

JUST2CE

A Just Transition to Circular Economy

 Ref. Ares(2021)101003491- 15/09/2021

Deliverable D.1.4

Project title A JUST TRANSITION TO THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY

Version 1.1

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LABOUR IN THE TRANSITION TO THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY

A CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW ON JUST
TRANSITION AND CIRCULAR ECONOMY



The JUST2CE project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101003491

Document identifier D1.4

Version 1.1

Dissemination status PU

D.1.4 – Labour in the transition to the circular economy

Grant Agreement n°: 101003491

Project acronym: JUST2CE

Project title: A JUST TRANSITION TO THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY

Topic: Understanding the transition to a circular economy and its implications on the environment, economy and society

Project Duration: 2021/09/01 – 2024/08/31

Coordinator: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)

Associated Beneficiaries:

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 2. UNIVERSIDAD DE VIGO
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Just2ce will assess the current state of transition towards the circular economy in relevant economic sectors and analyse possible transition scenarios, as well as their outcomes and impacts. It will identify the key factors that can stimulate or hinder this transition. Natural resources are extracted and transformed into products, which are eventually discarded. As many natural resources are finite, it is important to keep materials in circulation for as long as possible. This makes the transition to circular economy more vital than ever but is a responsible, inclusive, and socially just transition to a circular economy possible or even desirable? What technical, political, and social factors can enable or hamper such transformation? The EU-funded JUST2CE project will answer these questions. It will explore the economic, societal, gender and policy implications of the circular economy paradigm. The project's findings will shed light on how to ensure democratic and participatory mechanisms when designing and managing such technology.

History Chart

| Version | Date | Implemented by |
|-------------|------------|--|
| V2.0 | | |
| V1.1 | 01/08/2022 | Paul Guillibert, Stefania Barca, Emanuele Leonardi |
| | 30/06/2022 | Revised by Mario Pansera |
| V1.0 | 23/06/2022 | Paul Guillibert, Stefania Barca, Emanuele Leonardi |

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Executive Summary

This report is based upon a critical literature review on Circular Economy and Just transition with bibliometric analysis and content analysis of the collected papers. The aim of this report is to explore the place of labour and workers in the academic and grey literature on the circular economy.

The concept of just transition has been used since the late 1990s to advocate for an ecological transition project that leaves no one behind, i.e. that does not place the burden of mitigation measures on the most precarious workers and communities. In this report, we explore the role of workers in a just transition and the effects of the development of circular activities on the worlds of labour.

From our critical literature review, we have identified five main points.

1. With the exception of a very few studies, academic papers on labour in the circular economy never mentions the agency or power of workers' decisions, the effects of the transition on reproductive and unpaid labour or the place of non-citizen immigrant workers in the circular economy.
2. The definition of labour in the papers we have studied is very often limited to a consideration of the quantity of jobs created. The quality of these jobs (in terms of wages, length of the working day, occupational health and safety, social protection or trade union representation) is rarely taken into account. On the other hand, dimensions related to workers' participation in organisational strategies, gender inequalities, racism and neo-colonialism are systematically overlooked (with very few exceptions).
3. It is important to note that a transition to the circular economy does not affect all sectors of the economy in the same way. The development of circular activities in capital-intensive and labour-intensive sectors does not produce the same number of jobs or jobs of comparable quality (e.g. in terms of pay, length of contracts, drudgery, worker representation, social protection).
4. Most studies - whether institutional or academic - focus on global ex-ante analyses of the effects of a transition to the circular economy. Very few studies actually compare theoretical circular economy models with their concrete effects in localized situations.
5. Many studies develop a national or regional perspective but very few take into account the employment effects of a transition to the circular economy on a global scale. Without taking into account global value chains and the international division of labour, approaches to labour in the circular economy literature often appear limited.

We recommend that the members of the other JUST2CE work packages integrate these different dimensions in the elaboration of macro-economic models and Decision Support Systems (WP5), in particular for public policy planning.

The originality of the JUST2CE project compared to the studies we have evaluated is to gather a critical theory of the existing models, to formulate new ones and especially to confront these models to the reality of local experiments of circular activities on a global scale (WP2).

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List of abbreviations

| | |
|---------------|---|
| CE | <i>Circular economy</i> |
| JT | <i>Just transition</i> |
| WP | <i>Workpackage</i> |
| RRI | <i>Responsible Research and Innovation</i> |
| ARC | <i>Agencia de Residus de Catalunya</i> |
| ILO | <i>International Labour Organisation</i> |
| UNEP | <i>United Nations Environmental Program</i> |
| GDP | <i>Gross domestic production</i> |
| CES | <i>Centre for Social Studies, university of Coimbra</i> |
| SDG | <i>Sustainable Development Goals</i> |
| NGO | <i>Non-Governmental Organisation</i> |
| KiCa | <i>Capital-intensive circular activities</i> |
| LiCa | <i>Labour-intensive circular activities</i> |
| SFC-IO | <i>Stock-Flow Consistent Input-Output</i> |
| ITUC | <i>International Trade Union Confederation</i> |
| ETUC | <i>European Trade Union Confederation</i> |
| EPSU | <i>European Public Services Union</i> |
| OECD | <i>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</i> |

[1] Introduction

[1.1] Main questions

This report on “Labour in the transition to Circular Economy” starts from two main questions: are workers’ subjectivity and agency taken into account in circular economy (CE) models and practices? If not, what would circular economy look like if labour and trade-union’s point of view were considered?

Based on reuse, repair and recycling, circular economy is thought of as a regenerative system of production and consumption, closing the loop of economic cycles of inputs and outputs. It should thus offer privileged solutions to preserve natural resources, limit environmental pollution and regulate waste (Stahel 2016 ; Repp, Hekkert, Kirchherr, 2021). Insofar as circular economy involves a transformation of production methods, workers will necessarily be at the heart of the transition. It is therefore important to take their point of view into account in order 1) to measure the effects of the transition on labour and 2) to ensure the support or even the initiative of workers to promote a transition to circular economy.

A number of papers, based on systematic bibliographies of the academic literature on circular economy, have studied the place of social inclusion and justice (Friant, Vermeulen, Salomone 2020 ; Mies, Gold 2021 ; Oliveira, Vicenzi, Souza Piao 2021), international relations (Barrie, Schröder 2021), the balance between ecological and economic measures (Ghisellini, Cialani, Ulgiatti, 2016) or the ethical foundations of CE models (Inigo, Block 2019). Nevertheless, as some bibliometric study suggests (Llorente-González and Vence 2020), there is still a very low share of social and political science studies in the literature on the circular economy compared to the fields of engineering, industrial organization or supply chain management. This report contributes to expanding the social science contribution to CE by offering a systematic review of literature on labour in the transition to the circular economy.

Since the early 1990s, labour organizations and trade unions have forged the concept of “Just transition” to defend that the ecological transition will not happen without workers themselves (Mazzochi 1993, Kohler 2010). In its current official definition (ILO, 2015 ; ILO, 2018), the just transition must guarantee decent working conditions for all, quality green jobs, including for workers in sectors that must be abandoned (for example, fossil fuels). In this report, we are looking for a “labour-oriented circular economy perspective” based on Just Transition principles.

A transition to the circular economy implies a change in the number of jobs in certain sectors, in the type of skills mobilised by workers (Barbas, Lopez, José 2020), in the gender division of labour (Wheeler, Glucksmann, 2015 ; Hobson, Holmes, Welch, Wheeler, Wieser 2021 ; Wieser 2019) or more generally in working conditions (Llorente-González, Vence 2020).

[1.2.] Framework: combining five approaches to labour

Generally speaking, labour is the set of social activities coordinated to produce what is useful to satisfy human needs. More precisely, by labour, we mean the ensemble of waged and unwaged workers who re/produce all that is necessary to the development of life on earth: people, food, commodities, infrastructures, services, knowledge, art, and the biophysical environment itself. Adopting such broad understanding of labour is key to making sure that all forms of work performed in society are included in our vision of a just transition to CE. In the specialized academic literature , however, labour is typically intended in a much more restricted way, i.e. as waged work (i.e. jobs) in industry or service sectors. We have identified five categories that define labour in the academic literature on circular economy: quantity, quality, agency, gender, race.

[1.2.1] Quantitative approach to labour

A strictly quantitative definition of labour assesses the number of jobs created or destroyed in the transition to circular economy. Quantitative approaches to labour aim firstly to assess the effects of public policies on employment in circular activities. The European commission has categorized the repair, reuse and recycling sectors as “circular” activities in the first Circular Economy Action Plan and in the Monitoring Framework for Circular Economy (European Commission 2015; European Commission 2020). Since then, circular activities have also included those aimed at reducing material use, pollutant emissions and waste as well as remanufacturing industrial goods. The potential for job creation is evaluated on the basis of a rather heterogeneous set of circular activities, which ranges from waste collection, materials recovery and recycling, to repair of all kinds of goods and retail trade of second-hand items.

The New Circular Economy Action Plan is based on a quantitative approach to labour: “A recent study [Cambridge Econometrics, Directorate-General for Environment of European Commission et al. 2018] estimates that applying circular economy principles across the EU economy has the potential to increase EU GDP by an additional 0.5% by 2030 creating around 700 000 new jobs” (European Commission 2020). As can be seen, in the Commission's new Circular Economy Plan, quantitative approaches to labour in terms of numbers of jobs created per sector are most often linked to econometric projections of GDP growth in the context of a transition to the circular economy.

Secondly, the quantitative approach tends to measure the effects of capital composition on employment. This is done by calculating the ratio between capital intensity and labour intensity in circular activities (Llorente-González and Vence 2020). A third element that quantitative definitions of labour allow to measure is the labour market restructuring between different economic sectors on a global scale (Repp, Hekkert and Kirchherr 2021). These three dimensions of the quantitative approach to labour can be found in many reports of the Ellen Mac Arthur Foundation. In the report intitled “Towards the Circular Economy. Economic and business rationale for an accelerated transition”, the authors noted for instance: “Finally, other sources report that a move toward a circular economy could potentially create moderate benefits, either in terms of job growth or employment market resilience. Sita Group, the waste management arm of Suez Environment, estimates that some 500,000 jobs are created by the recycling industry in the EU, and this number could well rise in a circular economy” (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2013, 68).

[1.2.2] Qualitative approach to labour : just transition and decent work

Just transition is a central concept in contemporary climate discussions. Since 2015, it has been included in the Paris Agreement resulting from COP21 and is one of the watchwords of many international organisations and trade unions. Just transition refers to “the idea that justice and equity must form an integral part of the transition towards a low-carbon world” (UNSRID 2018, 4). It is therefore a question of introducing a social justice issue into the technical reflections on the ecological transition. But the concept of “Just transition” also seeks to overcome a deeper contradiction between work and the environment.

At the heart of these contradiction lies the fear that addressing the monumental climate challenge will inevitably require us to choose between either protecting the planet or protecting workers and the economies that sustain people (Barca 2018; Cipler and Harrison 2020; Hoffmann and Paulsen 2020 ; Rätzzel, 2021 ; Rätzzel and Uzzel, 2012). With the backing of some governments, a handful of unions and corporations – especially in the fossil fuel sector – argue that efforts to protect the environment should not take precedence over economic growth and quality jobs. Within the climate camp, some stakeholders believe that the destruction of jobs is the unfortunate price to pay if we are to prevent catastrophe climate change (UNSRID, 2018 ; Barth and Littig 2021).

The concept of “Just transition” tries precisely to define a political agenda that overcomes this conflict between defending jobs and protecting the environment. To quote the American trade-union climate activist Brian Kholer, “the real choice is not jobs or environment. It is both or neither”. This idea was taken up by the International Trade Union Confederation in 2010: “No Jobs on a Dead Planet”. The problem raised by the concept of just transition is therefore how to support the most ambitious objectives for the ecological transition in a way that is fair for workers and communities who are already suffering the full effects of climate change.

A qualitative approach takes into account the way in which labour is performed, i.e. the conditions of work including their social and environmental effects. In this respect, qualitative definitions of labour have generally been formulated in terms of “decent work” or “quality job” (ILO 2008 ; Poschen 2017 ; Ree 2019). The meanings of these two expressions overlap sufficiently for us to consider them as synonyms. Decent work has been defined by the ILO and endorsed by the international community as being “productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity” (UNEP 2008). Decent work involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income; provides security in the workplace and social protection for workers and their families; offers better prospects for personal development and encourages social integration; gives people the freedom to express their concerns, to organize and to participate in decisions that affect their lives; and guarantees equal opportunities and equal treatment for all (ILO 2008). In this respect, following ILO custom, we consider fair wages as a determinant of decent work and therefore falling under the qualitative approach to labour

A qualitative approach to labour follows the recommendations of the Sustainable Development Goals, in particular SDG 8: « Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. » (General Assembly of the United Nations 2015).

Nevertheless, we consider that the two definitions of decent work proposed by the SDGs and the ILO mix a quantitative and a qualitative approach to labour, which we feel it is necessary to distinguish for our analysis of a transition to circular economy.

The SDG and ILO definitions of decent work start from the presupposition that an increase in the number of jobs is socially desirable. However, increasing the number of jobs in a given sector does not guarantee the quality of the jobs created. But neither does it guarantee the environmental value of the work done. Labour can disturb the biosphere in at least three ways. Firstly, it can involve the extraction of raw materials beyond the regenerative capacity of ecosystems, resulting in resource depletion or biodiversity collapse. Secondly, in a fossil economy, most job creation leads to an increase in the productive consumption of greenhouse gas emitting energy. Whatever the nature of the jobs (in the agricultural sector, in the industrial sector or in the service sector), all labour requires an input of energy which, when not decarbonised, leads to an increase in the effects of global warming. Finally, certain forms of labour produce a lot of waste, the mass of which can be reduced but which cannot be eliminated given the current state of technical knowledge and while maintaining an increase in production of goods. This is particularly the case in the construction or apparel sectors.

This raises the issue of economic growth. If growth of GDP is linked to a system that seeks to produce more commodities to satisfy ever-increasing human needs, then this growth has to be accompanied by an increase in the disturbance of natural environments. In a fully circular economy, we can imagine producing as many goods as in the previous cycle, but certainly not more, since this would mean extracting more resources, consuming more energy and producing more waste. It is difficult to conceive of an economy that aims to limit the extraction of nature, pollution and waste by producing more material goods.

In this context, the presupposition of a necessary increase in the number of jobs must be questioned. Green jobs are mainly linked to the sectors of reproductive labour (in the broad sense, including agricultural and care work) and services, while jobs linked to the production of new material goods contribute to a deterioration of relations with the environment by extracting raw materials, emitting greenhouse gases or producing waste.

[1.2.3] Workers’ agency and design

By emphasising the agency of workers, the aim is to deepen the concept of decent work. Though difficult to quantify, the meaning one gives to one’s labour and the ways in which one performs it are essential components of decent work. A just CE model therefore should engage workers’ subjectivities in two ways: 1) so that they can take pride and recognition of their jobs, but also 2) so that they can *initiate* the transition to circular economy. Workers can initiate transition policies at different scales. Firstly, at the enterprise level, workers should have a role to play in general

decisions, whether on enterprise strategies in the case of cooperatives, or on occupational health and safety through dedicated committees or on production processes. This is why the ILO recommends using occupational health and safety committees, where they exist, to initiate measures to transform labour processes in a more sustainable direction and more respectful of workers' health. Secondly, at the national level, workers' proposals for social and environmental measures should find expression through social dialogue facilitated by their unions. The demands for a just transition that are now a common agenda of public institutions, private firms and trade unions are evidence of the influence of workers' initiatives through trade union representation.

From this point of view, the approaches of eco-design centred on labour seem to us particularly enlightening and useful (White 2020 ; Valencia, Koppelmäki, Morrow et al. 2020). In the transition to a circular economy, the question of the design of objects and technical systems in general is quite central. First of all, it is a question of thinking about objects designed for reuse, reemployment and recycling (Ellen MacArthur Foundation 2013). These approaches can be called "design for sustainability" or eco-design (Ceschin, Fabrizio and Gaziulusoy 2020).

But labour-related eco-design for sustainability have two other meanings. Firstly, the *eco-design for workers* must take into account in advance the type of labour process involved in the reuse, re-employment or recycling of objects designated for sustainability (White 2021). This eco-design approach must also take into account the relationship to the environment and nature in the labour spaces. The second meaning concerns *eco-design by workers*. A worker-centred view of design shows that it cannot be limited to "actual designers" but must include all actors who are involved at some point in determining the function of an object or a technical system. In this respect, domestic workers or workers involved in reuse or recycling have an important - often invisible - place in the use of objects. Informal waste-pickers often know the possible use of an object or the different transformations it can undergo (a plastic bottle or a laptop motherboard) (Archer and Adelina 2021).

Worker design involves forms of democratic and environmental governance at work. Otherwise, workers will not be able to have a say in the design of objects and production systems. Environmental democracy at work can be achieved through social dialogue via trade unions, cooperative enterprises or direct and participatory democracy with board of management with greater employee representation (Cihlarova, Pavla, Forestier and Zibell 2021).

The central idea is that workplace design by and for workers can open and expand new forms of industrial democracy (White 2021, 826). For example, a movement for participatory design was born in the 1970s in the Scandinavian trade unions, aimed at implementing worker-friendly modes of design and innovation. In Norway and Sweden legislation on "democracy at work" was passed; the Swedish Joint Regulation Act of 1977 outlined the right of workers and trade unions to the "co-determination in production matters such as design and the use of technology" (Ehn 1990, 254).

This dimension of eco-design for and by workers has much in common with responsible research and innovation (RRI). One of the original dimensions of the JUST2CE project is to make the link between RRI and eco-design for just transition. RRI was studied in WP3 and the results presented in deliverable 3.1 "Training material and reports of the workshops. JUST2CE Internal Training on RRI". D3.1 defines RRI as a

"transparent, interactive process by which societal actors and innovators become mutually responsive to each other with a view on the ethical acceptability, sustainability and societal desirability of the innovation process and its marketable products in order to allow a proper embedding of scientific and technological advances in our society [...]. Innovation can make a difference in addressing urgent developmental challenges such as providing access to drinking water, reducing CO2 emissions, or reducing hunger [...]. The transfer and adaptation of technologies constructed in developed countries can often contribute significantly to these goals. Substantial research efforts are needed to find solutions that address current global challenges. Effective international cooperation that involves both public and private bodies is an important step for finding the required solutions." (JUST2CE, D3.1, 11).

One of the objectives of JUST2CE is to show that workers play an essential role in the ethical acceptability, sustainability and desirability of innovation processes. Eco-design thus appears as a tool to put workers at the heart of RRI processes.

[1.2.4] Gendered approach to labour

Feminist political economy has long shown that paid labour is based on a body of unpaid labour, mostly done by women and/or racialized people ((Dombrovski 2020 ; Gibson 2020; Salleh 2004), for example care work for people or the natural environment, domestic labour for the maintenance of the household, or reproductive work in general to ensure the subsistence conditions of the community. A consideration of issues of justice at work must therefore extend the scope of visible labour to the whole of this invisible spheres of labour, the “meta-industrial” (Salleh 2004). As Salleh puts it “globally invisible, meta-industrial work maintains the necessary biological infrastructure for all economic systems, but with capitalist expansion, this labour is carried out at growing material cost to the life conditions of meta-industrials themselves – mostly women” (Salleh 2004, 8).

In the “community economies” approach, income from paid labour is not the only material resource for well-being and dignity (Barca 2019, Gibson 2020). On the contrary, unpaid labour can play a very important role in the development of a circular society. Indeed, much unpaid work is an important part of social and environmental reproduction. This is true of domestic tasks and the care of living beings and things. Taking care of children or parents, cooking, sorting waste are all activities that ensure the reproduction of society within the domestic sphere. In a circular society, only activities that are truly useful for the satisfaction of needs and the reproduction of society are carried out. This is why many circular activities are carried out by unpaid workers, especially in the domestic sphere. Volunteers working in recycling centres in the North are just one example of unpaid labour that is essential for the development of circular activities. For some authors, one of the challenges for developing sustainable societies is therefore to shift the focus from paid labour and consumption to unpaid care work for other humans and environments (Gibson-Graham, Cameron and Healy 2013).

Questioning the sexual division of labour allows us to critique gender inequalities in income; in the division of labour; in hygiene, health and safety at work (e.g. wage gaps, feminization of poverty and low-income jobs, double burden, caregivers’ depletion), but it also allows us to propose ways to rethink a low-carbon economy that aims at the well-being of human and non-human communities. The sexual division of labour inherited from early modernity (Salleh 2004) led to the majority of unpaid domestic work being done by women and paid work by men. This division between paid and unpaid labour has led to a precariousness of women on the labour market but also in family structures since they are often dependent on male wages to ensure their living conditions. A low-carbon economy in which human and non-human persons are cared for implies the revaluation of a number of unpaid tasks that have been devalued in the modern linear economy. The transition to the circular economy must therefore challenge the sexual division of labour that devalues unpaid reproductive tasks and overvalues paid productive activities.

The importance of these tasks in an economy focused on reuse, remanufacturing and recycling is central. Indeed, these modalities of the circular economy rely both on ecological conditions that need to be maintained and on domestic tasks without which products cannot be reintroduced into the circular economy (Battistoni 2020, Ravenswood 2022). Waste sorting, or else “Environmental domestic labour” (Farbotko 2017), for example, is free labour, mostly performed by women, and thus part of meta-industrial labour. Environmental domestic labour and meta-industrial labour in general must therefore be at the heart of the reflections on the circular economy.

In the framework of the JUST2CE project, these issues will be analysed in-depth in the CE and Gender report (D1.2) and empirically tested in the case study n°9 on the Morocco Plastics Recycling Value Chain. The MOSSUP (Moroccan Supermarkets tackling Single-Use Plastics) initiative, for example, aims to reduce the amount of single-use plastic currently being thrown away. The JUST2CE project partner, Agencia de Residus de Catalunya (ARC), will seek to identify barriers to the implementation of circular economy practices. The importance given to users in the reuse and recycling of plastics can help assess the place of women in the plastic value chains and sexual division of domestic environmental labour in Morocco.

[1.2.5] Postcolonial approach to labour

Postcolonial approaches to labour (Chakrabarty 2007; Mezzadra 2011) have shown how the categories forged in Europe to think about the history of the white male wage-earner obscure the history of a whole section of male and female workers who do not have a voice in the dominant narratives (Spivak 2007). The problem of post-colonial theories of labour is therefore both epistemological and political. On the one hand, it is a question of knowing *how to give a voice* to those who do not have one in the dominant literature on labour. On the other hand, it is a question of taking into account the *type of work they do* and that was often left out of modernist theories of labour, such as the peasantry for example. Theories of labour in the classical and modern age have most often focused on productive labour, the activities of transforming natural matter by natural human agency through specific techniques, in order to satisfy specific social needs (John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx). Most often the model for thinking about labour is therefore craft or manufacture, the activities of producing a commodity from a raw material. This definition of labour therefore leaves aside all care and reproduction activities, agricultural eco-regulation work or the service sector. The filing of a patent does not correspond to the same kind of activities as the manufacture of a chair. Post-colonial theories of labour first sought to think about the place of workers in non-manufacturing activities outside the metropolitan centres of the countries of the North (Indian peasants for example). The postcolonial critique of labour links these two aspects by asserting that the realities experienced by subaltern workers will fully emerge when literature gives them a voice (Spivak and Guha 1988).

However, the exclusion of certain forms of labour and workers from literature is not only related to sectors of the economy (e.g. informal), to the sexual division of labour between productive and reproductive labour. It is also linked to the neglect of illegal workers, especially women, in the countries of the North (Farris 2020) and to the international division of labour which devotes certain areas of the world economy entirely to certain forms of labour (Wallerstein 1974 ; V.d. Linden 2008; Mies 1982).

Two important questions emerge from the analysis of the literature on the circular economy and just transition : 1) what is the place for racially discriminated, immigrant and non-citizen workers in the circular economy? 2) What international division of labour is embedded in the circular economy? These two questions are very rarely addressed in the CE literature, so it is difficult to imagine a transition that truly leaves no one behind, starting with people in migratory situations, people of colour in Northern countries, or frontline communities in Southern countries.

[1.3] Methodology and bibliographic analysis

[1.3.1] Bibliography selection process

This report is based upon a critical literature review on Circular Economy and Just transition with bibliometric analysis and content analysis of the collected papers. A critical literature review is useful to identify conceptual and empirical lack in the literature and to develop new theoretical perspectives from a broad range of different fields and approaches (Grant and Booth, 2009 ; Saunders and Royon, 2011). A critical literature review "aims to assess, critique, and synthesize the literature on a research topic in a way that enables new theoretical frameworks and perspectives to emerge. [...] This type of review often requires a more creative collection of data, as the purpose is usually not to cover all articles ever published on the topic but rather to combine perspectives and insights from different fields or research traditions." (Snyder, 2019, p.335-336).

The main weakness of a critical review of the literature lies in the subjective dimension of the selection made. For this reason, we have combined this approach with the methods of a systematic literature review, which reduces this bias by adopting strict criteria in the selection of the bibliography. We followed the methodology used in an article on

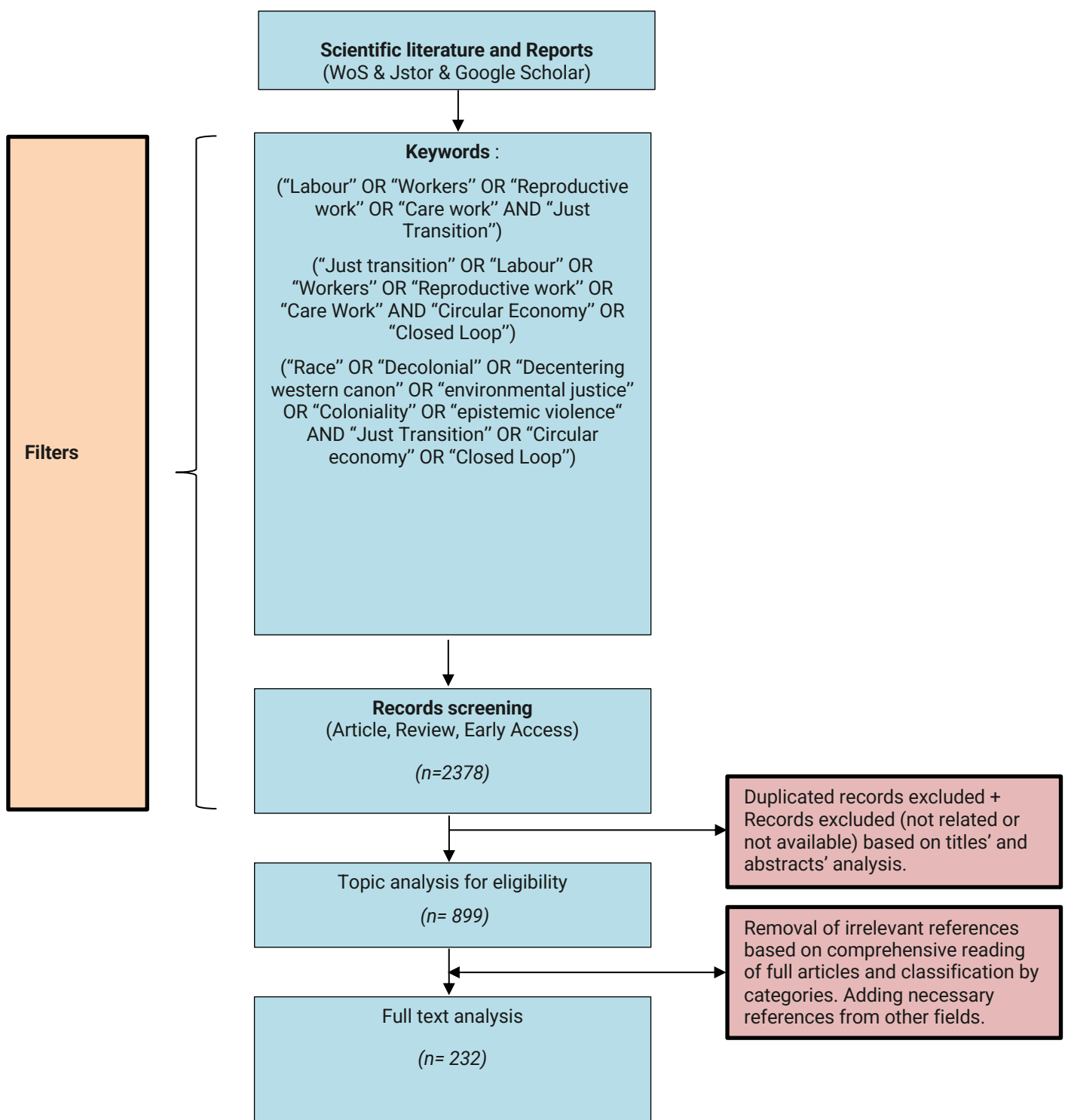
“Circular economy and social inclusion: a systematic literature review¹” (Oliveira, Vincenzi, Souza Piao, 2021). Academic papers and reports from international organizations, NGOs or trade-unions were retrieved from Web of Science, Jstor and Google Scholar databases using keywords related to circular economy and just transition. The key words about decoloniality and racial history were chosen with the help of Emanuela Girei and Andrea Jimenez from Sheffield University (JUST2CE). After eliminating duplicate references and articles not available in English, French, Spanish or Italian, our set contained 899 references. Figure 1 shows an overview of the item selection process.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the bibliography, we then selected 184 articles (n=184) that we felt were the most relevant and added the references necessary for our framework (n=48). This constituted our critical bibliography (n= 232) which we studied extensively. We conducted a bibliometric data analysis on the entire systematic bibliography (n=899), which provides important insights into the timing of publications, their geographical distribution or the concepts used in the literature.

The core of the research consisted in searching the references of the bibliography on labour and the circular economy for the presence or absence of our 5 approaches to labour. But we have chosen to make a strict distinction between academic and grey literatures. We therefore first looked in the academic literature on the circular economy for the place given to labour based on our 5-point framework (section 2). Then we looked at the literature of international organisations, both public and private, to see how much emphasis they put on labour and the circular economy (section 3). Finally, we draw some conclusions (section 4).

¹ We would like to thank Dr. Roberta de Castro Souza Piao for the communication of methodological documents and for her support.

Fig. 1 : Article selection process



[1.3.2] Papers per year

The first striking feature of this bibliography is that the 899 references were written very recently. Literature in environmental labour studies, reports on a just transition or on social inclusion in the circular economy were mostly written after 2015 with a significant increase from 2017. Figure 2 shows the number of articles, reports, books or book chapters per year.

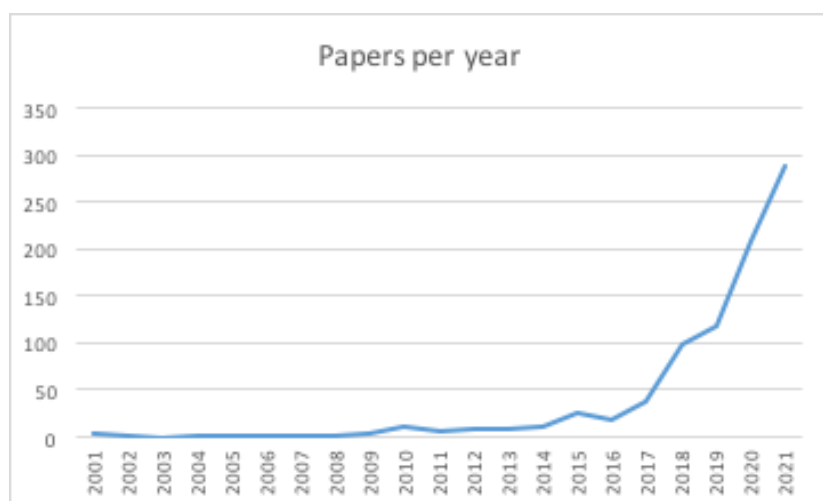


Fig. 2. Papers per year

[1.3.3] Classification by categories

The classification by categories represents the qualitative analysis of the titles and abstracts of the whole references (n=899). We have identified the following categories in relation with our topic: (a) Social inclusion and just transition in the circular economy, (b) Just transition principles, (c) case studies with a geographical basis, (d) specificities by economic sectors, (e) gender issues in just transition and circular economy, (f) inheritance of colonialism and racial inequalities in circular economy models. We used all these categories to classify the bibliography into 6 entries. Table 1 presents the categories of analysis.

Table 1 – Categories used to analyze the papers

| Categories | Analytical categories |
|--|---|
| Social inclusion and just transition strategies in circular economy (n=103) | Just transition, social inclusion, sustainability, North-South relations |
| Just transition principles (n=306) | Decent and green jobs creation, workers' participation to negotiations, Trade Union environmentalism, climate justice |

| | |
|---|--|
| Case studies with a geographical basis (n=217) | China, South Africa, United States, European Union, Canada, Germany, Poland, Indonesia, etc. |
| Specificities by economic sector (n=237) | Energy (mainly coal) ; Waste ; Transport, Agriculture, food and forestry ; Raw materials ; City planning and resilience ; Blue economy ; Textile and fashion ; Automobile ; Gig and platform economy |
| Feminist and gender issues in just transition and circular economy (n=27) | Feminist Political Ecology, Women's energy precarity, Gender inequality and climate change, Reproductive work, Gender justice, Feminist energy systems |
| Inheritance of colonialism and racial inequalities in circular economy models (n=9) | Black dispossession, Environmental racism, Racial and energy inequalities, Colonialism |

[1.3.4] Frequency by categories

The frequency reflects the importance of general policy thinking about the just transition in the bibliography. The other striking feature is the near absence of reflections on colonial history and the legacy of racism or unequal exchanges between North and South in studies on just transition and circular economy. Questions of gender and feminism or reproductive work are also under-represented. Fig. 2 shows the unequal repartition of papers and reports in the different categories.

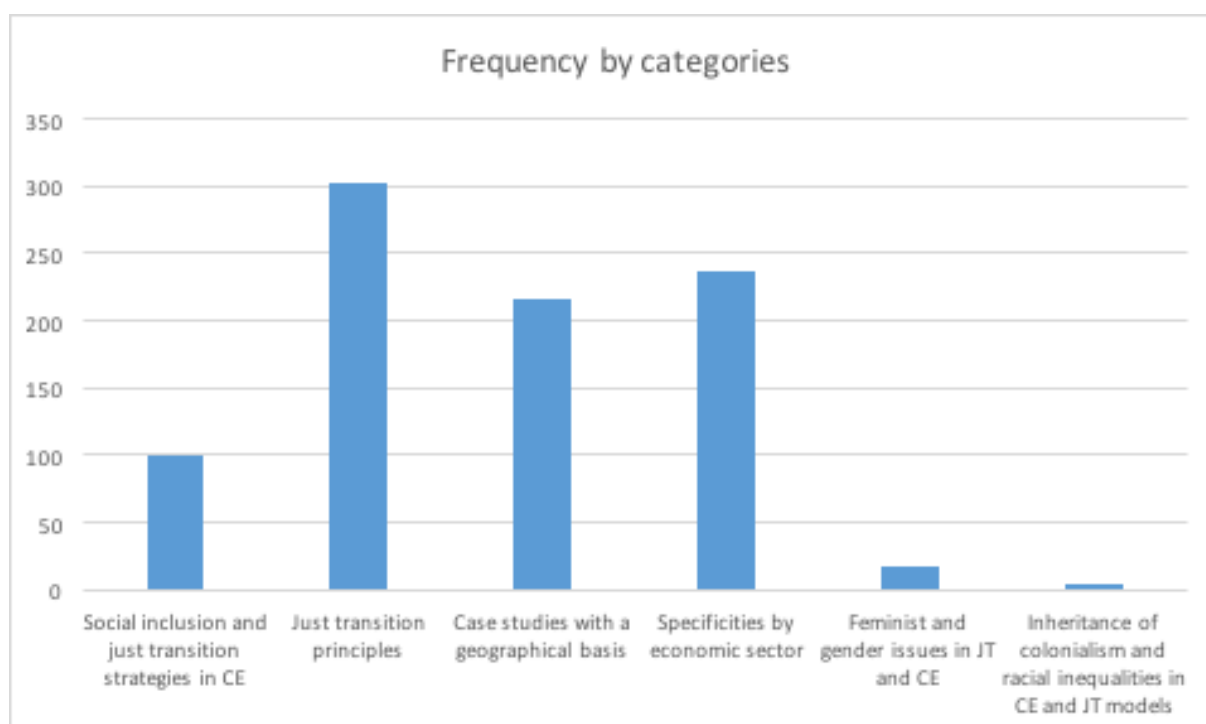


Fig. 2 Frequency by categories

[1.3.5] Location of case studies

The geographical location of the case studies is very instructive. For the sake of clarity, we have chosen to keep the countries that represented more than 2% of the case studies. The countries representing less than 2% have been integrated into the panel of their continent. An important part is located in the global North (European Union and

Germany in particular), the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia. The case studies on China are quite numerous but not as many as one would have expected (in English). Southeast Asian and South American countries are under-represented. The African situation is singular since South Africa alone accounts for 18% of the case studies (i.e., more than China and the United States combined) while Africa (excluding South Africa) accounts for 8%, i.e., as much as China or the United States alone. Several hypotheses can be made to explain this anomaly. The first is methodological. Insofar as we have drawn up a bibliography based on a critical literature review, the countries where the two fields of the circular economy and the just transition are the most studied separately appear to be much more represented than the others. However, South Africa has seen one of the largest workers' movements for the environment with the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign launched in 2011 by trade unions and civil society organisations, including climate organisations. A second hypothesis for South Africa's over-representation in circular economy and just transition case studies is the country's sociology and the significant development of universities, think tanks and foundations based there as opposed to other countries on the continent. Finally, a third reason, cultural and epistemological, is due to the fact that our search engines (JStor, Google Scholar, Web of Science) mainly identify productions in English, whereas there are many languages of scientific writing in Africa (notably French in West Africa). Figure 3 shows the frequency of location of case studies around the world.

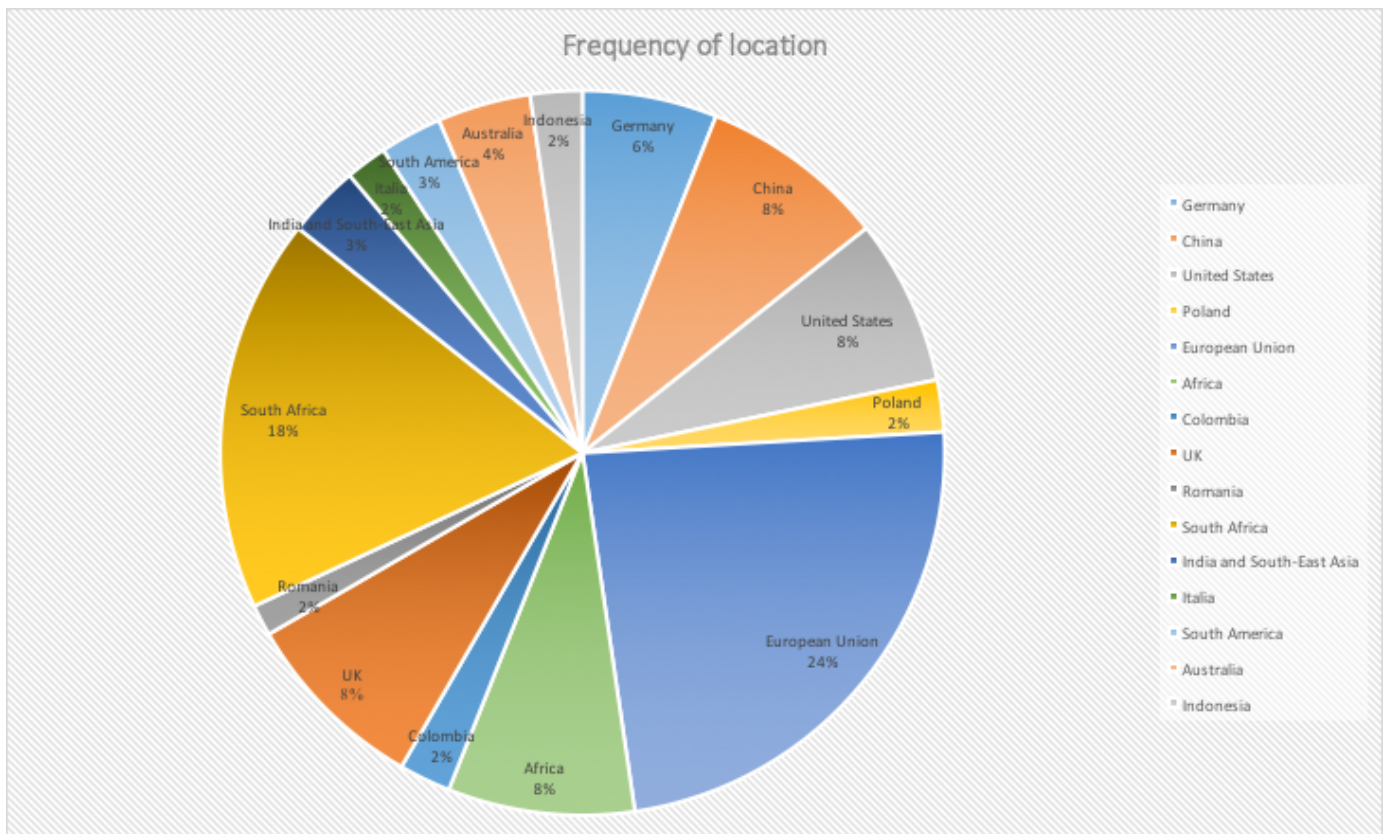
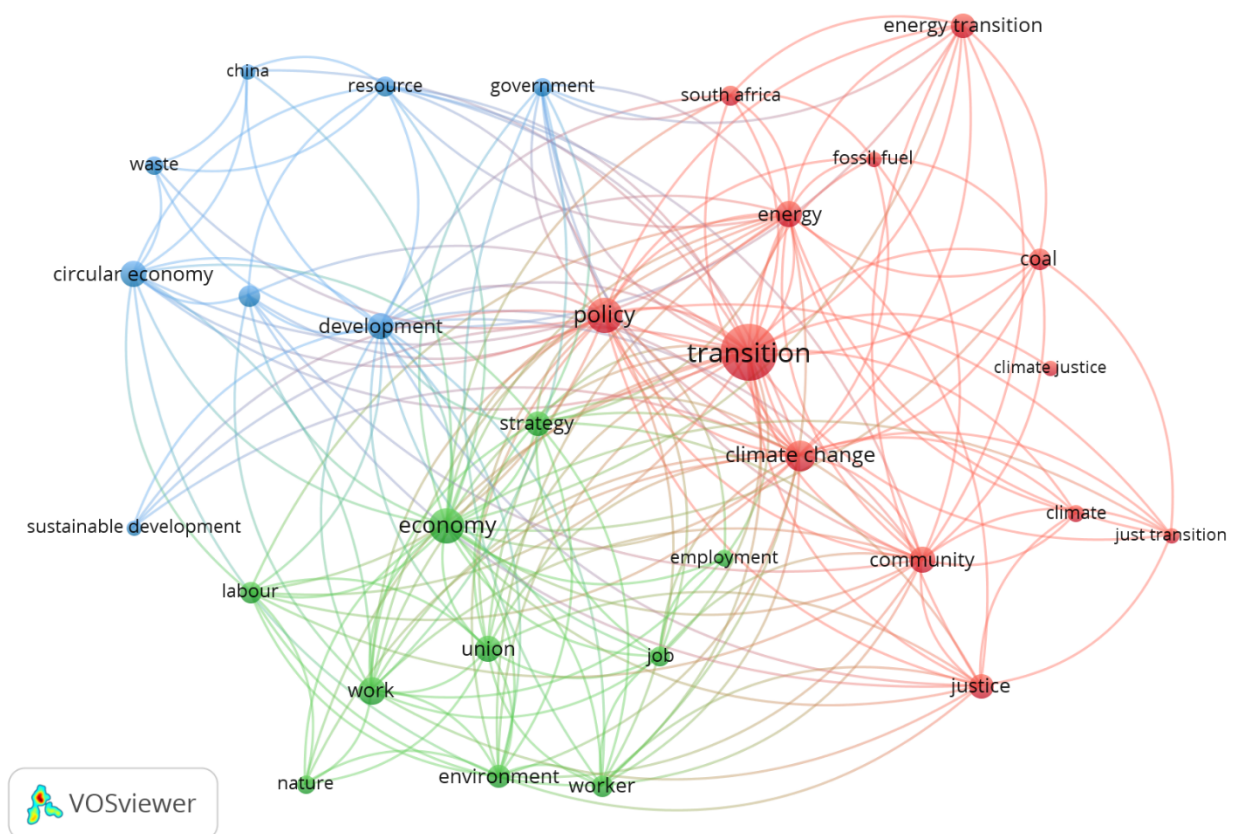


Fig. 3 Frequency of location

[1.3.6] Main concepts and keywords

In order to analyse the main keywords and concepts used in the references, we used the software VOSviewer for bibliometric data mapping². What is obvious is the link between just transition and issues of energy, energy transition or energy justice. The link between “just transition” and reuse, recycling, material sustainability or waste is much more tenuous. Figure 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 shows the main keywords of the bibliography.

Fig. 4 Main Keywords of the whole bibliography; based on text data (titles and abstracts).



² We would like to thank Dr. Teresa Meira (JUST2CE, Coimbra) for her precious help in learning this software.

JUST2CE

A Just Transition to Circular Economy

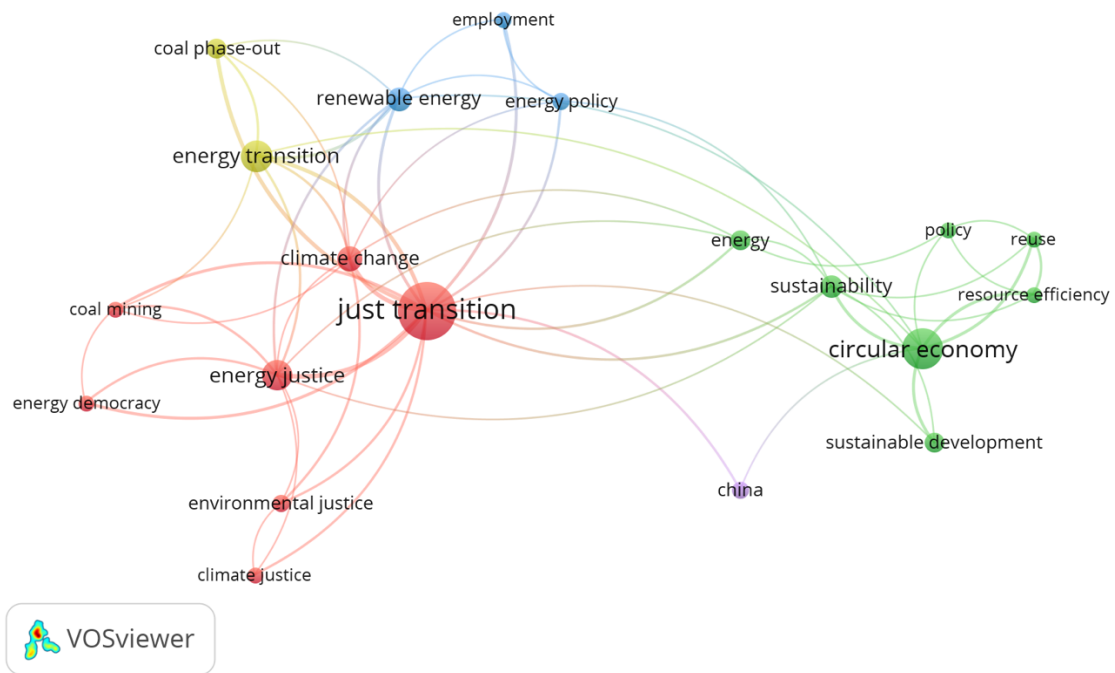


Fig. 7 Main keywords of the peer-reviewed articles; based on text data

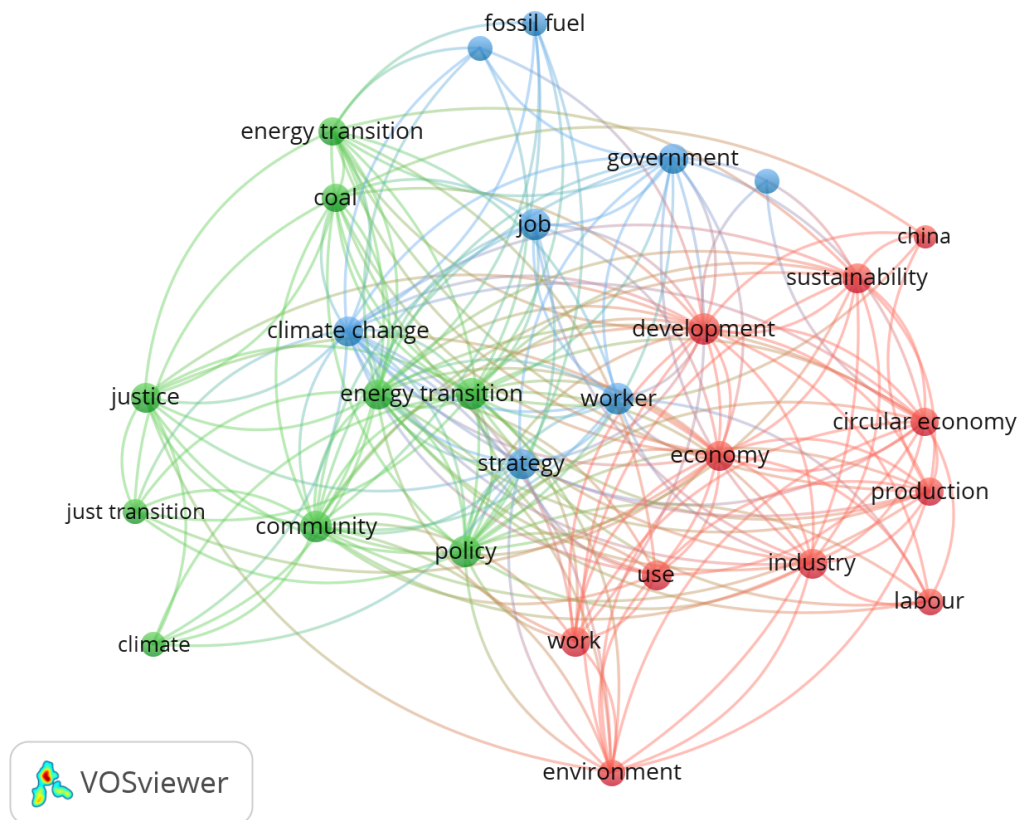


Fig. 8 Main Keywords of the Web of Science database ; based on bibliographic data

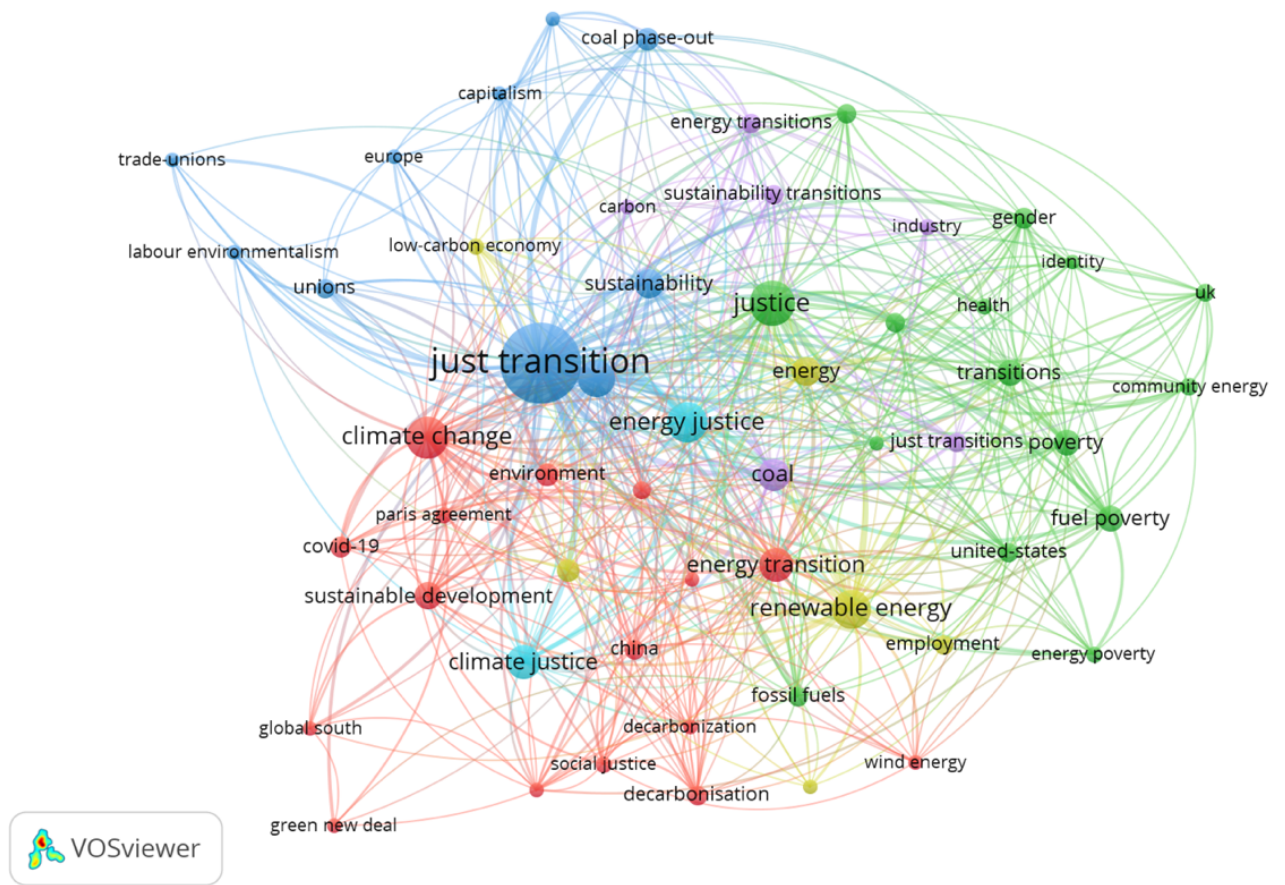


Fig. 9 Main keywords of the Web of Science database ; based on text data

[2] Labour in the existing circular economy academic literature

[2.1] General lack of reflection on labour issues

A quick database search shows how labour is scarcely considered in the academic literature on the circular economy. For instance, in Web of Science, a simple search (last search performed on 3 June 2022) provides 14,825 references on the circular economy. If we combine “circular economy” and “labour”, there are only 73 references (which become 71 if we combine “circular economy” and “workers”), most of which are irrelevant as they only mention labour and workers in passing. This is quite significant for a way of thinking about the circular economy that focuses on the issues of economic and ecological flows without taking into account working conditions and workers’ agency.

If we now turn to the references collected in our critical bibliography, we see that labour is present in two ways. On the one hand, the literature gives a respectable place to quantitative approaches to labour (see point 2.2). On the other hand, reflections on the just transition lead to an increasing consideration of the qualitative dimension of labour (see point 2.3). However, in the academic literature on the circular economy, the agency of workers, gender relations or the post-colonial history of labour is never taken into account (see point 2.4).

[2.2] Mainly quantitative approach to labour

Job creation is one of the objectives of the circular economy in addition to efficiency in the use of resources, the development of sustainable reuse practices and the reduction of waste through recycling (Stahel 2016).

[2.2.1] Importance of job creation in circular economy academic literature

It is true that a significant part of the academic literature on the social effects of the transition to a circular economy focuses on job creation. According to Mies and Gold, this is the most frequent issue in their sample on the “social dimension” of the circular economy, with one in three articles devoted to or addressing the issue. It is sometimes the sole social indicator (Mies and Gold 2021).

Regarding quantitative assessments of the labour market effects of the circular economy, much of the academic literature seems to show an overall net increase (Wiebe et al., 2019; Mitchell and James, 2015; Coats and Benton 2015; Larsson and Linfred 2020; Wijkman and Skånberg, 2015, Sulich and Soloduchko-Pelc 2021). The grey literature (reports from public and private organisations) is not the subject of this section, but it is interesting to note that their assessments of the overall increase in employment are generally even more positive than the academic literature on the subject (Stavropoulos and Burger 2020).

The results of an overall increase in employment have however been criticised from three different perspectives.

[2.2.2] Uncertainty in calculation methods

A number of authors have shown that the results of these calculations are often uncertain, either because of empirical studies that show the complexity of concrete situations or because of the diversity of economic models proposed.

In an OECD report that reviews 47 scenarios proposed by 15 macroeconomic models, Laubinger, Lanzi and Chateau conclude that :

“Many of them are regional and only four are global assessments. The review suggests that the employment gains of resource efficient and circular economy policies range between 0 and 2%, with one study predicting employment gains up to 7%. Only three scenarios find slightly negative employment results. The scenario design among the studies varies widely, but in general, most simulations revolve around material taxes aimed at reducing virgin material consumption and increasing resource efficiency. In some simulations, the generated tax revenues are redistributed to reduce distortionary labour taxes, which is commonly referred to as an environmental tax reform. In such scenarios, the positive employment effect is found to be stronger by around 2 percentage points” (Laubinger, Lanzi and Chateau 2019).

Several lessons can therefore be learned about the methods of calculating the number of jobs created in different sectors.

- Unless monetary and fiscal policies are taken into account, it is difficult to measure accurately the effects of the transition on the labour market.
- It is very difficult to measure the indirect effects on employment in sectors that are not directly affected by the transition to the circular economy.
- Only concrete case studies can compare macro-economic projections with their actual results. While there are many ex-ante macro-economic models on the effects of the circular economy on the labour market, there are very few ex-post studies on transitions that have already taken place.

[2.2.3] Scale problem

Secondly, sectoral studies on a global scale have shown the theoretical limits of circular economy models designed on a regional or national scale. As our bibliometric analysis shows, the academic literature is very little concerned with the effects of the circular economy on global value chains, the international division of labour or global capitalism. Out of 14,800 papers on the circular economy referenced in Web of Science, only 480 (i.e. less than 0.4%) mention “international” in their title or abstract. With the keyword “global value chain”, there are only 16 references out of 14,800. There are only 69 references with the keywords “circular economy” and “international trade” (accessed on 7 June 2022, on Web of Science). A study on apparel value chains at a global scale shows that the increase of jobs in global north following the transition to circular economy may be accompanied by a decrease of jobs in the apparel production countries such as India, Bangladesh, Vietnam or China (Repp, Hekkert, Kirchherr, 2021). This could lead to the reinforcement of social and spatial inequalities (Schroeder, Dewick, Kusi-Sarpong, Hofstetter, 2018). Repp, Hekkert and Kirchherr conclude that “on the recognition level, therefore, one could argue that the EU’s CE transition focusses on benefits for EU citizens and economy. In contrast, non-EU economies, in particular workers outside the EU, are disregarded” (Repp, Hekkert and Kirchherr, 2021, 11). One of the challenges for social justice and a just transition is therefore to develop global approaches to the circular economy. Regional or national borders do not correspond to real material flows in a global value chain economy (Geng, Sarkis, Bleischwitz 2019).

This result will serve as a basis for the WP5 of the JUST2CE project on Policy models for evaluation and planning of circular economy practices. WP5, led by the University of Leeds, will deliver formal Stock-Flow Consistent Input-Output (SFC-IO) dynamic models. Results from these models, along with systems thinking and long-term pathways will be used as tools to develop macro and meso policy models informing the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of circular economy policies. In order to best fit assessment and planning models, the SFC-IO will integrate the effects of a transition to the circular economy on global value chains and employment across different sectors of the economy.

[2.2.4] Capital intensity, Labour intensity: Difference between reuse, repair and recycling Sectors

Third, the literature generally takes little account of the variation in the amount and type of employment created in different sectors. Some approaches instead propose to distinguish between capital-intensive and labour-intensive sectors to measure job creation more finely. As Llorente-González and Vence put it:

“Besides, it was possible to identify two major groups according to the level of capital/labour intensity of the sectors that compose them. The first one, characterised by higher levels of gross investment in tangible goods per worker, is formed by capital-intensive circular activities (KiCA) – mainly recycling (recovery of sorted materials) – and their auxiliary low-wage capital-intensive circular activities (Lw-KiCA) – waste collection, dismantling and trade. The second group is comprised of labour-intensive circular activities (LiCA) – repairing and reuse – with different levels of complexity, productivity and wages.” (Llorente-Gonzalez and Vence 2020)

What is striking about this study, which compares capital-intensive and labour-intensive sectors, is that not all sectors of the circular economy produce the same number or quality of jobs. For example, recycling and waste recovery appears to be creating more well-paid jobs, but in smaller numbers, than the remanufacturing and repair sectors, which are creating more jobs, but in a more precarious position, with lower wages and a high rate of unpaid labour. A final important element is the repair of vehicle engines which represents 40% of repairing activities, again with a lot of unpaid labour. As this study concludes, it is not enough to consider the amount of extra jobs without taking into account working conditions, wages, length and intensity of the working day, type and duration of contracts, access to social security and union representation, dignified and equal treatment of workers (Llorente-Gonzalez and Xavier Vence 2020).

[2.3] Just transition principles as a first try for a qualitative approach of labour

Since 2015 (Paris Agreement), but especially since 2018 (ILO 2018), the academic literature on the circular economy has been giving some attention to the concept of just transition in order to integrate social concerns, especially in terms of working conditions. In particular, this has led to the increasing use of the concept of “green jobs” which seeks to mix economic concerns for employment, ecological concerns for climate change mitigation and social concerns for the quality of labour (Ries, 2019). Green Jobs relate to those that reduce environmental impacts and promote sustainability. It targets the so-called balance of two major concerns: the environment and economic growth (Sulich and Soloduch-Pelc 2021).

It can therefore be considered that the uses of the concepts of “green jobs” and “decent and quality jobs” differ insofar as the former seeks to reconcile the ecological transition and economic growth, while the latter tends to place working conditions, wages, the length and intensity of the working day, social protection and unemployment or the presence of trade union representation in the foreground. The concept of “green jobs” rarely challenges the assumption of growth and the organisation of labour. In contrast, workers health and safety, skills development and general working conditions are often mentioned in the academic literature on labour and the circular economy (Mies and Gold 2021).

On the contrary, the concept of decent or quality jobs often involves a reflection on the decision-making power within the company (ILO 2020). For instance, Buch et al (2021) defend the centrality of cooperative forms of organisation in the transition to the circular economy. When collective decision-making by workers integrates environmental concerns, it achieves a double objective: to protect working conditions and to regulate relations with the environment.. The challenge for a fair and sustainable decision-making system is therefore both to give workers a central place in the company's orientations and to integrate environmental standards for a circular economy.

[2.4] Complete lack of agency, feminist and decolonial approach to labour

With the exception of a very few studies (Buch et al. 2021), academic papers on labour in the circular economy never mention the agency or power of workers' decisions, the effects of the transition on reproductive and unpaid labour or the place of non-citizen immigrant workers in the circular economy. As observed by Mies and Gold about the social dimension of the circular economy: "there was a noticeable distinction between actively or passively involved actor groups (see Table 3). Workers, for example, were rather depicted as passive in contrast to organisations being perceived as active and decisive. The argumentative focus was often on organisations and society taking care of employees' well-being" (Mies and Gold 2021, 12).

To conclude this section, we will briefly present the findings of a review of the economic literature (Laubinger, Lanzi and Chateau 2019) whose conclusions we fully share. This study on the different economic models for thinking about the transition to the circular economy is particularly useful for us as it summarises all the ideas we have discussed so far.

- Firstly, there is a small (though growing) body of quantitative research on the employment effects of a transition to the circular economy.
- Secondly, most of the 47 scenarios and 15 economic models studied by Laubinger et al. are regional, only 4 of them adopt a global scale.
- Third, in most of these quantitative models, a net increase in employment can be expected, albeit minimal (between 0 and 2%).
- Fourthly, these models are politically and socially very schematic or even "stylised". As the authors conclude :
"the net employment gains should be considered in the context of the quality, duration and gender aspects of the jobs created, and of the potential distributional effects of changes in the labour market. These aspects, as well as those concerning potential skills requirements for a resource efficient and circular economy, will need to be further explored" (Laubinger, Lanzi and Chateau 2019).

The analysis of Laubinger et al. concerns quantitative models in economics. But it is striking how much it meets our own conclusions, developed from an approach informed by social science and political ecology. We add only a fifth and a sixth point to those raised by Laubinger et al.:

- with very few exceptions, no place is given to the agency of workers and their capacity to design systems of production, reuse, repairing or recycling;
- no place is ever given to racially discriminated workers and illegal workers in reflections on labour in the circular economy.

[3] Circular Economy and Labour in institutional reports

In view of the topic of our report, the place of labour in the circular economy, it was necessary to distinguish three types of institutions:

- trade unions
- public institutions (national, regional and international);
- the third sector (NGOs, private foundations, think-tanks, activist groups);

In most countries, trade unions are governed by private law and are legally assimilated to private non-profit organisations. Since they represent the voice and organisation of workers, however, we dedicate a separate section to them.

[3.1] Circular economy in trade union literatures

Our study has led to several important results regarding the relative absence of circular economy discourse, the strong link between quantitative and qualitative approach to labour and the importance of waste in the trade union literature.

[3.1.1] Scarce interest in the concept among trade unions

There are very few trade-union reports on the circular economy as such. Many mention it in passing, devoting a section or paragraph to it. The International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), most dedicated to Just Transition, has never devoted a full report to the circular economy issue. A quick search on their website shows no results for CE. In the ITUC Climate Justice Frontline Briefing of 2017, intitled « Just Transition - Where are We Now and What's Next ? A Guide to National Policies and International Climate Governance » (ITUC 2017), circular economy is mentioned once (p.10). ITUC notes in this regard that as the circular economy is not a phase-out of certain sectors but a transformation, it implies mass skills training for workers in heavy industry in particular, who will have to completely change their labour processes.

Our assumption is that most local or national unions are not familiar with the concept. From our critical literature review, it is clear that trade unions talk very little about the circular economy, hardly ever in the case of national unions. Empirical research (surveys and interviews) would help assess the reasons for this absence, and particularly, whether it is due to rejection or ignorance of the CE debate; in the first case, whether rejection is due to considering the CE as detrimental to workers' interests, or to other reasons. Our hypothesis is that the CE concept might be perceived as a top-down, business-oriented, academic, or technocratic formula, which is inadequate to expressing the views and interests of workers and their representatives. In short, the transition to the circular economy is not a demand from workers themselves; nevertheless, some international confederations of unions are beginning to see it as an opportunity for employment and social dialogue (Gough 2021b).

[3.1.2] Strong link between quantitative and qualitative approach to labour

When addressing the circular economy, TU literatures focus on not only job opportunities, but also working conditions, decent jobs, fair wages and a tolerable length of the working day. They therefore establish a strong and necessary link between quantitative and qualitative approaches to labour.

The first EU circular economy package (European Commission 2022), for example, issued while we were writing this report, has provoked mixed reactions from the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC): while welcomed as an opportunity "to fight climate change, reduce our environmental impact and create new jobs while reducing our dependency on Russia³.", the package is nevertheless considered as "Another missed opportunity to integrate a just transition into a much-needed climate policy". The Commission is proposing new rules to make almost all physical goods on the EU market more friendly to the environment, circular, and energy efficient throughout their whole lifecycle from the design phase through to daily use, repurposing and end-of-life. In particular, the package makes it possible to establish European standards for sustainable products, thanks to the establishment of an eco-design forum which aims to social dialogue as well. Nevertheless, ETUC notes that the package focusses on prospected job opportunities, which will be concentrated in some sectors such as waste management and repair, failing to mention the job losses in extractive or

³ <https://www.etuc.org/en/document/another-missed-opportunity-integrate-just-transition-much-needed-climate-policy>

manufacturing sectors; second, it regrets the lack of consideration for the need for workers' re-training; finally, it notes that there is no guarantee that the circular economy will offer decent jobs, in good working conditions with sufficient trade union representation. In other words, the European Commission's latest package would still be a long way from the concerns for a just transition.

Throughout the trade union literature, the question of the number of green jobs is always linked to that of quality of those jobs (CACCTU 2021 ; Cihlarova, Pavla, Forestier and Zibell 2021 ; EPSU 2017 ; ITUC 2017). TU reports establish the link between ecological transition and social justice both in terms of supporting workers in the transition and of limiting the inequalities produced by the transition. For instance, in the report "Building a workforce for the climate emergency", the Campaign Against Climate Change Trade Union Group in the United Kingdom writes that "There is a big safety issue for workers in the inherently risky waste industry" (CACCTU 2021, 89).

The European Social Partners Project on Circular Economy and the World of Work – a network composed by the European Trade Union Confederation, Business Europe, SGI Europe and SMEs united – indicates that the trade-unions are particularly concerned by issues regarding health and safety at work, especially in the waste management sector (Cihlarova, Pavla, Forestier and Zibell 2021). In this report, they stress two important points. On the one hand, exposure to the hazard is relative to the type of material workers are in contact with and the type of occupations they have. Secondly, they note the importance of labour conditions and social, racial and gender inequalities in exposure to the hazard:

"The reviewed literature also identifies informal or less-regulated work related to waste management as problematic (Circle Economy, 2020). Poorly regulated work results in short-term contracts, precarious working conditions and long working hours. In some cases informal workers represent a large share of the waste management sector (Circle Economy, 2020). These informal workers do not receive a wage and are exposed to greater health and safety risks as they are working without protective clothing. In addition, this work is mostly performed by vulnerable people (e.g. elderly, homeless, refugees, migrants or minority groups) (Weghmann, 2017)" (Cihlarova, Pavla, Forestier and Zibell 2021).

In "Waste management in Europe. Good Jobs in the circular economy?", the European Public Service Union considers that "Employment conditions in the circular economy are a highly under-researched topic. [...] Further research on the employment conditions in the circular economy is highly recommended." (EPSU 2017, 3). We share this conclusion.

[3.1.3] Circular Economy as waste management

In the TU literature, the circular economy is mostly framed in terms of waste reduction, linked to a specific sector and the possibility of recycling. Generally, it is not seen as a project for the overall transformation of the economy and society (EPSU 2017, ITUC 2017). For example, the Campaign Against Climate Change - Trade Union Group in the United Kingdom (CACCTU 2021) shows that trade unions are not embracing the institutional enthusiasm for the possibility of a global transformation of the economy towards greater circularity, beyond the waste sector. In this context, however, they see it as an important factor in developing decent, well-paid and well-protected jobs, provided that workers are involved in the restructuring of the waste sector. In their report - "Building a workforce for climate emergency" - CACCTU notes that "we need to move towards a zero-waste economy, one in which the creation of waste is minimised and in which what we currently call waste is regarded as a resource" (CACCTU 2021, 90). The chapter on circular economy is, in fact, dedicated to the waste sector.

However, a more inclusive understanding of the circular economy is also emerging in some trade union literature. In this respect, the latest report of the European Social Partners' Project on "Circular economy and the world of work" (Cihlarova, Pavla, Forestier and Zibell 2021) marks an important turning point. Here, the circular economy is both understood as a general transformation of production and consumption and as a political lever for workers. Several lessons can be drawn from this report.

- The study points to a limited but positive overall impact on employment volumes (0 to 2%) (see also Laubinger et al. 2021). But the effects of this increase will be really differentiated according to the sectors of the economy.

- The study highlights that the shift to circular economy tends to require higher skills for workers as they need to work on more irregular input and to adapt more due to the use of recycled materials.
- Workers are concerned about the level of social dialogue and the increase in precariousness (especially informal work) in the circular economy.
- At company level, employers and trade union representatives should use “Works Councils and Health and Safety Committees” – when they exist – or other relevant bodies, to collect information and develop concrete measures to move towards circular business models while ensuring a positive contribution to employment, competitiveness and a fair transition for workers.

The study highlights how trade unions tend to have a restrictive conception of the circular economy centred on waste. They insist on the importance of decent labour and not only of a quantitative increase in the number of jobs, which is limited in any case. Our hypothesis is that this limited interest reflects the fact that concerns for the circular economy are very alien to the workers themselves.

The case study of WP2 on Piano Taranto will offer an original and decisive contribution in this respect. Home to one of the major steel-making plants in Europe, the city of Taranto has experienced a deep socio-environmental crisis in recent years. A civil society plan - called *Piano Taranto* – for economic transition from steel manufacturing to tertiary activities, tourism and agroecology via brownfield restoration, based on circular economy principles – has been launched in May of 2018 by a coalition of environmental and community organisations and business actors in the city of Taranto. While the main confederate unions are not involved in the Plan, smaller and more radical rank-and-file unions have been active in its design and related campaigning.

[3.2] Circular Economy and labour in institutional reports

The literature from public institutions on the circular economy is now huge, the concept being largely forged by economists in public institutions. There are hardly any reports or documents that do not mention the issue of labour. We have therefore mainly dealt with those where the issue of labour appears to be central or those that have a remarkable position on the subject. We have considered a position to be remarkable in three different cases: either because it was particularly significant of a commonly shared position; or because it stood out from the rest of the field; or because it embodied the position of a particularly important institution (the European Commission or the International Labour Organisation for instance).

[3.2.1] Mainly quantitative and qualitative approaches to labour

In Europe, the first Circular Economy Action Plan in 2015 led to numerous reports on how to implement the circular economy. While all these reports talk about job creation, they do not necessarily address the issue of decent job and working conditions. For example, in the European Commission’s report to Parliament on the implementation of the 2019 Circular Economy Action Plan (European Commission 2019), employment is only mentioned a few times. Each time, it is only about a net increase in employment without looking at working conditions, social dialogue or workers’ decision-making opportunities. Similarly, a 2018 report by Cambridge Econometrics, Trinomics and Institut Català de Finances-ICF for the European Commission (Cambridge Econometrics, Directorate-General for Environment of European Commission et al. 2018), titled “Impacts of circular economy policies on the labour market”, develops a quantitative-only approach to the labour dimension of CE, with no account for the quality of jobs created (in terms of wages, contracts, labour stability or health and safety. In this respect, from the workers’ point of view, a net job creation is not a satisfactory argument to convince the need for a transition to the circular economy. The latest publications of the Green Deal Circular Economy Action Plan of 30 March 2022 (European Commission 2022) puts the emphasis on “empowering the consumer”, while employment and Just Transition are barely mentioned. In the proposal for a new

Ecodesign for Sustainable Products Regulation (published on 30 March 2022⁴) the only reference to labour concerns the number of jobs created. Here again, one can question the nature of the jobs created, their condition and their longevity, not to mention opportunities for workers' design.

Not surprisingly, the public institution which is most attentive to working conditions and the development of decent work in the CE is the International Labour Organisation (ILO). In an April 2022 report titled "Industrial symbiosis networks as part of a circular economy: Employment effects in some industrializing countries" (ILO 2022), ILO takes into consideration the effect of circular economy at a global scale, but also the number of quality and decent jobs that have been created by CE transitions in different countries. Their conclusion is that:

In terms of the number of jobs created, the employment effects of industrial symbiosis are positive, in particular if the impacts on an entire value chain are taken into account. The quality of the jobs created, however, is not guaranteed. Some decent work deficits exist where industrial symbiosis schemes are in place; the existence of such networks does not necessarily result in significant improvements.' (ILO 2022, 10).

Indeed, in some countries, the circular activities related to reuse, repairing or re-cycling are carried out to a very large extent by informal workers. If informal workers are defined as those who have no pension insurance, ILO considers that the share of informal labour in circular activities can be as high as 90%, as in Colombia for example (ILO 2022).

[3.2.2] Gender, agency and post-colonial approaches to labour

Public institutions' reports on labour in the circular economy do often take into account women's labour, reproductive work and unpaid work; however, these issues are still under-developed (Laubinger, Lanzi, Château 2019). In its 2019 report "Skills for a greener future", for example, ILO was the first public institution to evaluate the possible effects of a global transition to circular economy on the gendered division of labour from (ILO 2019). The results are quite impressive. First, new jobs can only be created if appropriate training is provided through public policies: since women tend to receive less training in new technologies, and their technical skills tend to be less, they are likely to benefit less from the transition than men with average skills. Without appropriate training policies (i.e. oriented by gender-equality considerations), ILO concludes that the global transition to the circular economy could increase social inequalities between men and women and between skilled and precarious workers.

"In both the energy sustainability and the circular economy scenario, most job creation and reallocation is concentrated among mid-skill occupations, with the greatest impact on male-dominated occupations (figure 5). These results suggest that the growth in mid-skill jobs in the green transition can partly offset the global trend in which skill-biased technological change is hollowing out mid-skill occupations. Men in mid-skill occupations will have the greatest need of reskilling and upskilling to enable them to tap into new job opportunities. This also suggests that current occupational gender stereotypes are likely to persist: women will get only a fraction of the jobs created, unless measures are taken to train women in relevant skills, so that they can benefit from potentially created jobs" (ILO 2019, 10).

Despite some institutional work on gender disparities in circular activities, studies taking a feminist approach to work are still extremely rare. Without such detailed studies, it is impossible to draw serious conclusions about the effects of a transition to the circular economy on women and gender minorities. As ILO notes (ILO 2022), however, it is a safe bet that without specific training and prevention policies, the transition is likely to increase gender inequalities rather than reduce them.

Other dimensions of labour in the CE – such as the agency of workers in the reorganization of production and corporate decisions, the effects of the circular economy on domestic and reproductive work; the place of racially discriminated or non-citizen workers in the transition to circular activities – are still completely absent from institutional reports.

⁴ https://environment.ec.europa.eu/publications/proposal-ecodesign-sustainable-products-regulation_en

[3.3] Circular economy and labour in third sector reports

This section considers reports issued from third sector actors such as NGOs, foundations, associations, activist groups.

[3.3.1] Political diversity

The first point to mention here is the wide variety of political and ideological positions. This variety is much greater than in trade-unions' and public institutions' reports, and can be explained by the nature of the organisations and their funding. A United Nations Research Institute for Social Development 2018 report intitled "Mapping Just Transition to a Low-Carbon World: A Report of the Just Transition Research Collaborative", issued by the Just Transition Research Collaborative (Morena and Krause for UNRISD 2018) develops the following classification of different political approaches to the Just Transition:

- Status quo approaches: supported by a growing number of businesses and free-market advocates, their call to action does not involve changing the rules of the global system but rather a greening of capitalism through voluntary, bottom-up, corporate and market-driven changes.
- Managerial reform approach, i.e. "one in which greater equity and justice is sought within the existing economic system and without challenging existing hegemony. Certain rules and standards are modified and new ones can be created—on access to employment, occupational safety and health—but the economic model and balance of power do not change." (Morena and Krause 2018)
- Structural reform approach, i.e. "one in which both distributive justice and procedural justice are secured. Procedural justice entails an inclusive and equitable decision-making process guiding the transition, and collective ownership and management of the new, decarbonized energy system by the different stakeholders—rather than a single interest" (Morena and Krause 2018).
- Transformative approach, which "implies an overhaul of the existing economic and political system that is seen as responsible for environmental and social crises (Hopwood et al. 2005; Healy and Barry 2017). In addition to changing the rules and modes of governance, proponents of this approach also promote alternative development pathways that undermine the dominant economic system built on continuous growth, and imply profoundly different human-environment relations.

A similar classification can be applied to the non-circular economy literature from Trade-Unions and public institutions. Most reports here can be classified in the first two categories: "status quo" or "managerial reform". For example, the European Commission's action plans for the circular economy can be classified as "status quo approaches" since they do not take into account the issue of decent work, wages, length and intensity of the working day, health and safety at work, social protection or social dialogue ensured by the presence of trade unions. The ILO or ITUC proposals, on the other hand, belong in the second category, the "managerial reform approach", as they aim to ensure that a circular economy bring greater social justice and equality without challenging the balance of powers or the dominant economic model (see section 3.2).

On the other hand, in the reports from third sector actors we find all four positions, including "structural reform" and "transformative" approaches. For example, the Ellen McArthur Foundation and McKinsey (Mac Arthur Foundation and McKinsey 2015) or the Green Alliance in the United Kingdom (Morgan and Mitchell 2015) have strictly quantitative visions of labour that do not take into account the quality of work, gender dimensions, worker' agency or racism. From the point of view of a just transition, these are therefore "status quo" approaches. But there are also much more inclusive approaches to the place of labour in the circular economy. For instance, Chatham House (Schroeder 2020 ; Schroeder, Albaladejo, Ribas, MacEwen and Tilkanen 2020) and the International Institute for Sustainable Development (Echeverria, Roth, Mostafa, Gass, 2020) can be classified within the "managerial reform" approach, because they strive to take into account the social and geographical effects of a transition to the circular economy, especially in terms of the inclusion of southern countries in the beneficial effects. The Circular Jobs Initiative (Circular Jobs Initiative 2020 ;

Goodwin, Schröder, Bachus and Bozkurt 2020) demonstrates an approach of “structural reform” because they are attentive to the role of workers in the decision-making process of a transition to the circular economy and in the democracy at work. The Stockholm Environment Institute (Johnson, Han, Knight, Mortensen, Aung, Boyland and Resurrección 2020 ; Stockholm Environment Institute 2019 ; Atteridge and Strambo 2020 ; Aung and Boyland 2020), on the other hand, can be seen as expressing a “transformative approach” insofar as they engage in a precise analysis of the social and economic dynamics produced by the circular economy and testify to a desire to change power relations by re-establishing workers’ power over their working conditions.

3.3.2 A common emphasis on positive employment effects

In contrast to the existing scientific work on this subject, many third sector reports show a tendency to emphasize the positive effects of a transition to the circular economy, or to downplay the negative effects. The report “Circular economy proxy measures: Indicators on job effects for a closed-loop economy”, issued by the International Institute for Sustainable Development, notes that: “The six proxy measures to a circular economy present insights into the job trends and job growth potential under a closed-loop approach. All six measures present positive net benefits in job creation (direct and indirect) and induced economic impacts. However, industrial ecology and green procurement work more as enablers than direct job creators” (Echeverría, Roth, Mostafa and Gass 2020, 21). Similarly, the Ellen MacArthur Foundation and McKinsey report, exploring “how to address the UK’s use of labour and scarce natural resources”, suggests that “the circular economy could create 200,000–500,000 gross jobs, reduce unemployment by 50,000–100,000, and offset 7–22 percent of the expected decline in skilled employment by 2022, depending on whether the development of the circular economy followed its current trajectory or took a more transformative path” (Ellen MacArthur Foundation and McKinsey 2015, 34).

On the other hand, scientific studies show that macroeconomic models are much more contrasted than many institutional reports suggest. In view of the indicators chosen in most studies, it is for example difficult to measure indirect employment effects in sectors that are not directly affected by the transition to the circular economy (Laubinger, Lanzi, Chateau 2019; see also section “[2.2.2] Uncertainty in calculation methods” above).

It therefore appeared to us that third-sector reports tend to favour the results of certain scientific studies, which are more consistent with their public strategies, rather than reporting on the complexity of the calculation models. Above all, the third-sector reports favour ex-ante macroeconomic studies over geographically situated case studies in specific sectors. This methodological difference leads to a low degree of testing of the modelled hypotheses against the reality on the ground of economic actors in a globalised economy and global value chains.

[3.3.2] Agency, gender and racism

The second striking feature of the reports from third-sector organizations is that they often take gender and racial inequalities or discrimination seriously.

The social inclusion of precarious workers in the transition to the circular economy is linked to institutional forms of labour organisation. The NGO literature often makes strong links between the social economy and the circular economy or between informal labour and the circular economy. These reports start from the assumption that organisations that give more space to workers’ decision-making are more inclusive, thus they give greater importance to workers’ cooperatives for a just transition to the circular economy (Goodwin, Schröder, Bachus and Bozkurt 2020 ; Miguel, Martinez, Pereira, Kohout, 2020 ; Mugambi, Windberg, Ddiba, Ogol, Andersson, Gicheru and Akinyi 2020).

The emphasis on social and solidarity economy as a possible pathway to the CE is of great relevance to the elaboration of a DSS for Just CE in WP5.

Many reports focus on gender inequalities and how a transition to the circular economy can either limit or accentuate them (Johnson, Han, Knight, Mortensen, Aung, Boyland and Resurrección 2020). A report on the circular economy of waste pickers in Bangkok by Dianer Archer and Charlotte Adelina for Stockholm Environmental Institute links social

injustice, gender insecurity (sexual harassment) and racism experienced by migrant workers (Archer and Adelina, 2021). They conclude their report as follows:

“Waste pickers in Bangkok make significant contributions to the reduction of plastic waste leakages and, therefore, play a key role in advancing a ‘circular economy’ at the urban level. However, most of them are living below minimum wage conditions and face other threats to their livelihoods, such as a lack of access to market information, occupational health hazards, societal discrimination and harassment, and a lack of organization and social security protections. Even within this group, some workers may be more vulnerable than others – such as street waste pickers (as opposed to salengs who buy waste from customers); waste pickers who work and live near landfills or dumpsites; women with physical safety concerns when they access public spaces and with lower asset ownership; the elderly; children; and migrant workers.” (Archer and Adelina, 2021)

In this report we can see how all 5 approaches to labour (quantity and quality of jobs, worker’s agency, feminist and postcolonial approaches) are represented. We consider this inclusiveness as the starting point for defining a just transition to the circular economy, i.e. one that aims at dignified and decent work for all, where workers can decide the direction of their labour and participate in the design of the tools of production, in a way that tackles gender and racial inequalities.

[4] Conclusions: JUST2CE insights

1. Our definition of labour combining 5 different approaches allowed us to identify precisely which dimensions of labour are already present in the studies on circular economy and which are completely absent. The different approaches to labour can be scored according to how often they appear: systematic, very often, often, occasionally, never. This gives the following table :

| | Systematic | Very often | Often | Occasionally | Never |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|-------|--------------|-------|
| Quantitative approach to labour | | + | | | |
| Qualitative approach to labour | | | + | | |
| Agency and design approach to labour | | | | + | |
| Gendered approach to labour | | | | + | |
| Postcolonial approach to labour | | | | + | |

Table 2. Frequency of the different definitions of labour according to the type of literature

2. As noted by Kichherr et al. (2017), definitions of the circular economy with a social justice and equality dimension are very few (between 18 and 20 percent). Our report confirms this, with a just transition perspective. Few works on the circular economy pay attention to working conditions, workers' decision-making power and agency, gender inequalities or racism in the labour market.
3. Under these conditions, the transition to the circular economy not only risks maintaining social, gender and racial inequalities, but also accentuating them. For example, without a skills training policy, the transition is likely to lead to a preference for employment among white men with average skills over women and other sections of the population.
4. The complete lack of consideration of race issues in the circular economy literature should be linked to two elements.
 - Firstly, the very small number of global and international circular economy models. Most are national or regional models that do not allow for the measurement of North-South inequalities.
 - Secondly, the lack of reflection on labour conditions, particularly in terms of contracts, generally leaves out informal workers who, in the North, are often racialized.

In contrast, the citizenship status of workers appears to be a determining element in the restructuring of labour in the context of the development of jobs that are often precarious and informal (in remanufacturing and repair, for example).

5. The role of labour in the CE is framed in different ways by different social actors.
 - Trade unions do not seem to be particularly interested in the circular economy, but when it does, it is always to link a quantitative approach in terms of employment with a qualitative approach in terms of wages, length and intensity of the working day, health and safety, and social protection.
 - Public institutions tend to underestimate the negative consequences of the circular economy and to adopt a “status quo” or “managerial” approach to the transition to CE that does not question the functioning of the social and economic system as a whole.
 - Third sector actors, despite assuming varied positions, offer some of the most inclusive and transformative views on CE with respect to working conditions, gender and North-South relations.
6. It is important to note that a transition to the circular economy does not affect all sectors of the economy in the same way. The development of circular activities in capital-intensive and labour-intensive sectors does not produce the same number of jobs or jobs of comparable quality (e.g. in terms of pay, length of contracts, drudgery, worker representation, social protection).
7. Most studies - whether institutional or academic - focus on global ex-ante analyses of the effects of a transition to the circular economy. Very few studies actually compare theoretical circular economy models with their concrete effects in localized situations.

The main limitation of this report is its reliance on secondary sources (research and publications) rather than on a more in-depth qualitative research (interviews, surveys, etc.), a limitation due to time constraints. This means that workers’ voices are not directly represented in this report, but only indirectly via union’s reports and literature. Paradoxically, this bias particularly affects informal workers (most of them women and racialized workers) who are directly involved with hands-on waste and recycling work, while being unrepresented by trade-unions, public institutions and/or third-sector organizations. For a more detailed consideration of this aspect, we recommend to refer to the Global Environmental Justice report (D1.3).

[5] Bibliography

We decided to offer the complete systematic bibliography (n=899) although we only conducted a precise qualitative analysis of the critical bibliography (n=232). This has a double advantage: on the one hand, for the JUST2CE consortium this presents a first step in the constitution of a common bibliography to which all members of the group can refer (including to criticize or amend it); on the other hand, our quantitative bibliometric analysis (see section 1.3) would have been less significant on a sample of n=232 than on a sample of n=899 references.

The references constituting the critical bibliography that were extensively and qualitatively read (n=232) are indicated in bold.

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[5.2] Just transition principles

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[5.5] Feminist and gender issues in just transition and the circular economy

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The JUST2CE project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101003491

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