the introduction of federal legislation to limit GHG emissions becoming particularly acute in 2009 with the two major political parties
advocating different approaches. Domestic policy for and against pricing carbon and an emission trading system (ETS) has been argued on political party lines, the differences exaggerated by intra party turmoil and political instability since 2011, with the country changing prime minister five times in five years, which included two elections that resulted in changes to the government. Since ratifying the Kyoto Protocol in 2007, the government has been engaged internationally and in 2012 with the European Commission announced their intention to connect the Australian and EU ETS. The change of government in late 2013 stalled the implementation of the new legislation and was subsequently repealed (LSE Grantham, 2015).

In the wake of the 2015 Paris Agreement on Climate Change, Australian activists and other stakeholders have been expressing their views publicly. Melbourne University’s Professor Christoff submitted a six-point plan for the candidates of the 2016 federal election, advocating that climate change should be an issue with bipartisan support, as is the case in many developed countries, rather than the subject of the present ideological wedge politics, phobia that has been attached to the prospect of carbon pricing should be overcome, and discussion should be about the positives of action rather than political and community pain. He also recommends a climate target ‘with teeth’, noting that Australia’s current target is among the weakest of all developed countries alongside Canada and New Zealand and points out that with the current implemented policy measures Australia’s emissions are set to increase to more than 27 per cent above 2005 levels (the INDC committed to reduce emission by 26 to 28 per cent below 2005 levels by 2030) (Christoff, 2016). These concerns were also expressed separately by the academic Tim Stephens, who observed that whilst the government’s active and supportive participation in the Paris climate negotiations signaled that, on the international plane at least, some bipartisanship has returned to Australia’s climate policy, on the domestic front the major parties are still at loggerheads (Stephens, 2016). At the ceremony to sign the Paris Agreement held in New York on 22 April 2016, the then Australian Minister for the Environment Greg Hunt announced the government’s plans to ratify the Agreement (IISD, 2016).


The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI)
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<tr>
<th>National circumstance</th>
<th>Contribution mitigation</th>
<th>Contribution adaptation</th>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Means to implement</th>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Reduce GHG emissions by 26–28% below 2005 by 2030</td>
<td>The Emission Reduction Fund supports businesses to reduce emissions, supported by the Renewable Energy Target</td>
<td>To develop a National Resilience and Adaptation Strategy</td>
<td>The target doubles the rate of emission reduction, is a significant increase beyond the 2020 target, and is comparable with other advanced economies</td>
<td>Market mechanisms through the Emission Reduction Fund</td>
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membership is eight state and territory Chambers of Commerce and 49 national industry associations. There are no direct corporate members. ACCI’s core service is private sector advocacy, representation and policy development on national and international matters that impact business. It embraces business advocacy, from trade and commerce, economics and tax, to employment, labour and social policy. Climate change issues are addressed through the Sustainability Committee, which has the mandate to consider national and international issues pertaining to sustainability, including climate change policy and regulation. The committee is to identify issues of importance for business and industry, to be an avenue for information exchange and consultation and to provide advice and feedback to help develop solutions on relevant policy issues relating to business. It is also to inform the ACCI policy agenda as being representative of the business community. It is required to participate in the ACCI political engagement and advocacy activities. A priority is a watching brief on the UN climate change negotiations and the impacts this could have on Australian targets and policy measures including a scheduled review of the Emission Reduction fund. The committee is interested in ways to facilitate the government’s Clean Energy Finance Corporation to finance smaller energy efficiency projects.

The Sustainability Committee has initiated responses to a number of government enquiries, including the Australian 2030 emissions targets that formed the basis of the government’s INDC, and one-stop shops for environmental approvals in each state. It has made submissions to the other political parties about climate policies.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) is the peak union body representing almost two million members in 46 unions. Its stated objective is the socialization of industry. There is no apparent dedicated domestic climate change activity. The ACTU does not have a publicly stated policy position on climate change, beyond its support for the principle of a just transition and a decent work outcome for those affected, the position of its international affiliate, the ITUC. While respected, informed and professional advocates on the labour relations and labour market issues impacting their members, the ACTU relies on its international affiliates to advocate their climate change interests and it is only when domestic policy requires their intervention will they act.

Both the ACCI and ACTU are constrained by limited resources which must be applied in a strategic manner and according to priorities which are often influenced significantly by the immediacy of the impact on their membership.

In the context of ecological modernization, overlaying the EM template on Australia’s INDC rates only 25/50, which is likely to yield a sub-optimum
outcome, as all elements of EM are actioned only in a modest fashion. The government’s commitment under the INDC submitted to the 2015 Paris COP is considered at the lower end of the scale for developed countries and the actions across the state, industry, civil society and ecological consciousness are modest relative to other countries. The Australian community and industry are well off and insulated from the direct impacts of the early onset of climate change with an abundance of cheap fossil fuels and solar energy, infrastructure to store water in the instance of drought and a large unusable land mass so that issues surrounding waste disposal and air pollution are absent. The major concern to consumers is for bayside landowners whose properties are threatened by coastal erosion.

CANADA

Canada is the world’s second largest country by surface but is relatively small in terms of population. It is one of world’s top trading nations and one of its richest. Alongside a dominant service sector, Canada also has vast oil reserves and is a major exporter of energy, food and minerals (BBC, 2016).

Canada faces the challenges of meeting public demands for quality improvements in health care, education, social services and economic competitiveness as well as responding to the particular concerns of predominantly francophone Quebec. It also aims to develop its diverse energy resources while maintaining its commitment to the environment. Alberta’s oil sands development has significantly boosted Canada’s proven oil reserves. In 2016 Canada ranked fifth in the world of proved oil reserves and is the largest foreign supplier to the US of energy, including oil, gas, and electric power, and a top source of uranium imports (CIA, 2016).

Canada has no comprehensive federal climate legislation. An act to implement Canada’s targets under the Kyoto Protocol during the first commitment period of 2008–2012 was introduced in 2007. However, in 2011, Canada announced it would withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol and officially repealed the Act in 2012.

The Conservative government’s climate change plan ‘Turning the corner: action plan to reduce greenhouse gases and air pollution’ was announced in 2007 and provided the groundwork for Canada’s approach to tackling climate. It expressed the priority of realigning policies and regulations in order to maintain economic prosperity while protecting the environment and harmonizing the regulatory framework with the US, its largest trading partner.

The principal policy positions of the government were the Action on
Climate Change and Air Pollution (2007) and the Federal Adaptation Policy Framework (2011). These policies remain the framework for action by the government. The October 2015 federal election delivered a change in government from Conservative to the Liberal Party of Canada under the Prime Ministership of Justin Trudeau and with that a more liberal policy approach to social and environmental issues. At this time, though, little has been introduced in the form of solid and published policy and legislation to parliament.

The legislative instruments of government are limited and include the Canada Foundation for Sustainable Development Technology Act (S.C. 2001, c. 23), Canadian Environmental Protection Act 1999 (CEPA, 1999) (S.C. 1999, c. 33) 2000, and the Energy Efficiency Act (S.C. 1992, c. 36) last amended in 2008. Despite the lack of comprehensive federal legislation, provinces have been active in passing their own climate legislation. At the Lima COP 20 in 2014 the provinces of Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia issued a joint statement with California to lead international actions to fight climate change and collaborate for an international agreement at the Paris COP 21.

The target of the Action on Climate Change and Air Pollution (Environment Canada, 2007) was a total reduction of Canada’s GHG emissions by 20 per cent by 2020. They claimed this was one of the most stringent targets in the world. The policy requires all major industry sectors to respect the government’s aggressive limits to reduce GHGs, that the government will act to reduce emissions from cars and trucks, will increase the range of energy-efficient products and will improve air quality. The policy also commits the government to work with provincial and territory governments, NGOs, communities and individual Canadians. Another policy measure is the creation of a climate change technology fund financed by levy on emissions and the trading of carbon credits on domestic and international markets; however, at the time of writing this book this has not yet been implemented.

The Federal Adaptation Policy Framework was adopted in 2011 and remains current, although there is little evidence that it has been aggressively implemented. The Framework describes the context as being that the impacts of climate change are evident in every region across Canada. Higher temperatures, declining sea and lake ice, diminishing glaciers, melting permafrost, more heat waves, more violent storms and increased coastal erosion are being observed. The north is particularly vulnerable and is experiencing changes that are more extreme and occurring faster than the rest of Canada.

The policy recognizes that the climate change impacts are not only physical, they can have long lasting economic, social, environmental and human health effects. It notes the benefits, that Canada will also experience
longer agricultural and ice-free shipping seasons and expanded tourism and recreation opportunities (Environment Canada, 2011).

The new liberal government has announced the proposed revised policy template under the banner of *Canada’s way forward on climate change* (Environment Canada, 2016). The government will:

1. Contribute to global efforts by working with global partners on the ambitious global agreement, and supporting the poorest and most vulnerable countries.
2. Collaborate with Provinces and Territories within 90 days of the Paris outcome to establish a Pan-Canadian framework for combatting climate change and set a national target while ensuring they have the flexibility to design their own carbon pricing policies.
3. Invest in Clean Energy and Clean Technology through a CA$2 billion low carbon economy trust, fulfill the G20 commitment to phase out fossil fuel subsidies and protect energy security (Environment Canada, 2016).

The main elements of the government’s INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 are shown in Table 4.2.

Business associations, regional and provincial employers’ organizations and trade unions are informed and committed activists and participants in the domestic and international climate change debates, more so than many of the peak organizations in other countries. However, absent from their policy platforms are the employment and labour market impacts beyond the broader trade union mantra of a just transition and decent work for affected workers. Important to note here is that the business associations, employers’ organizations and trade unions in the provinces and regions hold great authority in that they often act separately from the peak national organizations and make representations to government. The vast distances and areas impose regionally unique concerns that are often difficult to address within a national context and policy. The example to best illustrate this is the representation of Canada at the International Organisation of Employers. The representative is a consultant engaged to monitor activities and, while a respected participant, he has no mandate to advocate on behalf of Canadian employers, for the reason that a peak employers’ organization in Canada does not exist.

The main representative organization for business in Canada is the Canada Chamber of Commerce. Membership is 450 chambers of commerce and boards of trade, representing 200,000 businesses in all sectors. Its objectives are to advocate for public policies that will foster a strong, competitive economic environment that benefits businesses, communities
Table 4.2 Main elements of the INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015

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<th>National circumstance</th>
<th>Contribution mitigation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Canada Growing population, extreme temperatures, large landmass and significant natural resources</td>
<td>Reduce GHG emissions by 30% below 2005 levels by 2030</td>
<td>Has established stringent coal-fired electricity standards and stringent GHG emission standards for the transport sector</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>The government has in place legislative instruments coupled with significant investments in clean energy technologies</td>
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and families. On climate change, the Chamber says it supports evidence-based policymaking that appropriately accounts for environmental externalities as well as efforts by the government of Canada to cooperate with provinces and territories to address environmental issues that are of shared jurisdiction. It favours a price on carbon, supports the creation of a water strategy and believes in the imperative to foster technological innovation and ensure efficient regulatory processes. Recently published reports and research include: ‘What does COP21 mean for Canadian business?’ (CCC, 2015), ‘The measures that matter: how Canada’s natural resource sector is working to protect the environment’ (CCC, 2014), and ‘$50 million a day’ (CCC, 2013).

Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) membership is 90 national and international unions, provincial and territorial federations of labour and community-based labour councils that represent 3.3 million workers. Its objectives are to advocate politically for policies and programmes that improve the lives of all Canadians, such as the creation of better and more secure jobs, better public pension plans and retirement security, a stronger public health care system, affordable and accessible child care and to advocate in parliament and in the courts to advance legislation that improves the day-to-day lives of all Canadians, such as workplace safety and collective bargaining rights and employment equity.

On climate change, the CLC comments that Canadian unions are committed to playing their part in the fight to slow global warming and keep the planet viable for future generations. The priority is working with employers and governments to ensure a just transition to a carbon-free economy that supports displaced workers and creates millions of good, green jobs. Recently published research and reports include: ‘David Suzuki joins with CLC to support a One Million Climate Jobs plan’ (CLC, 2016a), ‘One million climate jobs a challenge for Canada’ (CLC, 2016b), ‘Making the shift to a green economy’ (CLC, 2015d), ‘Collaborative approach will be key to realizing Canada’s climate change obligations’ (CLC, 2015a), ‘Labour delegation to champion a just transition to a green economy at Paris Climate Change Summit’ (CLC, 2015c), ‘CLC report: reducing greenhouse gas emissions in Canada’ (CLC, 2015e), and ‘ENERGY – alternatives for a green economy’ (CLC, 2015b).

In an ecological modernization context, Canada would appear to have an optimum EM model, with effective contributions to the process by sections in the model. The recent change of government promises to improve the country’s effectiveness on climate change mitigation and adaptation, and leadership; however, at present it is rated on the basis of its varied commitment to the international process having withdrawn from the Kyoto Protocol in 2011, the exploitation of its coal tars sands find without
an effective mechanism in place to contain the GHG emissions, noting that it is investing heavily in the development of carbon capture and storage technology.

SINGAPORE

Singapore is a wealthy city state in south east Asia. Once a British colonial trading post, today it is a thriving global financial hub and described as one of Asia’s economic ‘tigers’. It is also known for its conservatism and strict local laws and the country prides itself on its stability and security. Densely populated, most of its people live in public housing tower blocks. Its trade-driven economy is heavily supported by foreign workers. In 2013, the government forecast that by 2030, immigrants will make up more than 50 per cent of the population (BBC, 2016).

Singapore has become one of the world’s most prosperous countries with strong international trading links (its port is one of the world’s busiest in terms of tonnage). Singapore has a highly developed and successful free market economy. It enjoys a remarkably open and corruption-free environment, stable prices and a per capita GDP higher than most developed countries. Unemployment is very low. The economy depends heavily on exports, particularly consumer electronics, information technology products, medical and optical devices, pharmaceuticals, and on its vibrant transportation, business, and financial services sectors (CIA, 2016).

Singapore is a low-lying area that has already experienced rises in sea levels and ambient temperature. The possible effects of changing weather patterns in Singapore include accelerated coastal erosion and higher incidence of intense rain or prolonged drought. Climate change will also affect biodiversity of plants and animals, and their greenery. Singapore may also experience disruptions to food supplies, and business supply chains if trading partners are affected by extreme weather events (Republic of Singapore, 2012).

Singapore has always placed a high priority on environmental issues as part of its aim to create a clean and green garden city for its people. After gaining independence from the British in 1965 Singapore has pursued the concurrent goals of growing the economy and protecting the environment. Singapore ratified the UNFCCC 1997 Kyoto Protocol as a non-Annex I country. In 2007 an Inter-ministerial Committee on Climate Change (IMCCC) was set up to oversee inter-agency coordination on climate change. In 2010 the National Climate Change Secretariat was established as a dedicated unit under the prime minister’s office to develop and provide coordination for climate change-related policies. It published the National
Climate Change Strategy in 2012 and created agencies to effectively implement the strategy. In 2015 it adopted the Sustainable Singapore Blueprint after consultation with 6,000 people from the community.

Singapore is active in the region. It is a member of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). It is encouraging efforts to develop an ASEAN climate change initiative and to develop regional strategies to enhance capacity for adaptation, a low carbon economy and promote public awareness to address effects of climate change (LSE Grantham, 2015).

The first Singapore Green Plan was adopted in 1992 and in 2009 the Sustainable Singapore Green Plan, which outlined the sustainable development targets to 2030, was adopted. The government adopted the National Climate Change Strategy (NCCS) in 2012. The core of the Strategy is greater public transport usage, improved energy efficiency in buildings, deeper behavioural adjustments and changes to business processes, and research and development. The guiding principles are long-term planning, pragmatic and economically sound measures, the pursuit of the economic and environmental objectives together, harnessing market forces, developing innovative solutions and institutional reform through the National Climate Change Secretariat. Singapore is also developing its solar and photovoltaic technology capability, which will help facilitate the deployment of solar power on a large scale.

The Strategy acknowledges the requirement to develop the human capital necessary for the proposed research and development programme, a limited but nevertheless important intervention in the nation’s labour market plan. The government’s early action on climate change and the environment and its small land mass has left little capacity to reduce emissions further or address its sustainability targets in the absence of advances in technology.

A complement to the NCCS is the Sustainable Singapore Blueprint (MEWR, 2015). The principles of the Blueprint that build on the work of the original blueprint are eco-smart endearing towns, a car-lite Singapore, moving towards a zero-waste nation, a leading economy and an active and gracious community. This edition of the Blueprint is the product of feedback obtained from more than 130,000 people through recent initiatives, including the Land Transport Master Plan 2013 and the Urban Redevelopment Authorities Master Plan 2014. Civil society engagement and ecological consciousness in Singapore is an exemplar, essential for the achievement of a strong ecological outcome and sound policy (MEWR, 2015).

While Singapore is not now or in the past contributing materially to the GHG emissions problem, it is dependent on other countries for energy, water and internally it does not have a capacity for waste management
or the space for a vibrant private transport sector and the consequent issues of fuel, pollution and roads versus gardens. It has taken a positive approach to finding long-term solutions to these issues and intends to become a supplier to the rest of the world of the technologies developed to address its domestic requirements.

Singapore presents a unique situation in terms of development, culture and social attitude. This is reflected in the work of the representative organizations for business and workers but there is no integration of the impact of climate change on the workplace and labour market preparedness is absent.

The main legislative and regulatory instruments of government in respect of climate change are the Energy Conservation Act (Chapter 92C) 2012, last revised 2014, National Environment Agency Act (Chapter 195) 2002, last revised 2003, Energy Market Authority of Singapore Act (Chapter 92B) 2001, last revised 2012, Electricity Act (Chapter 89A) 2001, last revised 2006, Gas Act (Chapter 116A) 2001, last revised 2008, Building Control Act (Chapter 29) 1989, last revised 2012, Sustainable Singapore Blueprint 2015, National Climate Change Strategy June 2012. The main elements of the governments INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 are outlined in Table 4.3.

Like Germany, the peak employers’ and business organizations coexist with clearly defined and non-overlapping mandates.

The employers’ organization, the Singapore National Employers Federation (SNEF), has a membership of 3,000 businesses. Its mission is to advance tripartism and enhance labour market flexibility to enable employers to implement responsible employment practices. The SNEF focus areas and services include representing the key interests of employers in national tripartite committees, forums and national-level reviews; providing consultancy and advice to corporate members on the proper application of local labour laws, policies and tripartite guidelines; keeping members informed on developments in labour, manpower and employment issues through briefings, industrial group meetings and other platforms; facilitating employers’ efforts to build an inclusive workforce and progressive workplaces; and providing timely research and information. It has no apparent climate interest.

The Singapore Business Federation (SBF) has a membership of 22,500 companies as well as key local and foreign business chambers. Under the government’s Singapore Business Federation Act, all Singapore-registered companies with share capital of S$0.5 million and above are members of SBF. Its objective is to serve as the bridge between Singapore’s business community and the government and it is the key provider of capability-building initiatives and services for Singapore businesses. Locally, SBF
Table 4.3 *Main elements of the INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015*

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<tr>
<th>National circumstance</th>
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<th>Contribution adaptation</th>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Means to implement</th>
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<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Reduce emission intensity (per $ of GDP) by 36% from 2005 levels by 2030 and stabilize emissions aiming to peak by 2030</td>
<td>Limited options given the natural circumstance, very energy efficient</td>
<td>Programmes in place to address food security, infrastructure resilience, public health, flood risks, water security and coastline</td>
<td>Ambitious target given the limited options for action</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
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promotes engagement between Singapore businesses and the government through various initiatives, including the SME Committee (SMEC) – a platform for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to raise their concerns with policymakers – and regular business climate surveys. Internationally, SBF also champions its members’ needs on the global stage through participation in prominent international business forums. These include the ASEAN Business Advisory Council, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Business Advisory Council, B20 and the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC). It also has no declared interest in climate change.

Both business organizations, despite no demonstrable interest in climate change, have declared a commitment to sustainable development and CSR. They refer to triple bottom line reporting and corporate social responsibility but they do not talk climate change or activism in policy or broader civil society organization engagement. The SBF was established by an Act of Parliament and membership is compulsory, to ensure proper governance and controlled behaviour in both domestic and international markets. Membership of the SNEF is voluntary and therefore there is more latitude in their response the requirements of members. The SNEF is a founder of the Sustainable Development Business Group but otherwise its mandate is human resources and industrial relations.

The Singapore National Trades Union Congress (SNTUC) is a confederation of 60 affiliated unions, one taxi association, 11 social enterprises and six related organizations. The objectives of the SNTUC are quite different to most unions: to serve as a centre for democratic non-communist trade unionism, to help Singapore stay competitive and workers remain employable for life, to enhance the social status and wellbeing of workers and to build a strong, responsible and caring labour movement. The modern trade union movement in Singapore was formed out of the conflict that led to the alignment with Malaysia against the forces of the communist countries and the communist unions in Singapore in the 1960s. That led to a modernization programme that saw the forming of cooperatives in the 1970s that have resulted in the present SNTUC as responsible for the largest supermarket chain in the country (‘FairPrice Co-operative Ltd, the largest grocery retailer in Singapore. Our E-commerce portal provides a wide range of groceries from fresh produce to electronics’), with holiday resorts and an Institute of Labour Studies. SNTUC programmes for members include career activation, career coaching, inclusive growth, legal clinics, migrant workers’ centre help kiosks, migrant workers’ centre student outreach, progressive wage model, shared parenting programme, women’s network, workplace health and safety programmes, and union training (NTUC, 2016).

The concept of tripartism has served the country well with prosperity being shared, wages growth and wage restraint are equally adopted
as campaigns of the Union, depending on the economic circumstances. SNTUC’s media profile is strongly oriented to its member benefit programmes through its Fairprice supermarkets and campaigns like plastic bag usage, cigarette labelling and then through its care packages.

Although, the business associations, employers’ organizations and trade unions do not declare an interest in climate change; the parallel economic and environmental goals of the country since independence must also be reflected in the culture of the organizations. As well, the pervasive nature of the government’s strategies to address the country’s necessary transition to sustainability must also impact their constituents.

The Singapore Branch of the Global Compact,2 Singapore Compact was co-founded by SNEF and SNTUC, and is the national society that promotes sustainable development for businesses and stakeholders and continues to expand its reach and programme line up. In recent years, discussions around CSR and sustainability have also been gaining considerable traction locally. In 2014, the Singapore Stock Exchange announced its plan to adopt the ‘comply or explain’ approach for sustainability reporting for all listed companies.

At March 2015 the Compact membership stood at 933, which included about 483 corporate, institutional and associate members and 406 members from the youth wing. Members consist of a diverse range of companies including multinational corporations (MNCs), SMEs, as well as trade unions, CSR consultants and academics. The Singapore Compact is a society of like-minded entities coming together to share with and learn from one another best practices that it is expected will create a more sustainable and responsible corporate environment in Singapore (Singapore Compact, 2014).

The Singapore model represents an optimum EM model, given the country’s constraints. Its INDC declares a strong commitment to contributing to the global effort and achieving ambitious targets. It has committed the resources necessary to achieving those targets with a strong regulatory platform, a technology-based approach and with the engagement of civil society and the community.

INDIA

India is the world’s largest democracy and the second most populous country, with many languages, cultures and religions, which makes it highly diverse. It is still tackling huge social, economic and environmental problems, corruption and poverty are widespread and the vast mass of rural population remains impoverished (BBC, 2016). Despite these problems, economic growth following the launch of economic reforms in
1991 and a massive youthful population are driving India’s emergence as a regional and global power (CIA, 2016).

The government’s National Action Plan on Climate Change (2008) defines the challenge as sustaining rapid economic growth while dealing with the global threat of climate change. The economy is closely tied to its natural resource base and climate-sensitive sectors such as agriculture, water and forestry, which may be adversely impacted by climate change. However, its overriding priority remains economic and social development and poverty eradication, a point the present prime minister (at 2016) reinforced during the negotiations for the 2015 Paris Agreement. India’s climate risk assessment in the second communication to the UNFCCC states that climate change, leading to recession of glaciers, decrease in rainfall and increased flooding could threaten food and water security, put at risk natural ecosystems and species that sustain the livelihood of rural households and adversely impact coastal systems due to sea level rise and increased extreme events.

India was a non-Annex 1 country under the Kyoto Protocol and thus had no binding target for emission reduction. It is an active participant in the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) established under the Protocol. It has also created the National Clean Energy Fund, funded by a levy on coal to finance and promote clean energy (LSE Grantham, 2015).

The National Action Plan on Climate Change (GOI, 2008) was adopted by the government of India in 2008 and remains the national policy. The Plan is a model of strong ecological modernization. It notes in its preamble that development hinges on new technologies, appropriate institutional mechanisms, public–private partnerships and civil society action, and promoting understanding of climate change, adaptation and mitigation. The eight missions of the Plan are solar, enhanced energy efficiency, sustainable habitat, water, sustaining the Himalaya ecosystem, green India, sustainable agriculture and strategic knowledge for climate change (GOI, 2008). Four new missions were announced in 2014 and are pending approval: wind energy, health, coastal resource and waste to energy (LSE Grantham, 2015). The Indian government is advised on these missions by an advisory council chaired by the prime minister and has broad based representation from key stakeholders including government, industry and civil society.

In the INDC submitted to the UNFCCC as the commitment to the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2015), the government described its situation in the terms that India supports 17.5 per cent of the world population and in that it has the largest proportion of global poor with 363 million people living in poverty, 92 million without access to safe drinking water, 304 million without electricity and 300 million relying on solid biomass for cooking. To that end, its priority is economic development and poverty
eradication. Further, its commitment to reduce the emissions intensity of GDP by 33–35 per cent by 2030 from 2005 level was contingent on an ambitious global agreement and additional means provided by developed countries. The finance required for adaptation plans was US$206 billion between 2015 and 2030 with further assistance required for strengthening resilience and disaster management estimated at $7.7 billion to the 2030s, and $834 billion for mitigation till 2030 (GOI, 2015).

In the week leading up to the Paris COP 21, the Indian prime minister was an active advocate and campaigner for India. He dampened expectations when at the G20 Summit in the month before the COP he blocked efforts to a strong statement by the G20 members towards an ambitious climate accord, saying India did not want the G20 to interfere in the Paris negotiations (Barker and Clark, 2015). On the opening day of the COP he went further, demanding that poor nations had the right to burn carbon to expand their economies, that climate change was not of their making and insisting that emission reductions in his country must come paired with billions of dollars of investment by the developed world (Davenport and Harris, 2015). This message was reinforced by the BRIC countries of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa who called a news conference in the middle of the second week of the COP to convey the message that they are big but not rich and it is the rich countries that should pay to address global warming (Chan, 2015).

During the COP, the Indian and French governments unveiled a plan to mobilize more than US$1 trillion to make solar energy affordable in sun-rich developing countries through the International Solar Alliance, which aimed to sign up 121 countries including the US and China as well as a long list of developing countries (Clark and Stothard, 2015).

Clearly some nations’ positions are driven by their own self-interest. For India, it has a need to increase its electricity generation using coal and renewables and it needs to finance this development. Prime Minister Narendra Modi used the forum of the COP to launch an ambitious programme to accelerate investment in renewables (Krauss and Bradsher, 2015). However, while the principle was applauded, the Modi model was opposed by the US government and subsequently by the WTO which ruled against India, saying the power purchase agreements with solar firms were inconsistent with international norms and were discriminatory (Press Trust of India, 2016). The viability of the solar programme is further challenged on the grounds of commercial viability, a factor of the market where competition has delivered purchase prices at levels close to the cost of coal-generated power and less than the cost of production, making investors reluctant and expectant that contractors will not be able to deliver (Mallet, 2016).
While the government has a vision and a realistic plan, it also is confronted by many challenges in that the plan is dependent on international support in terms of finance and technology. Its plans are necessarily ambitious but optimization of the domestic benefits could bring the government and delivery expectation into conflict with the rules of the global marketplace from which it will expect the financial and technical resources. And, while the government’s policy platform and the Advisory Council embrace engagement with stakeholders including government, industry and civil society, business and employers’ organizations and trade unions are largely absent.


Employers’ organizations and trade unions in India are relatively well-resourced as CSOs and as representatives of sections of society. The research for this book selected the largest but not the only peak organizations. The magnitude of the population and land mass and its developing economy situation mitigates against the centralization of representation and accordingly the capacity of the organizations for strategic and effective intervention with the central government.

India has a proliferation of peak business representative organizations embracing the sectoral and regional groups. The International Organisation of Employers (IOE) has four Indian employers’ organizations as members, the All India Organisation of Employers (AIOE), Employers’ Federation of India (EFI), Standing Conference of Public Enterprises (SCOPE) and the Council of Indian Employers (CIE). The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) provides the secretariat for the CIE. The CIE is the formal representative organization at the IOE for the AIOE, EFI and SCOPE. None of the organizations has any stated policy on climate change or any apparent interest in the impacts of climate change policy on the labour market.

The two largest of the business representative organizations are the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII).

The FICCI membership is 250,000 businesses and has as its objectives to be the voice of India’s business and industry, from influencing policy to
### Table 4.4 Main elements of the INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National circumstance</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>Contribution mitigation</th>
<th>Contribution adaptation</th>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Means to implement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>17.5% of world’s population, 300 million live in poverty, 300 million without electricity and safe drinking water</td>
<td>Reduce emission intensity of GDP by 33% by 2030 from 2005 level</td>
<td>40% of electric power from non-fossil fuel sources by 2030</td>
<td>Create carbon sink of 2.5–3 million tonnes by 2030</td>
<td>Resilient agriculture</td>
<td>Considered fair and ambitious given developmental challenges.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>International assistance requirements for adaptation US$206 billion to 2030, $7.7 billion for disaster management, $834 billion for mitigation to 2030</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
encouraging debate and engaging with policymakers and civil society to articulate the views and concerns of industry. Internationally it is an active participant in the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), and on employment matters in the International Organisation of Employers (IOE) through the All India Organisation of Employers (AIOE). On climate change, FICCI believes that it is essential to secure the proactive participation and involvement of businesses and people for improving environment quality. It observes that the adoption of clean, climate and health-friendly technologies in every sphere of activity is of paramount importance in enabling environmental improvement. FICCI’s Environment and Climate Change Division has taken up a broad spectrum of initiatives to address industry’s issues pertaining to environment and climate change, and also works on environmental projects with various national and international agencies, organizes outreach events, training programmes and workshops for industry awareness on issues pertaining to environment and climate change.

The Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) membership is 8,000 businesses from the private as well as public sectors, including SMEs and MNCs, and an indirect membership of over 200,000 enterprises. Its objective is to create and sustain an environment conducive to the development of India, partnering industry, government, and civil society through advisory and consultative processes. The focus is on four key enablers: facilitating growth and competitiveness, promoting infrastructure investments, developing human capital and encouraging social development. The Climate Council of the CII was formed to strategize on implementation of the National Action Plan on Climate Change and to engage industry, policymakers and research and development (R&D) institutes to formulate strategies to commit to accelerate deployment of clean energy technologies, build capacity to access and internalize cutting edge technologies. The CII Green Services Division operates through the Green Business Centre (CII-GBC), offering niche green services to Indian industry. The objective of the CII-GBC is to promote green concepts leading to sustainable development, efficiency and equitable growth. Services offered include green process certification, green building certification (advisory services on construction of green buildings and award of a Green Building certificate), technology centres, training programmes on green-related topics, business incubation and facilitating entrepreneurs in developing and marketing new and innovative green products for commercialization. The CII Green Business Council has launched the following rating systems: IGBC Green New Buildings Rating System, IGBC Green Schools Rating System and the IGBC Green Mass Rapid Transit System.

None of the business and employers’ organizations have any stated
policy on climate change or any apparent interest in the impacts of climate change on the labour market. The strategies of the associations, on the other hand, have shifted away from government advocacy on behalf of business to cooperating with governments as an ally. Interestingly, the World Economic Forum in 2011 ceased its partnership of 28 years with CII to conduct its very influential annual event, the implication being that the WEF no longer saw the CII as bringing to the table sufficient influence with government. This is not necessarily a negative, it merely conveys that the priorities of the association are either shifting away from direct lobbying and advocacy as a core activity and indicator of effectiveness or they seek other forms and means of influencing government (there is probably a bit of both in effect).

The FICCI has a higher profile and stronger policy advocacy focus in its work on climate change, notable from the event arranged by its Climate Change Consultative Forum in June 2015 allowing members to engage with the Ministry working on the development of the Indian INDC to the government. The Forum was established for member exchange, policy development and advocacy, and hosted the Climate Change Enclave in March 2016, a repeat of the major event of 2013. The FICCI is the Indian arm of the International Chamber of Commerce and is leveraging the Chambers climate change policy work that is thoroughly canvassed across the many country members and is a consensus therefore representative view of the demands of industry. While the ICC has produced quality support material, publications and advocacy strategies, the FICCI has done little further domestic research or report production.

In sum, the FICCI is the stronger advocate of the two peak bodies. Although its effectiveness in influencing government is yet to be established, it is engaging the membership and therefore prima facie establishing an ecological consciousness. Combined, the FICCI and the CII are through their different approaches influencing behaviour and have considerable penetration, although they are neither addressing the labour market impacts of climate change nor are they either informing or pressing the government to consider the impacts.

The three Indian trade unions profiled in this study are Confederation of Free Trade Unions of India (CFTUI), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), and All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) and are very similar in their objectives and structure. A feature of the Indian trade union movement is the volume of unions and, while membership numbers are large (in the millions), they are still a small percentage of the workforce. As well, they are generally known to be the trade union branch of a political party, with the AITUC affiliated with the Communist Party.
and the INTUC with the Indian National Congress. The Confederation of Free Trade Unions of India (CFTUI) boasts of its non-political affiliation and is emerging as a new force organizing those that are presently overlooked by trade unions and bringing together unions as affiliates.

CFTUI’s membership is 321 unions and 1.1 million members. CFTUI is an umbrella organization of trade unions, trade federations, associations, societies and other organizations of India, dedicated towards welfare and development of the society in general and workers in particular. It is free from any control or attachment with the political parties or groups. The union does not engage with climate change issues.

INTUC has 33.3 million members, 29 branches and 26 industrial federations. Its main objectives are to establish an order of society that is free from hindrance in the way, of an all-round development of its individual members, which fosters the growth of human personality in all its aspects. It works to progressively eliminate social political or economic exploitation and inequality, the profit motive in the economic activity and organization of society and the anti-social concentration in any form. Further objectives are to place industry under national ownership and control in suitable form in order to realize the aforesaid objectives in the quickest time; and to organize society in such a manner as to ensure full employment and the best utilization of its manpower and other resources. The union does not engage in climate change issues.

AITUC’s membership is 3.6 million. The unions affiliated to AITUC are from textile, engineering, coal, steel, road transport, electricity board and unorganized sectors such as beedi, construction and head-load workers, anganwadi, local bodies and handloom. The main objectives of AITUC are to establish a socialist state in India, to socialize and nationalize the means of production, distribution and exchange as far as possible and to ameliorate the economic and social conditions of the working class. The union does not engage with climate change issues.

The issues confronting many workers in India are basic rights and reasonable reward and these are therefore the focus of the trade union attention. The issues of this research project are therefore subjects they rely on their peak representative organizations (ITUC) to address and advocate. Each of the unions is active in the ITUC, which is a strong and informed advocate with policy developed and debated by its membership. It has not been possible to establish whether the Indian trade unions have a policy or opinion about climate change that they advocate at either the ITUC or in domestic political affiliations.

While the business associations are active in climate change in a limited way, influence in policy rests with the CEOs of the major members who are invited by government to consult and who rely on
their international affiliations for policy direction and research. As employers’ organizations, it is only the CII that has acted and then only in a limited way to address the labour market issues of planning or skill development. Trade unions have not engaged at all on climate change and the labour market impacts, their resources being committed to the first order issues of rights, wages and conditions. They are active in the international affiliates and engagement on climate change would be through the ITUC.

The government has made a solid commitment to emission reduction but it is constrained by economic, social and environmental factors. In an ecological modernization context, while it appears as a strong model of EM, it suffers from weak institutions of the state, external assistance is required to implement its plans to deliver electricity to all its population, the capacity of industry to reduce its fossil fuel dependence is limited and its engagement with civil society is also limited. The communities are aware of the need for adaptation and mitigation and support the change in patterns of behaviour but its capability is limited.

In the event that external funding to support the implementation of its INDC is not forthcoming, India will remain a major emitter of GHG’s. This conditional commitment to the ecological outcome reflects a suboptimal model of EM and while it still informs the gaps in the policy process, the capacity to address those gaps is beyond the capacity of the state, industry and society to adequately respond.

KENYA

Kenya is a large country with the greater part of its land mass as arid and semi-arid land. These areas support almost 30 per cent of the population and 70 per cent of the livestock production (MENR, 2015). Eighty per cent of the Kenyan population works in the agricultural sector and over 75 per cent of the country’s agricultural output is from small scale rain-fed farming or livestock production (CIA, 2016). Kenya is a low middle income country and faster growth and poverty reduction is hampered by corruption, reliance on primary goods and inadequate infrastructure. Chronic budget deficits have plagued the government’s ability to implement proposed development projects (CIA, 2016).

Climate change is an important issue for Kenya. It is extremely susceptible to climate-related events that pose a serious threat to the socioeconomic development of the country. Droughts and floods are having devastating consequences and, according to scientific evidence, are likely to continue to affect the country into the future (MENR, 2015). In many
areas rainfall has become irregular and unpredictable and extreme and harsh weather is now the norm; for example, some regions are experiencing drought during the long rainy season while others are experiencing severe floods during the short rains. A reduction in cold extremes has been observed over the arid and semi-arid lands regions.

The adverse impacts are compounded by local environmental degradation, primarily caused by habitat loss and conversions, pollution, deforestation and overgrazing. Forest cover, for example, has reduced from 12 per cent in the 1960s to 6 per cent today (MENR, 2015).

Kenya’s constitution requires the attainment of ecologically sustainable development. This requirement forms the basis for its climate change policy, efforts which began in the 1990s. In 2010 the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MENR) launched the National Climate Change Response Strategy and later the 2013–2017 Climate Change Action Plan. The Strategy is a model of strong ecological modernization, identifying measures that include carbon markets, green energy development, research and development, an institutional framework for governance and community engagement.

Over the five years to 2015, the MENR has produced several drafts of the National Environment Policy that recognizes climate change as one of the direct causes of natural disasters and proposes measures to address climate change. This also formed the basis of the government’s Climate Change Bill that, although approved by parliament in 2012, was vetoed by the President who cited lack of public involvement in the discussion of the new bill. The bill forms the National Climate Change Council and among other things also forms the Climate Change Fund and mandates public consultation for all climate change-related policy processes (LSE Grantham, 2015).

Interestingly, Kenya’s energy requirements are met from biomass, which provides 69 per cent with petroleum (22 per cent) and electricity (9 per cent) supplying the remainder. Renewable energy sources contribute 74.5 per cent of electricity production, with hydro accounting for 50 per cent of the electricity production (LSE Grantham, 2015).

The main climate change legislative and policy instruments are the Energy Act 2006, parts of which are executed by the Energy Management Regulations 2012, National Environment Policy 2013, National Climate Change Response Strategy 2010 as implemented by 2013–2017 Climate Change Action Plan and the National Policy for Disaster Management. The main elements of the governments INDC submitted to the UNFCCC in 2015 are shown in Table 4.5.

Information about the employers’ organization, business associations or trade unions is difficult to obtain, as their websites and other publicly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National circumstance</th>
<th>Contribution mitigation</th>
<th>Contribution adaptation</th>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Means to implement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenya 80% arid, 75% GHG from land use</td>
<td>Reduce GHG emissions 30% by 2030 relative to BAU* subject to international assistance</td>
<td>Expand geothermal, solar and wind Tree cover of 10% Low carbon transport Climate smart agriculture</td>
<td>Mainstream adaptation into development plans subject to international finance and technology assistance</td>
<td>Poverty alleviation and economic development must be considered</td>
<td>Every 5 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *BAU scenario of 143MtCO₂.
available sources such as government registers (for statutory documents), media reports and publications do not provide information from which an organizational profile can be reasonably developed.

There is little to report from either the employers’ organization Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE) or the business association Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI) in regard to climate change. The FKE is a large organization but its sphere of interest is limited to direct industrial relations and does not extend to broader labour market planning or other policy issues such as climate change. The KNCCI similarly has a narrow focus of trade and business activity.

FKE membership is 4,000 employers and includes employers in the private and public sectors including state corporations, the local authorities and employers’ associations. The objectives of FKE are to act as a forum for employers, to promote and defend the interests of employers, to promote good management practices, to collaborate with employers, intergovernmental and other business organizations and to develop a sustainable institutional capacity and competence. It does not appear that the organization is directly engaged on climate change issues.

The trade union, the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU) does not have an active climate change advocacy or member information programme. Its focus is on organizing the workforce and advocating the rights of its members on workplace issues. COTU membership is 41 trade unions. Its principle objectives are to improve the economic and social conditions of all workers in all parts of Kenya, to assist in the complete organization of all workers in the trade union movement and to organize the structure and spheres of influence and amalgamation of trade unions affiliated to COTU.

In Kenya, employers’ organizations and trade unions are not engaged in the climate change policy development process. The broader business community also does not engage in this process. This is a reflection of the organizations’ focus rather than any apparent barriers to engagement created by the government or departments that are mandated to engage with the community and stakeholders.

The constitutional requirement for ecologically sustainable development forms the basis for its climate change policy, efforts which began in the 1990s. In 2010 the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (MENR) launched the National Climate Change Response Strategy and later the 2013–2017 Climate Change Action Plan. The Climate Change Bill, which forms the National Climate Change Council and among other things also forms the Climate Change Fund, mandates public consultation for all climate change related policy processes. The Strategy contributes to an optimum ecological modernization model for the country, identifying
measures that include carbon markets, green energy development, research and development, an institutional framework for governance, and community engagement. The strength of the model is however mitigated by the stated dependence on external finance to implement the strategies, and the weakness of the institutions of the state, and of industry to innovate.

NOTES

1. There is no effective peak national employers’ organization in Canada. Representation of Canada at the International Organisation of Employers is by a consultant engaged to monitor activities who, while a respected participant, has no mandate to advocate on behalf of Canadian employers.

2. The UN Global Compact is a voluntary commitment by signatory companies to align strategies and operations with universal principles on human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption, and take actions that advance societal goals (UN Global Compact, 2016).