DİSK
Just Transition
Policy Paper

CONFEDERATION OF PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNIONS OF TÜRKİYE

This Policy Paper sets out DİSK's assessments and social policy proposals on the Just Transition debate in the lead-up to COP31, to be held in Antalya from 9 to 20 November 2026.

DİSK's Social Policy Proposals for a Just Transition

CONFEDERATION OF PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNIONS OF TÜRKİYE

DİSK SOCIAL POLICY PROPOSALS FOR A JUST TRANSITION

Global average temperature is rapidly approaching the threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. The past 11 years have been recorded as the 11 warmest years in the history of modern measurements.[1] The frequency and intensity of extreme weather events such as floods, droughts, wildfires and storms are increasing year by year. The climate crisis is no longer a future scenario, but one of the gravest threats facing humanity.

Because of capitalism's relentless drive for growth, the climate crisis is not only an environmental problem but also a systemic one. Capital cannot exist without growth. To grow, it consumes nature and energy resources without limit. In Türkiye, forests are being cut down for thermal power plants, agricultural land and water resources are being allocated to mining and energy companies, and rivers are being impounded for hydroelectric power plants, while fossil fuel companies around the world have continued to make record profits for decades.

The automotive industry also deepens the climate crisis through the same growth logic of capital. Instead of public transport, private car use and greater fossil fuel consumption are encouraged. The shift to electric vehicles is being pursued without questioning dependence on cars itself, at the cost of extracting minerals such as lithium and cobalt through a new wave of exploitation and pollution. Discussions on renewable energy likewise often proceed without challenging this growth logic. The shift to solar and wind power risks becoming little more than a search for new sources to sustain the same endless production and consumption. The transition to renewable energy is therefore necessary and urgent, but it is not sufficient on its own. The central question is who owns energy, which social needs it is produced to meet, and at what scale. A lasting solution to the climate crisis requires not only changing the source of energy, but also challenging capitalism's logic of perpetual growth.

The climate crisis does not affect everyone equally. While capital's profit margins are often affected by global warming only indirectly and with a delay, the working class is the first to bear, and bears most heavily, both the direct physical consequences of the crisis and the costs of decisions taken or not taken in the name of addressing it.

For this reason, the climate crisis is not only an environmental issue. It is also a labour issue, an issue of income distribution and, ultimately, a class issue.

Just Transition is a demand that emerged from trade union struggles. At the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) argued that the employment impacts of the transition to sustainable production should be managed through Just Transition processes designed and implemented with the full participation of trade unions.[2] This accumulated experience was also re-

1 WMO (2026). WMO confirms 2025 was one of warmest years on record. https://wmo.int/news/media-centre/wmo-confirms-2025-was-one-of-warmest-years-record (Accessed 21 September 2026).
2 ICFTU (2002). ICFTU View on WSSD Outcome. IUF, 11 September 2002. https://www.iuf.org/news/icftu-view-on-wssd-outcome/ (Accessed 6 October 2026).

flected in the International Labour Organization (ILO) Guidelines for a Just Transition adopted in 2015. The Guidelines define the four pillars of decent work - social dialogue, social protection, rights at work and employment - as indispensable building blocks of sustainable development. They provide guidance to governments and social partners across nine policy areas ranging from occupational safety and health and social protection to active labour market policies and social dialogue.[3] According to the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), the Belém Action Mechanism (BAM) established at the 30th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP30) also recognised the Guidelines as a basis for implementation.[4]

However, the Guidelines are not binding and are based on a framework that does not question growth and competitiveness. The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Türkiye (DİSK) recognises the Guidelines as a minimum international reference point. The demands set out below propose binding rights and guarantees that go beyond this minimum framework. For DİSK, building on this historical legacy requires guaranteeing workers not only compensation for their losses, but also the right to determine the direction of the transformation.

These issues directly concern the working class across the world. According to ILO estimates, by 2030 productivity losses caused by rising global temperatures will result in a loss of working hours equivalent to 80 million full-time jobs worldwide. Over the same transition, around 6 million jobs are expected to be lost in areas such as carbon-intensive energy production, industry, transport, agriculture and forestry, while 24 million jobs are projected to be created in new sectors.[5]

Yet there is no guarantee that the new jobs created will automatically be decent, unionised and secure. If replacement production capacity, retraining, social protection, job guarantees and a regional economic diversification plan are not in place and funded before a facility closes, this cannot be considered a Just Transition. Where these guarantees are absent, what is taking place is not a transition but a closure. If the transformation is implemented while ignoring distributional relations and the needs of the working class, efforts to prevent the climate crisis will create a new wave of unemployment and insecurity and, ultimately, a deeper distributional crisis. It is therefore vital that the transformation take place in a just manner.

Just Transition is not simply about protecting workers from the consequences of transformation. Workers and trade unions must be parties to decisions on when, how and under what conditions the transformation will take place.

The climate crisis affects workers across several interconnected dimensions. The first is extreme weather events. Heatwaves, floods, fires and storms directly threaten millions of workers in sectors such as agriculture, construction, transport, logistics and energy, where work is carried out outdoors or in high-heat conditions. Every summer in Türkiye, agricultural and construction workers and couriers face the risk of heatstroke and heart attacks. Floods and fires, meanwhile, destroy workplaces,

3 ILO (2015). Guidelines for a just transition towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all. Geneva: International Labour Office. https://www.ilo.org/publications/guidelines-just-transition-towards-environmentally-sustainable-economies (Accessed 14 October 2026).
4 ITUC (2025). Belém Action Mechanism on Just Transition: A breakthrough for workers amid major failures at COP30. 24 November 2025. https://www.ituc-csi.org/belem-action-mechanism-on-just-transition (Accessed 14 October 2026).
5 ILO (2023). The role of active labour market policies for a just transition. Just Transition Policy Brief. https://www.ilo.org/publications/role-active-labour-market-policies-just-transition (Accessed 16 September 2026).

housing and livelihoods, causing loss of income and insecurity.

The second dimension is the structural impact on employment of the transformation undertaken in the name of tackling climate change. Moving away from fossil fuels carries risks of job and income losses for workers in coal regions, thermal power plants and carbon-intensive industries such as cement, iron and steel, fertilisers and aluminium. These risks may have much deeper consequences in regions whose economies depend on a single sector or enterprise. The closure of a thermal power plant, for example, affects not only those employed at the plant but also local tradespeople, suppliers and the entire local economy.

The automotive industry and its supply chain, logistics and transport, textiles, agriculture and food, construction, tourism and public services are also being transformed directly or indirectly through value chains, energy costs, export conditions and climate impacts. The narrow definition in the official approach, which confines Just Transition to a handful of carbon-intensive sectors, renders this much broader group of workers invisible. For DİSK, Just Transition must be understood through a class-based framework encompassing all sectors directly and indirectly affected by the transformation. Unless the transformation is properly planned, the risk of creating a new wave of unemployment and impoverishment while attempting to prevent the climate crisis is unavoidable.

The third dimension concerns economic impacts such as energy poverty, food prices and the cost of living. Drought reduces agricultural production and pushes up food prices. Fluctuations in energy supply and carbon pricing increase electricity and heating costs. Low- and middle-income households, which spend a large share of their income on food and energy, are disproportionately affected. In Türkiye, alongside high inflation and falling real wages, the climate crisis acts as a multiplier that further intensifies the cost-of-living crisis.

At the intersection of these three dimensions are groups that bear a disproportionate share of the burden. Informal workers have no access to mechanisms that could compensate for lost income because they lack social protection and access to trade union representation. Seasonal agricultural workers are among those most exposed to extreme weather conditions.

For decades, wars waged over control of energy resources and in the interests of capital have displaced millions of people from their lands and turned irregular migration into a phenomenon the world has come to accept as normal. Today, this picture also includes people displaced by droughts, floods, wildfires and other extreme natural events caused by a climate crisis deepened by capital. In the places to which they migrate, migrants are often condemned to insecure, non-union and low-paid jobs, forced to bear simultaneously the burden of displacement and the most vulnerable position in the labour market.

Women, who are made to shoulder the entire burden of care as a result of gender inequality and government policies, face an even heavier burden during disasters and crises. Food, water and resource scarcity caused by the climate crisis can increase the amount of unpaid work performed by women. This will make it more difficult for women to access secure employment and decent work, while also restricting their rights to rest and to participate in social life. Growing care responsibilities increase the risk that women will withdraw from the labour market and that flexible forms of work will become more widespread among women. Loss of income and the increased risk of domestic violence therefore make

women among the groups most vulnerable to the climate crisis.

Young people, already confined to low-skilled, insecure and non-union jobs, face even greater insecurity in a changing labour market. There can be no meaningful discussion of a Just Transition on the basis of an approach to transformation that ignores these inequalities.

At the same time, workers are also paying much of the cost of the transformation out of their own pockets. In Türkiye, the majority of tax revenue comes from indirect taxes on consumption, irrespective of income level, particularly Value Added Tax and Special Consumption Tax. While the share of income tax deducted from wage earners in total tax revenues is increasing, the share collected from companies and property is declining. This means that workers carry a far heavier tax burden than employers.

For example, while an energy company operating a thermal power plant, or a cement or iron and steel monopoly responsible for millions of tonnes of carbon emissions, is protected through corporate tax exemptions, incentives and reliefs, the worker employed by that company continues to pay indirect taxes on every product bought at the supermarket and every time they fill their fuel tank. In the end, the bill for the green transition is being financed not from the wealth of the capital that created the crisis, but from taxes paid directly out of workers' pockets. The cost of the transformation must be paid from the profits and wealth of fossil fuel companies, automotive giants and carbon-intensive industrial monopolies, not from workers' wages or the basic goods they consume.

This injustice is evident not only at national level but globally as well. Historical responsibility for today's climate crisis lies with the developed countries that have emitted the greatest volumes of carbon into the atmosphere since the Industrial Revolution. Yet instead of paying the cost of the crisis they created while building their own wealth, these countries systematically evade that responsibility. Climate finance pledges are renewed at every COP and repeatedly fall short in delivery. The support provided often takes the form not of grants but of loans that drive developing countries further into debt.

The European Union's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM), introduced on the grounds of preventing 'carbon leakage', risks becoming a trade barrier that protects EU industry and shifts the cost of transformation onto export-dependent countries reliant on the EU market. Workers in sectors such as cement, iron and steel, fertilisers and aluminium in countries like Türkiye that depend on the EU market directly experience the consequences of this unjust global order. Climate justice is therefore both a question of class justice and of international justice.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TÜRKIYE IGNORES THE IMPACT OF THE CLIMATE CRISIS ON WORKERS

The steps taken by the Government of Türkiye to date reveal an approach to the green transition that largely remains at the level of rhetoric and disregards the needs of the working class. Türkiye became a party to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in 2004 and to the Kyoto Protocol in 2009, and ratified the Paris Agreement only in 2021, six years after signing it. Moreover, at the time of ratification, Türkiye declared that, as a developing country, it would implement the Agreement provided that it did not prejudice its right to economic and social development. From the outset, the Government thus placed limits on its climate commitments.

The concept of Just Transition and the employment dimension are referred to in Türkiye's Climate Change Strategy (2010-2023), the Climate Change Action Plan, the National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy and Action Plan and, most recently, the Climate Law. Yet to date no concrete, enforceable and verifiable regulation has been introduced on critical issues such as job and income security, collective bargaining, trade union participation in decision-making, occupational safety and health, sectoral and regional transition plans, or who will bear the costs of the transformation. Just Transition appears as a discourse in official documents, but it has not been translated into a roadmap for the world of work.

The Climate Council convened in 2022 was one of the limited steps taken in this area. Its Commission on 'Migration, Just Transition and Other Social Policies' adopted recommendations on issues such as increasing green jobs, social protection measures and skills development programmes. However, these recommendations are not binding, trade union participation in the process has remained limited, and there is no concrete monitoring mechanism.

The 31st Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP31) marks a turning point at which the debate on Just Transition must move beyond a general principle to the rights, institutions and financing instruments through which it will be implemented. The fact that the Just Transition Mechanism will be given concrete form in Antalya makes this debate particularly important for workers and trade unions in Türkiye. As Türkiye moves to the centre of global climate diplomacy, it cannot ignore the climate-related risks faced by its own workers. COP31 must not remain merely a diplomatic stage on which states and major capital groups list their commitments. COP31 must become a turning point at which Türkiye is also held accountable to its working class.

Against this background, DİSK will not allow the burden of the climate crisis to be shifted onto the working class. For DİSK, Just Transition requires more than mitigating the social costs of the current green transformation. It requires the democratic and ecological transformation of relations of production, ownership, energy, care and distribution.

The demands set out below combine urgent measures on job and income security and occupational safety and health with a lasting programme based on social needs, ecological limits, gender equality and democratic participation. The agents of the transformation must be workers, their organisations and the communities whose living environments are affected.

DİSK'S SOCIAL POLICY PROPOSALS ON THE CLIMATE CRISIS

PUBLIC PROVISION AND OWNERSHIP MUST BE ADOPTED AS THE DRIVING FORCE OF THE GREEN TRANSITION, AND PUBLIC SERVICES MUST BE EXPANDED.

Just Transition cannot be reduced to changing energy sources or making new investments in certain sectors. Reducing the social costs of the green transformation and distributing its benefits equally across society require that the transformation not be left to market mechanisms, but be carried out on the basis of public planning. The criteria for such planning must not be growth and competitiveness, but a dignified life, equality, reduced resource use and the restoration of ecosystems. While capacity in public transport, care, health, education, safe housing and ecological restoration is expanded, fossil fuel production, dependence on private cars, planned obsolescence and resource-intensive production for luxury consumption must be reduced. Workers in activities to be scaled down must be transferred to jobs that meet social needs, with their wages and social rights protected. Energy, transport, industry, housing, agriculture and employment policies must be developed not in isolation from one another, but through an integrated planning approach.

Expanding public services as part of a Just Transition is both a direct response to the climate crisis and a policy instrument for creating new, permanent and quality jobs. This scope is not limited to transport and energy. Health, care, water and sanitation, disaster and emergency services, social housing, municipal services and climate-resilient infrastructure are also integral parts of this policy. Universal, low-carbon and climate-resilient public services must be recognised as the basic infrastructure of climate adaptation. Uninterrupted access to health, water, sanitation, care, public transport and disaster services must be guaranteed through adequate staffing, protective infrastructure and long-term public budgets. The cost of services must not be shifted onto low-income households through user charges.

Publicly delivered projects for building insulation, renewable energy and ecosystem restoration both create jobs and benefit society as a whole. When transformation is left to capital's short-term profit calculations, it is clear that the process will be neither sufficiently rapid nor just. The public sector must therefore be not only the regulator of Just Transition, but also a direct investor and creator of employment.

1. **INVESTMENT IN CARE, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES MUST BE AT THE HEART OF JUST TRANSITION.** These areas cannot be treated as secondary expenditure to be financed only after energy and industrial investments. Permanent public funding must be allocated to free and accessible services, staffing shortages must be addressed through secure and unionised employment, and the pay and professional rights of care workers must be improved.

2. **PUBLIC TRANSPORT NETWORKS MUST BE RAPIDLY EXPANDED THROUGH PUBLIC PROVISION.** In Türkiye, urban transport dominated

by roads, increasing private car use and the uneven development of rail systems between cities are driving up both emissions and transport costs for low-income workers. Investment in metro, rail, tram and maritime transport must be accelerated, and transport networks expanded to cover industrial zones and working-class neighbourhoods. These investments must be publicly delivered in a way that creates secure and unionised employment, and financed through public budgets and public banks rather than privatisation, build-operate-transfer schemes and public-private partnerships. Instead of widening roads, measures such as cycle lanes, pedestrianisation and lane narrowing should be expanded to discourage private car use.

3. **PUBLIC TRANSPORT MUST BECOME A FREE OR LOW-COST PUBLIC SERVICE.** Pricing transport according to market conditions disproportionately affects low-income workers and, by discouraging the use of public transport, conflicts with climate objectives. Fares alone, however, are not enough. Unless accessibility, frequency, coverage and service quality are also improved, low-cost public transport will not constitute a genuine alternative. Expanded free and discounted travel rights should be introduced for workers, students and low-income households, and service frequency and network coverage increased, particularly in industrial zones and working-class neighbourhoods. This policy must be framed not as social assistance, but as a natural component of both climate and labour policy.

4. **ENERGY GENERATION, TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION MUST BE BROUGHT FULLY INTO PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.** Organising energy generation, transmission, distribution and storage through private capital on the basis of profit traps the sector in a logic of ever greater consumption and profit, prevents effective control over price increases, and obstructs the recognition of access to energy as a social right. Energy generation, transmission and distribution must be brought into public ownership without delay. Infrastructure and storage must be planned in the public interest, almost all renewable energy investment must be undertaken by state-owned enterprises, and vertically integrated public and democratic ownership and control must be the guiding principle.

5. **PUBLIC OWNERSHIP MUST BE COMPLEMENTED BY DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL OWNERSHIP.** Within an integrated public energy system, workers and users must have binding decision-making powers over investment, pricing, production and ecological oversight. Public enterprises, municipal enterprises and non-profit cooperative or community initiatives must be organised as components of a common public plan, without opening the door to reprivatisation. Boards must include elected representatives of workers and communities, and financial information and investment decisions must be publicly accessible.

6. **PUBLIC INVESTMENT MUST ALSO BE SUBJECT TO ECOLOGICAL AND DEMOCRATIC OVERSIGHT.** State ownership does not automatically make a mining or energy project ecological or democratic. Public projects must also guarantee independent and cumulative ecological impact assessments, transparent

decision-making processes, effective participation by local communities and access to legal remedies. The public interest cannot be invoked to legitimise the destruction of living environments through top-down decisions or the suppression of local opposition.

7. **ACCESS TO ENERGY MUST BE A UNIVERSAL RIGHT. ENERGY IS NOT A COMMODITY DISTRIBUTED FOR PROFIT, BUT A COMMON GOOD AND A PUBLIC SERVICE THAT SUSTAINS SOCIAL LIFE.** The basic energy use necessary for a dignified life must be guaranteed for everyone. Access to essential energy must not be cut off because of inability to pay, and costs must be shared fairly through progressive tariffs and public financing. Demand reduction must target waste, luxury consumption and inefficient use rather than restricting basic needs.

8. **PUBLIC INVESTMENT MUST BE CONDITIONAL ON EMPLOYMENT AND CLIMATE OBJECTIVES.** No investment or incentive supported by public resources should be granted without conditions requiring respect for freedom of association, trade union rights and collective bargaining, as well as compliance with climate objectives.

9. **CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY MUST COVER THE ENTIRE SUPPLY CHAIN.** Companies receiving public support or operating within the framework of Just Transition must be required to identify, prevent, remedy and publicly report labour and environmental violations not only in their own operations, but also among their subcontractors and suppliers.

10. **AGROECOLOGY AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY MUST BE SUPPORTED IN AGRICULTURE.** The transition from industrial agriculture to ecological production must be planned in a way that guarantees seasonal and migrant agricultural workers' rights to wages, housing, transport, health care and freedom of association. Small producers' access to land, water and seeds must be protected, while agroecological training, cooperatives, public procurement and local food networks must be supported.

WORKERS' JOBS MUST BE PROTECTED THROUGHOUT THE JUST TRANSITION PROCESS.

Preparing the workforce for the transformation must not mean expecting workers to adapt to new conditions only after decisions have already been taken. The first priorities must be protecting jobs, anticipating the transformation, ensuring workers' participation, creating opportunities for redeployment within the same workplace or sector, and providing job or income security. Otherwise, the rhetoric of 'green jobs' will leave existing workers behind. The vocational education and training system and the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) must be prepared for the transformation, and coordination among public institutions must be strengthened. This preparation is a prerequisite for workers to gain fair access to employment of equivalent or higher quality.

1. **BINDING JUST TRANSITION AGREEMENTS MUST BE CONCLUDED AT ENTERPRISE LEVEL.** Such agreements must include the prevention of compulsory redundancies, paid training time, redeployment within the same enterprise and affiliated enterprises, priority for vacant positions, protection for subcontracted workers, and trade union decision-making powers.

2. **VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING CURRICULA MUST BE UPDATED FOR GREEN JOBS.** The Ministry of National Education, higher education institutions and the Vocational Qualifications Authority must update curricula on the basis of projected sectoral transformations and establish adult education programmes enabling existing workers to acquire these new qualifications. Training made necessary by the transformation must not become an individual responsibility or cost borne by workers.

3. **İŞKUR'S ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET PROGRAMMES MUST BE REDESIGNED TO GUARANTEE EMPLOYMENT.** Vocational training courses and active labour market programmes run by İŞKUR frequently provide no employment guarantee and leave participants unemployed after completing training. These programmes are financed largely from the Unemployment Insurance Fund, which is funded by workers' contributions. Through stipends and insurance contributions paid for participants, together with tax and contribution exemptions granted to employers, these resources are in practice transferred to employers. Programmes without an employment guarantee therefore turn a social security fund accumulated by workers into a subsidy instrument that provides employers with free or low-cost labour. This practice must end. The existing employment obligations in İŞKUR's active labour market programmes must be redesigned so that workers at risk of losing their jobs as part of Just Transition are guaranteed permanent employment of equivalent quality.

4. **TARGETED SUPPORT MUST BE PROVIDED TO GROUPS IN VULNERABLE SITUATIONS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMMES.** Young people, migrant workers, women and persons with disabilities face additional barriers to accessing employment during the transformation. Targeted and strengthened support mechanisms, distinct from general vocational training programmes and tailored to the specific needs of these groups, must be established,

including flexible training hours, care support and language support.

5. **LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST BE INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS.** The impacts of the transformation will vary significantly from region to region, and the needs of a coal region or an industrial area cannot necessarily be met through a uniform national policy. Local governments and Provincial Employment and Vocational Education Boards in regions expected to undergo rapid transformation must be actively involved in vocational education, training and employment planning and reoriented in line with Just Transition. Sectors and regions that will be affected by the transformation must be identified in advance, and trade unions must have genuine decision-making power.

6. **CLIMATE ADAPTATION PLANS AT LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL MUST BE PREPARED TOGETHER WITH LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT PLANS.** Changing workloads and risks in water and sanitation, cleaning, waste management, parks and gardens, transport and firefighting services must be identified. Plans must also provide for sufficient staffing, secure employment, appropriate equipment, in-service training and adequate rest arrangements.

7. **CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION MUST BECOME PART OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT PLANNING.** Extreme weather events, water scarcity and drought caused by climate change will further increase migration between regions. This movement is not only a disaster management issue, but also an employment and regional development issue. The free movement of labour between regions must therefore be guaranteed in a way that ensures workers can access secure and unionised employment in the places to which they move.

8. **JOB SECURITY AND THE RIGHT TO A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT MUST BE DEFENDED TOGETHER.** Workers are also members of the communities in which they live: they use the water, breathe the air and raise their children there. In regions such as Aliağa, Soma, Zonguldak, İskenderun and Kocaeli, trade unions and environmental movements should develop joint health and environmental monitoring initiatives, public meetings and alternative production plans. The phase-out of polluting activities and the protection of livelihoods must be planned simultaneously. Workers must not be forced to choose between their jobs and their lives.

9. **DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION MUST ALSO BE BROUGHT WITHIN THE SCOPE OF JUST TRANSITION POLICIES.** The green and digital transformations must be planned together, and the efficiency and productivity gains generated by technological development must be directed not towards greater work intensity, but towards strengthening workers' job and income security, reducing working time and improving public services. Algorithmic decisions must be open to worker oversight. Digital technologies, moreover, cannot be assessed independently of their ecological impacts. The energy and water use of data centres, the mineral requirements of hardware and electronic waste must be monitored across their entire life cycle. Public digital infrastructure must be based on repairability, long service life and transparent oversight.

WORKERS' INCOMES MUST BE PROTECTED THROUGHOUT THE JUST TRANSITION PROCESS.

When working time is reduced, production is temporarily suspended, workers undergo retraining or move to another job, or work is halted because of a climate-related hazard, workers remain largely unprotected against income loss under the existing social security system. Unemployment insurance, short-time work allowance and the pension system must be updated to cover climate-related job losses. At the same time, funds established in the name of Just Transition must not become instruments for subsidising capital. Resources must be channelled directly into workers' social protection.

1. **ELIGIBILITY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE MUST BE BROADENED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF JUST TRANSITION.** Additional guarantees must be provided for workers whose employment contracts are terminated as a result of climate policies or the transformation process. A provision should be added to the law establishing a threefold guarantee for workers whose contracts are terminated for these reasons. Eligibility conditions for unemployment benefits must be eased for all workers. For workers in this group, access to benefits must be provided regardless of minimum contribution-day requirements. The duration of benefits must be extended sufficiently to make a genuine transition to new employment possible, and benefit levels must be raised so that workers do not face a sudden and severe decline in their standard of living.

2. **THE SHORT-TIME WORK ALLOWANCE MUST BE USED ACTIVELY DURING THE TRANSFORMATION.** Its scope must be extended to cover cases in which a workplace temporarily suspends or reduces production because of climate policies or environmental legislation. The duration of the allowance must be extended and its level set so as to protect workers' wages, while the joint contribution of employers and the state to its financing must be increased.

3. **JUSTICE IN RETIREMENT MUST BE ENSURED, AND THE CONDITIONS FOR WORKERS AFFECTED BY THE TRANSFORMATION TO QUALIFY FOR RETIREMENT MUST BE EASED.** Workers who lose their jobs as a result of the transformation, particularly older workers, will have limited prospects of re-employment. The first option must of course be to protect the worker's existing job or transfer them to an equivalent job. For these workers, Law No. 5510 on Social Insurance and General Health Insurance must be amended to provide greater flexibility in contribution-day and insurance-duration requirements. At the same time, poverty in retirement must be ended in order to guarantee the income and livelihoods of all workers who are able to retire. The minimum pension must be raised to at least the level of the minimum wage, thereby safeguarding pensioners' income security.

4. **CONTINUOUS HEALTH COVERAGE MUST BE GUARANTEED FOR WORKERS WHOSE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP ENDS AS A RESULT OF THE TRANSFORMATION.** The current time-limited and conditional health coverage must be made uninterrupted, without any contribution-payment requirement, for workers who lose their jobs because of the transformation and for their

dependants until the worker enters new employment. This is a minimum humanitarian guarantee to prevent disruption of access to healthcare during unemployment.

5. **THE COST OF THE TRANSFORMATION MUST BE PAID FROM EMPLOYERS' PROFITS.** It must be financed not through workers' wages, cuts to public services or shifting the tax burden onto low-income groups, but from the historical profits of the fossil fuel sector and through taxation of capital. In this context, a fair tax system based on the principle that those who earn less pay less and those who earn more pay more must be introduced without delay.

6. **A 'JUST TRANSITION FUND' MUST BE ESTABLISHED AND USED FOR ITS INTENDED PURPOSE.** Just Transition funds are often structured as investment incentives for enterprises, with the lion's share transferred to employers while the share allocated to workers remains extremely limited. The Fund's principal revenues must come from taxes on corporate profits, progressive wealth and capital taxation, and international public grants that do not create debt. The cost of the transformation must not be shifted onto working people through indirect taxation.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH MEASURES MUST BE EXPANDED TO COVER CLIMATE RISKS.

The risks created by climate change in workplaces are no longer an abstract threat. According to an ILO estimate published in 2024 and based on 2020 data, more than 2.4 billion of the world's 3.4 billion workers are exposed to excessive heat at some point while working.[6] Climate-related occupational health risks, however, are not limited to heat. Ultraviolet (UV) radiation, air pollution, extreme weather events such as floods and fires, vector-borne diseases spreading as the climate warms, new industrial hazards created by the transformation itself, and the increasingly visible impacts on mental health together form an interconnected pattern of risks. These risks affect not only agricultural and construction workers outdoors, but also workers in poorly ventilated indoor workplaces involving heat-intensive production, as well as firefighters, health workers, search-and-rescue workers and municipal workers on the front lines of climate disaster response.

Yet Occupational Health and Safety Law No. 6331 contains no explicit provisions specific to Just Transition that address these risks. There is an urgent need to set a binding and measurable national target comparable to the 'Vision Zero' objective adopted in the EU Strategic Framework on Health and Safety at Work 2021-2027, and to update occupational safety and health legislation so that it addresses this multidimensional set of hazards created by the transformation and the climate crisis.

1. **THE RIGHT TO REFRAIN FROM WORK MUST COVER CLIMATE EMERGENCIES.** The right to refrain from work in situations of serious and imminent danger, provided for in Article 13 of Law No. 6331, must be revised to include climate-related emergencies such as extreme heat-waves, flooding and air pollution alerts. The law must guarantee that workers continue to receive their full wages when exercising this right and that doing so cannot constitute grounds for dismissal.

2. **RISK ASSESSMENT REQUIREMENTS MUST BE EXPANDED TO COVER CLIMATE RISKS.** The risk assessment obligation under Article 10 of Law No. 6331 requires employers to take measures against physical, chemical and biological risks in the workplace. Climate-related risks such as extreme heat, flooding and wildfires, however, are not currently an explicit part of this assessment. Regulations must require employers to assess workplaces for climate-related risks and prepare prevention plans specific to those risks. In sectors involving outdoor work, particularly agriculture, construction and logistics, binding rules must require work to stop when heat thresholds are exceeded or in conditions of extreme cold.

3. **CONCRETE TECHNICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL MEASURES MUST BECOME LEGAL REQUIREMENTS.** Measures against heat risks must not be recommendations left to the employer's discretion, but enforceable legal obligations subject to inspection. In sectors involving outdoor work, particularly agriculture, construction and logistics, binding rules must require work to stop when heat thresholds are exceeded or during extreme cold, without any loss of wages. Regulations must explicitly

6 ILO (2024). Climate change creates a 'cocktail' of serious health hazards for 70 per cent of the world's workers. 22 April 2024. https://www.ilo.org/resource/news/climate-change-creates-%E2%80%98cocktail%E2%80%99-serious-health-hazards-70-cent-world%E2%80%99s (Accessed 6 October 2026).

provide for measures including the reorganisation of work schedules above specified heat thresholds, such as breaks during the hottest hours and shift changes, shaded or cooled rest areas at workplaces, regular and free provision of drinking water and other suitable fluids, mandatory cooling systems in indoor and outdoor work areas, heat-awareness training for workers, and heat-warning systems. Heat thresholds must be determined not solely by air temperature but through combined assessment of humidity, solar radiant heat, workload and protective equipment. It must be prohibited to make workers compensate later at a faster pace for work not performed during the hottest hours, to reduce their wages, or to compress performance targets.

4. **HEAT-STRESS MEASURES MUST ALSO BE SPECIFICALLY REGULATED FOR INDOOR WORKERS AND WORKERS USING PERSONAL PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT.** Climate-related heat risks affect not only outdoor workers but also workers in sectors such as textiles, metals and food production who work indoors in poorly ventilated, heat-intensive environments. The fact that these workers often have to use personal protective equipment (PPE) can further intensify heat stress. The Risk Assessment Regulation must be amended to require indoor temperature measurement, adequate ventilation and cooling systems, and technical measures to reduce heat stress associated with PPE, including appropriate material selection, limits on duration of use and regular breaks.

5. **ADAPTATION TRAINING MUST BE INCLUDED WITHIN OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH.** The obligation to provide worker training under Article 17 of Law No. 6331 must be expanded to cover accident risks arising from gaps in knowledge and skills relating to new production tools and processes introduced during the transformation. Whenever a workplace shifts to a new technology or production method, workers must receive mandatory health and safety training specific to that transition, separate from existing general occupational safety and health training.

6. **THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH COMMITTEES MUST BE EXPANDED.** Occupational Health and Safety Committees, which are mandatory under Article 22 of Law No. 6331 in workplaces employing 50 or more workers, must be given responsibility for conducting risk assessments specific to the transformation, preparing prevention plans and operating remedial mechanisms such as compensation and redeployment. In smaller workplaces where such committees do not exist, the establishment of joint sector-level occupational safety and health mechanisms should be promoted.

7. **MENTAL HEALTH MUST BE RECOGNISED AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF CLIMATE-RELATED OCCUPATIONAL RISKS.** The psychological burden created by heat stress, disaster response, job insecurity and anxiety about the transformation has so far been entirely excluded from occupational safety and health legislation. The principles of risk prevention under Law No. 6331 must be amended to include an obligation to assess and prevent climate-related mental health risks, including chronic stress,

burnout and post-disaster trauma. Workers directly responding to climate disasters or experiencing job insecurity because of the transformation must have access to free psychological support services financed by employers and public authorities.

8. **SPECIAL PROTECTION AND COMPENSATION MECHANISMS MUST BE ESTABLISHED FOR EMERGENCY RESPONSE WORKERS.** Firefighters, health workers, search-and-rescue teams and other emergency workers operate on the front lines of climate disasters and face disproportionately high physical and psychological risks. Special definitions of occupational disease and occupational accident must be introduced for these workers, covering risks such as exposure to toxic gases, burns, physical trauma and mental health problems during climate-disaster response. Additional compensation and early-retirement rights must be granted for health problems linked to this work.

9. **ADDITIONAL SERVICE CREDITS FOR ARDUOUS AND HAZARDOUS WORK MUST BE EXTENDED TO OCCUPATIONS EXPOSED TO CLIMATE RISKS.** The additional service credit provided for under Article 40 of Law No. 5510 currently applies to a limited number of arduous and wearing occupations. Regular exposure to extreme heat and other climate-related risks is a new and increasingly widespread form of occupational wear and tear. ccupations exposed to severe climate-related working conditions must be brought within the scope of additional service credits, particularly agricultural, construction, courier, cleaning and municipal workers who work outdoors, as well as workers in high-temperature indoor settings such as the foundry, iron and steel, glass and ceramics industries. Decisions on which occupations are covered must be based on temperature measurements, occupational accident and disease data, and information collected by trade unions from workplaces.

LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE WORLD OF WORK MUST BE BROUGHT INTO LINE WITH THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS.

The most concrete and immediate consequence of the transformation will be uncertainty in workers' employment relationships. Labour legislation in Türkiye currently contains no specific provision protecting workers when a workplace closes, downsizes or changes its mode of production as a result of climate policies. Employers can leave workers without security on economic grounds, shifting almost the entire cost of the transformation onto workers. To change this, Just Transition must be reflected not as an abstract principle but through binding provisions in relevant legislation, above all the Labour Law and the Turkish Code of Obligations.

1. **JUST TRANSITION MUST BE GIVEN A BINDING RIGHTS FRAMEWORK AND A LEGAL DEFINITION IN LABOUR LEGISLATION.** In Türkiye, the concept of Just Transition has not been translated into concrete and enforceable rights for workers under labour law. This means that neither courts nor administrative authorities have a legal basis on which to address disputes arising from the transformation. Provisions defining Just Transition must be added to Labour Law No. 4857, the Turkish Code of Obligations No. 6098 and relevant social security legislation. This definition must not limit Just Transition to protecting workers against the adverse consequences of transformation. Job and income security, social security, education and training, freedom of association and the right to a healthy life must be integral elements of the definition. Such a legal framework must provide the basis for protection against dismissal, compensation, the right to retraining and the other guarantees set out below.

2. **JUST TRANSITION GUARANTEES MUST COVER ALL FORMS OF WORK AND LIVELIHOOD.** The existing labour law and social protection system either excludes significant numbers of informal, seasonal and insecure workers or restricts their effective access to rights, while taking registered full-time employment as its basic model. The type of employment contract, registration status, contribution record or size of the workplace must not be grounds for exclusion from transition guarantees. Seasonal agricultural workers, informal workers, subcontracted workers, platform workers and workers misclassified as self-employed must be guaranteed freedom of association, collective bargaining, income security and healthcare coverage.

3. **WORKING TIME MUST BE REDUCED AND JOB SECURITY GUARANTEED.** In workplaces and sectors at risk of employment losses as a result of the transformation, reducing working time without loss of pay and redistributing work among existing workers must be used as an employment-protection measure before redundancies are considered. Reducing working time without loss of wages or social security rights must also be adopted as a permanent social objective.

4. **THE TRANSFORMATION MUST NOT BECOME A JUSTIFICATION FOR REPLACING SECURE AND PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT WITH INSECURE FORMS OF WORK SUCH AS FLEXIBLE EMPLOYMENT.** On-call work and remote work may be used by employers in sectors affected by the transformation as tools to make

employment more precarious. Additional safeguards must therefore be added to Article 14 of the Labour Law to ensure that, particularly in sectors facing a high transition risk such as energy, mining and heavy industry, any move to these forms of contract takes place only with the existing worker's consent and without loss of job security.

5. **THE LABOUR LAW PROVISIONS ON TERMINATION MUST BE REVISED TO COVER JUST TRANSITION.** Provisions specific to the transformation must be added to Article 18 and subsequent provisions of the Labour Law concerning valid grounds for dismissal and job security. Transformation alone must not constitute a valid ground for dismissal. The employer must be required to demonstrate that all reasonable alternatives to dismissal have been exhausted, including retraining, job redesign, redeployment, transfer to vacant positions within the same undertaking or group of undertakings, and the reorganisation of working time. In dismissals arising from the transformation, the thresholds of 30 workers and six months' seniority currently required for job-security protection must not apply.

6. **WORKERS AFFECTED BY THE TRANSFORMATION MUST RETAIN THEIR SEVERANCE AND NOTICE-PAY RIGHTS AND RECEIVE JUST TRANSITION COMPENSATION.** The existing severance-pay system is not sufficient to protect workers who lose their jobs because of the transformation. It must therefore be guaranteed that dismissals arising from the transformation do not extinguish workers' existing rights to severance pay, notice pay or other acquired entitlements. In addition, an additional Just Transition compensation scheme must be introduced on top of existing severance pay, particularly for workers who have spent many years in the same sector and have limited prospects of re-employment.

7. **WORKERS AT RISK OF LOSING THEIR JOBS DURING THE JUST TRANSITION PROCESS MUST BE GUARANTEED ADEQUATE TIME FOR JOB SEARCH.** The paid job-search leave provided for under Article 27 of the Labour Law is insufficient for workers dismissed as a result of the transformation. For dismissals within the scope of the transformation, this period must be extended, notice periods must be recalibrated in workers' favour, and vocational training and retraining undertaken during this period must count as working time, thereby ensuring an uninterrupted transition into new employment.

LEGAL AND PRACTICAL BARRIERS TO UNIONISATION AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS MUST BE REMOVED.

Just Transition is historically a trade union demand. Decisions on how the transformation is shaped must therefore involve the trade unions in which the workers who will experience the process first-hand are organised. Yet Türkiye's collective bargaining system limits trade unions' capacity to shape the transition because of workplace- and enterprise-level majority requirements, the absence of sectoral and national collective bargaining mechanisms, and the very limited scope of the right to strike. Freedom of association in Türkiye is also restricted by de facto interference.

For Just Transition to be shaped through collective bargaining, the sectoral threshold, workplace and enterprise majority requirements, lengthy authorisation procedures, and the legal and practical barriers to collective bargaining must be removed, and a new system of collective labour relations must be established.

1. **EMPLOYER INTERFERENCE WITH FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION MUST BE PREVENTED BY LAW.** Legislation must prohibit and attach deterrent sanctions to practices including the dismissal of workers because they unionise, coercing workers to resign from a union or abandon membership, steering workers towards an employer-preferred union, prolonging collective bargaining by challenging union authorisation decisions, further delaying proceedings by filing cases before courts without jurisdiction, obstructing organising through workplace or sectoral registration, subcontracting and attempts to fragment employment relationships, changing workers' employment status or using bogus self-employment models, and discriminatory treatment of union members. Particularly in workplaces undergoing transformation, deterrent sanctions must be established against dismissals on trade union grounds, together with mechanisms guaranteeing reinstatement following the transformation.

2. **LEGISLATION MUST BE USED AS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT THROUGH INCLUSIVE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS.** Türkiye must establish collective bargaining systems that cover all workers in order to prevent the risks of the transformation across the country.

3. **THE ROLE OF WORKPLACE TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES MUST BE EXPANDED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF JUST TRANSITION.** Article 27/3 of Law No. 6356. 6356 limits the duties of workplace trade union representatives to hearing workers' complaints and monitoring working conditions. These powers must not be confined to access to information and consultation. They must also include joint decision-making rights on the direction of investment, the transformation of environmentally harmful production, and alternative production options. Large enterprises must establish environmental and transition committees in which worker representatives have decision-making powers, with guaranteed access to expert support and an obligation on employers to respond.

4. **THE RIGHT TO STRIKE MUST BE GUARANTEED IN A WAY THAT ALSO COVERS JUST TRANSITION DEMANDS.** In Türkiye, the right to strike is limited to disputes arising

during collective bargaining. Forms of industrial action such as solidarity strikes, general strikes and go-slow actions are deemed unlawful, lawful strikes may be postponed by presidential decree on grounds of national security or public health, and civil servants are denied the right to strike at all. This effectively prevents workers from advancing Just Transition demands as a collective force. Amending the relevant provisions of Law No. 6356 to remove these prohibitions would ensure that the struggle for Just Transition can be pursued not only at the negotiating table but, where necessary, through collective action.

GENUINE SOCIAL DIALOGUE MUST BE ENSURED THROUGHOUT THE JUST TRANSITION PROCESS, AND TRADE UNIONS MUST BE EFFECTIVE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATION AND DECISION-MAKING.

The most fundamental factor determining whether a Just Transition will actually take place is how the working class is included in the process. Treating trade unions merely as parties whose views are sought reduces Just Transition to a paper exercise. Just Transition becomes meaningful only where trade unions are part of decision-making structures and have a say at every stage, from sectoral impact assessments to the allocation of funds.

1. **TRADE UNIONS MUST BE REPRESENTED IN DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURES.** Information and consultation alone do not constitute social dialogue. Existing participation and consultation mechanisms must be transformed into permanent institutional structures based on negotiation, in which trade unions can influence the agenda and available options before decisions are taken. It must become a legal requirement for trade unions to participate, with voting rights, in decision-making from the preparatory stage of climate policies, including the National Just Transition Strategy, secondary legislation, sectoral transition plans, nationally determined contributions and related financing mechanisms.

2. **PERMANENT JUST TRANSITION MONITORING BOARDS MUST BE ESTABLISHED.** In structures created at national and sectoral level, worker representatives must be appointed by trade unions, and the representation and voting power of the workers' side must be no less than that of employers. Decisions that reduce job or income security must not be taken without the approval of worker representatives.

3. **TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION IN SECTORAL IMPACT ASSESSMENTS MUST BE MANDATORY.** Impact assessments, particularly in sectors such as coal, cement, iron and steel, fertilisers and aluminium, are currently conducted largely by technical experts and public institutions. Such assessments must be carried out with the direct participation of trade unions in the relevant sector and must take account of their knowledge and experience from workplaces. Trade unions must also be given access to the data and resources needed to conduct their own independent impact assessments.

4. **PARTICIPATION MUST NOT BE LIMITED TO TRIPARTITE SOCIAL DIALOGUE.** While the independent representation and collective bargaining rights of trade unions are protected, women's organisations, farmers' and producers' organisations, local communities, environmental movements, migrants and groups directly affected by the transition must be represented in regional and national decision-making processes through representatives of their own choosing.

5. **DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND PUBLIC OVERSIGHT MUST BE GUARANTEED.** Democracy is a precondition for Just Transition. Access to information, independent environmental impact assessment, effective participation in local decision-making, access to justice, and the rights of assembly and protest must all be guaranteed.

GENDER EQUALITY MUST BE ENSURED, AND POLICIES MUST BE IMPLEMENTED TO PROTECT WOMEN FROM THE ADVERSE IMPACTS OF THE TRANSFORMATION.

The climate crisis and the transformation do not affect women and men in the same way. Because of the gendered division of labour and the inadequacy of existing public policies, responsibility for the care of children, older persons and persons with disabilities has been placed disproportionately on women. During disasters and crises this burden becomes heavier still, pushing women out of the labour market and causing loss of income. At the same time, in transforming sectors such as energy, heavy industry and mining, discussing 'green jobs' through a gender-blind lens increases the risk that women will be excluded from these new areas of employment.

Just Transition does not automatically deliver gender equality. Any transition plan that does not explicitly pursue this objective will do little more than reproduce existing inequalities. Women must be recognised not only as a group to be protected, but as organised actors with decision-making power in the transformation.

1. **CLIMATE AND TRANSITION POLICIES MUST BE SUBJECT TO GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT.** No climate policy or sectoral transition plan prepared to date has systematically assessed its differentiated impacts on women and men. Every climate and Just Transition measure adopted must undergo a gender impact assessment before entering into force, and these assessments must be carried out with the participation of trade unions and women's organisations. Equal representation of women in Just Transition boards and councils, gender-responsive budgeting, monitoring using sex-disaggregated data, and safeguards for the rights of all groups facing discrimination must be ensured.

2. **WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT MUST BE PROMOTED ACROSS ALL SECTORS, PARTICULARLY GREEN AND TECHNICAL SECTORS.** Women's employment rates remain extremely low in sectors at the heart of the transformation, such as energy, construction and heavy industry. This creates a risk that 'green jobs' will simply reproduce male-dominated employment structures. Vocational education and training programmes must set places for women in green and technical fields, discrimination in recruitment must be prohibited, and structural barriers faced by women workers in these sectors - including lack of childcare, unsafe transport and sexist recruitment practices - must be removed.

3. **THE GENDER GAP IN PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT MUST BE ELIMINATED.** Research conducted by DİSK affiliate Birleşik Metal-İş with 910 metalworkers found that personal protective equipment is largely designed around male bodies and that women workers are systematically disadvantaged in accessing appropriate, quality PPE.[7] This inequality is reinforced by sexist assumptions such as the idea that women's work is less risky, resulting in de facto discrimination in the provision of equipment to women and men performing the same work. At a time when increasing heat stress caused by the climate crisis will make PPE more widely

7 DİSK/Birleşik Metal-İş (2026). Kişisel Koruyucu Donanım (KKD) ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Boyutu. https://birlesikmetalis.org/kkd-de-toplumsal-cinsiyet-acigi-arastirmamizin-sonuclari-aciklandi/ (Accessed 17 September 2026).

necessary, gender-sensitive sizing and design standards must become mandatory in PPE procurement. Employers must be monitored to ensure that equipment is allocated according to the actual risks of the work rather than the worker's gender, and trade unions must participate in this monitoring.

4. **VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT MUST BE ELIMINATED IN THE WORKPLACE AND THROUGHOUT THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF TÜRKIYE MUST RATIFY ILO CONVENTION NO. 190 ON VIOLENCE AND HARASSMENT.** During periods of increasing economic uncertainty and job insecurity, women workers face heightened risks of violence, harassment and discrimination at work. Türkiye's continuing failure to ratify ILO Convention No. 190, the key international framework for preventing violence and harassment in the world of work, remains a major gap. The Convention must be ratified without delay and incorporated into domestic law. In addition, every programme implemented during the transformation, including retraining, training linked to guaranteed employment and temporary employment programmes, must operate under a zero-tolerance principle for workplace violence and harassment within the framework of occupational safety and health legislation. Complaint mechanisms must be accessible to women workers and free from fear of retaliation.

5. **PUBLIC SOCIAL POLICIES MUST BE IMPLEMENTED TO REMOVE THE BURDEN OF CARE FROM WOMEN. AS IN PERIODS OF DISASTER, CARE RESPONSIBILITIES INCREASE DURING THE TRANSFORMATION.** Accessible and free or affordable childcare networks must therefore be expanded, care for older persons and persons with disabilities must be supported through publicly provided care centres and home-care services, and care work must be organised as a social public service rather than treated as an individual women's responsibility. Public investment in care services should also be recognised as investment in a low-carbon, employment-intensive sector and included in Just Transition investment plans. Responsibility for social reproduction must be shared on the basis of equality among public services, society and adults within households. Paid, non-transferable care leave that enables men to assume care responsibilities must be expanded, while the marketisation of care through low-paid and insecure women and migrant labour must be prevented. The right to care must be guaranteed together with the autonomy of the person receiving care and decent working conditions for care workers.

CONCRETE GUARANTEES MUST BE PROVIDED FOR WORKERS IN VULNERABLE FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Seasonal agricultural workers, platform workers, migrants, young people and informal workers are among those who bear the heaviest burden of both the climate crisis and the transformation. Bringing these groups within the scope of the Labour Law is necessary, but not sufficient. Because of widespread informality, employment in small workplaces, discontinuous and seasonal employment, and bogus self-employment, these workers may remain unable in practice to exercise basic rights such as job security even when formally covered by the law. Guarantees must therefore be built through social-security-based and sectoral mechanisms that do not depend solely on an employment contract.

1. **SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS MUST BE GUARANTEED DECENT ACCOMMODATION, TRANSPORT, REGISTRATION AND PROTECTION AGAINST WORKING IN EXCESSIVE HEAT.** Public authorities and municipalities must provide decent living facilities in the areas where seasonal agricultural workers are employed, with access to water, electricity, sanitation and health services. Seasonal agricultural workers must be registered from their first day of work through a social security scheme specific to agricultural workers and financed through employer contributions and public support. Work in the fields must be prohibited during hours when heat thresholds are exceeded, and workers must be protected against any loss of income during those periods.

2. **SOCIAL SECURITY AND ALGORITHMIC TRANSPARENCY MUST BE GUARANTEED FOR PLATFORM WORKERS AND COURIERS.** Couriers and other platform workers are excluded from job security, social security and trade union rights by being treated as ostensibly self-employed. A presumption of worker status must be established in platform work. Platform companies must pay couriers' social security contributions, and occupational accident and disease insurance must apply from the first day of work. The operation of algorithms that allocate work, determine pay and performance, and impose sanctions such as account deactivation must be disclosed to workers and trade unions. Algorithmic decisions must be subject to human oversight and a right of appeal.

3. **BARRIERS TO WORK PERMITS AND REGISTRATION FOR MIGRANT WORKERS MUST BE REMOVED.** Migrant workers are pushed into informal employment because work permits are tied to employers and are costly to obtain. Work permits must be made independent of a specific employer, simplified and provided free of charge.

4. **YOUNG PEOPLE MUST BE GUARANTEED THE RIGHT TO A SECURE FIRST JOB AND PAID TRAINING. INTERNSHIPS, APPRENTICESHIPS AND ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMMES MUST NOT BE USED AS SOURCES OF CHEAP LABOUR.** Participants must receive pay of no less than the minimum wage, full social security coverage and trade union rights. Students in vocational training centres and interns must be fully protected against occupational accidents and risks associated with working in heat, and this area must be effectively inspected. Young people must be prioritised in publicly funded training programmes for

green jobs and guaranteed secure employment upon completion.

5. **INFORMAL WORKERS MUST BE GUARANTEED INCOME SECURITY AND HEALTHCARE COVERAGE INDEPENDENTLY OF AN EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT.** Informal workers who lose their livelihoods because of climate-related disasters or the transformation must have access to income support and uninterrupted health coverage regardless of their contribution record. In the fight against informality, sanctions must target employers, not workers.

AT COP31, JUST TRANSITION MUST BE TRANSLATED INTO CONCRETE COMMITMENTS.

For DİSK, Türkiye's hosting of COP31 in Antalya in 2026 is not merely a diplomatic process to be observed, but a field of struggle in which we must intervene directly. Just Transition is no longer merely a general principle within the international climate regime. The central issue is how this principle will be translated into concrete rights for workers, institutional mechanisms, financing, measurable targets and implementation.

In light of Türkiye's responsibility as host country, COP31 offers an opportunity to turn this discourse into concrete, implementable, financed, measurable and accountable commitments. That opportunity can become a genuine gain only if the working class and trade unions are effectively involved in the process.

1. **THE BAM, AGREED AT COP30, MUST BECOME OPERATIONAL AT COP31.**
   The global coordination mechanism that came to the fore at COP30 must be given a concrete implementation timetable, a financing source and a monitoring mechanism at COP31.

   Direct and institutional trade union representation in the governance of the Mechanism must be guaranteed, and the ILO must play a central role in the world-of-work dimension of Just Transition. Just Transition must become an integral component of nationally determined contributions, national adaptation plans and long-term low-emission development strategies, while collective bargaining and collective agreements must be recognised as core instruments for implementing the transition.
   The Mechanism must cover not only particular sectors directly affected by the transformation, but all sectors and all workers, including both formal and informal workers.

   The dimensions of trade union participation and occupational safety and health, which were not sufficiently made concrete at the 64th sessions of the Subsidiary Bodies (SB64) held in Bonn in June 2026, must be set out through explicit provisions at COP31. Implementation of the Mechanism must be monitored against measurable indicators, including quality jobs created and protected, decent working conditions, access to education and skills development, occupational safety and health, gender equality, social inclusion and trade union participation.

2. **THE WORLD-OF-WORK DIMENSION MUST BE GUARANTEED IN THE SECOND GLOBAL STOCKTAKE.**
   The second Global Stocktake, which will begin at COP31 and conclude at the 33rd Conference of the Parties (COP33), must assess not only progress in emissions reductions but also the impacts of climate policies on workers, employment, incomes, working conditions and local communities. Trade unions must participate effectively in the assessment process, and the effects of climate policies on job creation and job losses, job quality, social protection, occupational safety and health, education and skills development, and trade union rights must be assessed through monitorable indicators.
   The success of climate policies must therefore be measured not only by the extent to which emissions are reduced, but also by the extent to which the transformation is just for workers.

3. **TRADE UNIONS' DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN COP31 NEGOTIATIONS AND IN TÜRKIYE'S DELEGATION MUST BE GUARANTEED.** In UN climate negotiations to date, trade unions have been treated in the same broad category as civil society organisations. The process of making Just Transition concrete at COP31 must be grounded in Türkiye's political responsibility as host country and COP31 President, together with the shared responsibility of Türkiye and Australia in the negotiating process. Both countries must assume responsibility for guaranteeing the institutional participation of trade unions. Türkiye's COP31 Presidency must give visible space on the Action Agenda to Just Transition, quality employment, workers' rights and public services, ensure that representative trade union confederations are included in Türkiye's official COP31 delegation, and involve trade unions from the outset in preparing national negotiating positions.

4. **NATIONAL, SECTORAL AND REGIONAL JUST TRANSITION PLANS MUST BE PREPARED WITH TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION.** Türkiye's climate strategy documents to date and the ongoing National Just Transition Strategy process must be translated into implementation plans for sectors and regions facing a high risk of transformation, such as coal regions and heavy industrial areas. These plans must specify budgets, timetables, responsible institutions, job and income guarantees, and monitoring indicators.

Notes

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