Procuring Green in the Public Sector: A checklist for getting started

Oshani Perera
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# Table of Contents

1.0 About this Checklist

2.0 The Checklist

   2.1 Do procurement laws allow for green and sustainable procurement?  
   2.2 Are there soft laws and policies mandating green and sustainable procurement (in the absence of relevant legislation)?  
   2.3 To what extent are e-procurement methodologies being integrated into procurement and tender processes?  
   2.4 To what level is public procurement centralized, decentralized and outsourced?  
   2.5 What do governments buy?  
   2.6 Are green and sustainable products/services available in the domestic market?  
   2.7 How are budgets organized and managed?  
   2.8 Allowing for life cycle costing  
   2.9 When buying sustainable means paying more up front  
   2.10 The issue of split responsibilities for capital and revenue budgets  
   2.11 The environmental and social dimensions of supplier qualification and appraisal  
   2.12 Evaluating tenders on non-financial grounds  
   2.13 Monitoring contracts after green tenders have been awarded  
   2.14 Determining the best places to start  
   2.15 Changing mind-sets from best value for money to best value across the project/product life cycle  
   2.16 Embedding life-cycle thinking in procurement procedures  
   2.17 Do procurers have incentives to buy green?  
   2.18 Provide for ongoing skills development  
   2.19 Maintain an ongoing dialogue with listed suppliers  
   2.20 Make provisions to purchase for small businesses  
   2.21 Maintain the fundamental principles of public procurement—equal treatment and transparency

Annex 1: The Business Case for the Public Sector to Buy Green
1.0 About this Checklist

This checklist has been designed to help public-sector procurers and policy-makers get started on purchasing green and sustainable goods, services and works, thereby:

- Creating incentives for investors and private enterprise to innovate and commercialize green and sustainable goods and services and technologies
- Demonstrating government commitment to and leadership on sustainable development

The public sector is a very large and diversified enterprise that spends 45–65 per cent of its budgets on procurement. This amounts to 13–17 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP) in high-income countries and even more elsewhere: 35 per cent in South Africa; 43 per cent in India; and 47 per cent in Brazil. Given these market volumes, public procurement has become a key driver of international trade, creating value chains that span the world. If governments can make a concerted effort to purchase environmentally and socially preferable goods, this can have a correspondingly large impact on green economic transformation.

Figure 1 Nations with SPP/GPP programs

Sustainable public procurement (SPP) is about laws, policies and practices to integrate economic, social and environmental risks into public procurement processes and decisions. It is about achieving “value for money” across the life cycle by considering the environmental, social and economic consequences of: design; non-renewable material use; manufacture and production methods; distribution and commercialization; operations and/or user life; disposal, reuse and recycling options; and suppliers’ capabilities to address these consequences throughout the value

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chain. In other words, sustainable procurement is about doing business with taxpayers’ money in a way that benefits society in the longer term.

Getting started on green procurement can be challenging, given that public procurement procedures tend to be formal, arduous, involve coordination among multiple divisions and reporting hierarchies, and budget flexibility is limited. Many procurement procedures are also entrenched in heavy administration procedures that have not been revisited for many years. That said, governments around the world have begun to modernize procurement laws and procedures to allow for e-procurement—when tenders are launched, managed, awarded and monitored electronically. The objective is to minimize corruption, increase transparency, reduce red tape and paper work, and increase public-sector efficiency. E-procurement represents a valuable opening for launching and improving on green procurement, as both processes require a change in mindset coupled with more streamlined and transparent procedures.

This IISD checklist for green procurement is designed to help procurers get it right the first time when starting out or improving on procuring green. It covers a wide range of macro- and organization-level intelligence that procurers need before starting out. It also helps procurers ask the right questions of peers, suppliers and end users to ensure that the traditional procurer’s commitment to “value for money” is being gradually modernized to encompass “value for money across the life cycle.” The checklist is also designed to help procurers work with suppliers and stakeholders to design specifications that will serve as triggers for green industrial activity across the domestic economy. (More on the business case for green and sustainable procurement can be found in Annex 1).
2.0 The Checklist

2.1 Do procurement laws allow for green and sustainable procurement?

If procurers are legally mandated to buy green, actually doing so becomes so much easier. It legitimizes the time, effort and money spent by procurers on consulting with environmental specialists, suppliers and stakeholders, and designing specification and award criteria that will crowd in the key multiplier benefits: the wider commercialization of green goods/services across the domestic market.

The exact provisions on green and sustainable procurement are also important to delineate areas of priority focus. For example, procurement laws that mandate that procurement decisions be based on life-cycle impacts, costs or benefits allow procurers to cast the net wide and invite suppliers to propose a range of environmental and social improvements that are in line with the sustainable development priorities of the domestic economy. On the other hand, laws that expressly mandate particular characteristics such as energy efficiency or recycled content, or mandate business with minority-owned enterprises make specification and award criteria design that much easier, because procurers will know where to focus. Some procurement laws might also encourage the purchase of eco-certified and eco-labelled items; in this case, tenders will need to be designed based on the relevant certification and labelling criteria.

It is also important to point out that environmental law and labour law may also provide procurers with the legal legitimacy to buy sustainably (even if procurement laws may not expressly do so). For example, national environmental acts that contain provisions on the following issues have direct relevance to green and sustainable public procurement: stewardship of natural ecosystems (such as forests and coastlines); use of best available techniques (BAT) (such as integrated pest management in agriculture); mandatory environmental impact assessment as a prerequisite for development approvals; environmental authority for key industry sectors (especially extractive and energy generation); environmental management; and environmental offense investigation and enforcement.

2.2 Are there soft laws and policies mandating green and sustainable procurement (in the absence of relevant legislation)?

Even of procurement laws and environmental laws do not expressly provide for green procurement, proactive procurers will be well served with soft law or policy frameworks that will legitimize and reward their efforts to buy green.
Many governments opt for soft law options, given that soft law is cheaper to implement, easier to enforce and requires less red tape to establish in the first place. Some SPP proponents even advocate a soft law approach, especially in the early stages of SPP, for it gives the public sector sufficient flexibility to determine the best places to start.

Many SPP experts also suggest that the biggest hurdle in procuring green is the lack of central coordinating facilities or purchasing platforms, the very existence of which might be enough to generate early compliance. In such a case, there is no difference between hard and soft law from a compliance standpoint.

2.3 To what extent are e-procurement methodologies being integrated into procurement and tender processes?

When government tenders processes are conducted electronically through the Internet or through other information and networking systems, it is termed e-procurement, or electronic procurement. Typically, public-sector e-procurement operates through dedicated procurement websites that allow qualified/registered users to launch and execute public-sector tenders and allow the short-listed suppliers to submit and track their bids. E-procurement software also makes it possible to automate some aspects of tender procedures, increasing the efficiency and transparency of the tender processes as a whole. For sustainable procurement, e-procurement can be of added value, as software applications can be developed to include environmental and social screening criteria that will facilitate tender design and award processes.

2.4 To what level is public procurement centralized, decentralized and outsourced?

There is great variety in how governments choose to conduct business with the private sector, and the selected procurement model has important implications on the chain of command within which sustainable procurement policies will need to be introduced.

In some federal economies, governments have opted to set up centralized procurement platforms through which federal agencies could streamline procurement procedures, negotiate “pooled” procurement contracts and obtain bulk discounts, with the responsibility for tender award and contract management remaining with each individual agency.

In other economies, if procurement could be decentralized, public agencies would then need to deal directly with suppliers and design and manage tenders themselves.
Some entities in the public sector may also be able to outsource the procurement function to private enterprises or public-private centralized procurement platforms. The objective is primarily to reduce transaction and purchasing costs and improve efficiencies across the public sector.

### 2.5 What do governments buy?

Governments buy a host of products and services, and commission a range of “works,” all of which can be done based on environmental and social considerations. Areas of frequent government spending are detailed in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Products</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Works</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office and server ICT equipment</td>
<td>Software</td>
<td>New building construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles</td>
<td>Information technology servers</td>
<td>Renovation of existing buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indoor lighting</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Landscaping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor lighting</td>
<td>Vehicle fleet/transport</td>
<td>Railways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Couriers and postal</td>
<td>Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office suppliers</td>
<td>Waste handling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel</td>
<td>Catering: food</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>Catering: beverages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.6 Are green and sustainable products/services available in the domestic market?

Procurers cannot run the risk of designing specifications that no supplier can meet. Hence, it is useful to have an overview of the domestic market for green products and services, the extent to which green products are produced domestically, and the extent to which green tenders might crowd in or crowd out domestic investors and domestically manufactured products.

What is important is to strike the right balance between stimulating domestic demand for green products, while maintaining the bar on the level of “greenness” that will stimulate innovation and production of green goods and services domestically. In other words, the costs of green innovation and production must not be too high for investors and suppliers to take the risk to invest, innovate and produce. This balance will be determined by the trade development priorities of each economy.

### 2.7 How are budgets organized and managed?

How procurement budgets are organized has a lot to do with the extent to which sustainable public procurement will be a successful policy for sustainable development. Multi-year accounting and
budget frameworks that allow temporal flexibility to carry over or borrow against the future are important to account for benefits that accrue during the user life of assets. Such frameworks also include opportunities to integrate life-cycle costing and net present value into procurement decisions. Such practices are, unfortunately, rarely possible in public-sector accounting.

Life-cycle costing and net present value are particularly important, as they will help procurement demonstrate that, though environmentally and socially preferable goods and services might cost more to purchase, they may be the most cost-efficient choice when looking at life cycle, bringing substantial savings during user life and end-of-life disposal. (If the environmental and social externalities are assigned monitory values and included in purchasing prices, then green goods and services become even more cost-effective).

Most procurers may however find that, for the most part, they are required to work with fixed budgets that cannot be carried forward and where net present value cannot be accounted for. In this case, purchasing green is likely to increase purchasing costs by a significant amount, as sustainable products and services can cost more to purchase.

2.8 Allowing for life-cycle costing

Governments are waking up to the fact that they need to integrate life-cycle costing into green and sustainable procurement policies, as green and socially preferable assets may carry considerably higher purchasing price tags than their less sustainable substitutes. This is particularly the case in middle- and lower-income countries where the markets for green and social goods and services are in their infancy.

Life-cycle costing (LCC) is defined in the International Organization for Standardization standard, Buildings and Constructed Assets, Service-Life Planning, Part 5: Life-Cycle Costing (ISO 15686-5) as an “economic assessment considering all agreed projected significant and relevant cost flows over a period of analysis expressed in monetary value. The projected costs are those needed to achieve defined levels of performance, including reliability, safety and availability.” In the context of SPP, the use of LCC is essential to demonstrate that procurement processes and decisions have to move beyond considering the purchase price of a good or service, for the purchase price does not reflect the financial and non-financial gains that are offered by environmentally and socially preferable assets as they accrue during the operations and use phases of the asset life cycle. In addition, purchasing prices rarely incorporate the environmental and social externalities (such as greenhouse gas emissions, pollution and poor labour conditions) that may be associated with the production, distribution and end-of-life disposal of products and services.
Typical LCC analyses are therefore based on:

- Purchasing costs and all associated costs, such as delivery, installation, commissioning and insurance;
- Operating costs, including utility costs such as energy, water use and maintenance costs;
- End-of-life costs, such as removal, recycling or refurbishment, and decommissioning;
- Longevity and warranty time frames of the asset.

It is true that the price premiums paid for sustainable assets may be largely offset through efficiency gains, cost savings and lowered risks during the product/project lifetime. But procurers still face difficult decisions. While they are being required to make purchasing decisions that are better for their environment and their societies, they are also bound by the principle to award the tender to the most economically advantageous bid to ensure the best value for their money. Incorporating LCC into procurement policies will provide procurers with the opportunity to demonstrate that the “best value for money across the asset life cycle” can only be assured by purchasing green and socially preferable alternatives.

### 2.9 Does buying sustainable mean paying more up front?

When LCC and net present value enter into public procurement decision-making, what can procurers do to lower the purchasing costs of sustainable goods and services? The first solution may be to try to negotiate bulk discounts with suppliers. It may be an option to group purchases with other public-sector entities or work with a central purchasing platform. The next option would be to see if leasing equipment or the hiring of services would be more cost effective than outright purchase. This is especially practical when procuring information and communication technologies (computers, telephones and printers, for example) and electric and electronic equipment such as boilers and air conditioners. Instead of purchasing these items, procurers can lease them or hire them as a part of an integrated service, which is coupled to regular maintenance contracts, supply of accessories and spare parts, and periodic replacement with new energy-efficient models.

The value of this business model is that suppliers are provided with an added incentive to innovate sustainable design features as the benefits of longer user life and lower maintenance requirements will accrue back to them.

It is also possible that suppliers can be persuaded into lowering prices on the basis that future procurement contracts will designed to favour green products and services.
2.10 The issue of split responsibilities for capital and revenue budgets

Perhaps the most critical difficulty in practicing green procurement is to reconcile capital and the revenue budget, which usually fall under the jurisdiction of different government departments or organizations. While procurement contracting might be the responsibility of one agency, budgets are controlled by another, and the use and maintenance of the product/service/development belongs to yet another. As the benefits of SPP accrue during the project life and at its end disposal, those bearing the capital costs may not be the first to realize the benefits of sustainable alternatives. Many procurers are of the view that widespread reforms on public expenditure management will be needed to enable LCC to be used as a standard procedure in procurement budgeting.

2.11 The environmental and social dimensions of supplier qualification and appraisal

Buying green will require that suppliers are evaluated above and beyond the traditional “fit to do business with the public sector” criteria that typically focus on financial performance, and the quality of goods and services delivered. Supplier indices will need to be expanded to include compliance with environmental and labour laws; corporate governance; strategies to reduce the environmental footprints (of both the firm and the goods/services it produces); accreditation under labels and standards; public disclosure on environmental and social performance; etc. It will also be useful to establish early procedures to audit suppliers on their environmental and social claims, especially the larger, first-tier firms that do regular business with the government.

2.12 Can tenders be evaluated on non-financial grounds?

To what extent do tender evaluation criteria consider non-financial elements such as quality, durability, energy efficiency, green design and the creation of green jobs? Buying green requires that the corresponding green criteria on which tenders are awarded command sufficiently high scores so that suppliers that provide the “best life-cycle value” have the chance of scoring high and being selected.

2.13 Monitoring contracts after green tenders have been awarded

Green procurers would do well to look into how the green claims made by suppliers do indeed pan out during the lifetime of the contract after tenders have been awarded. Public procurement should not be, under any circumstances, used as a means of “green washing.” Best practice suggests that contacts be monitored annually or bi-annually. Monitoring should focus on the cost and time overruns; adherence to specifications; best practice in environmental management and corporate social responsibility; and the reporting requirements agreed upon in the contract.
2.14 Determining the best places to start

It is always best to start in areas where policy openings already exist and where sustainable procurement can be coupled with ongoing programs that promote sustainable development. For example:

- If efforts to buy green or operate green have already begun and if procurers align their interests to these initiatives
- Which products, services and works have the highest potential to trigger multiplied benefits across the economy? This will change based on comparative and competitive advantages of the domestic economy; its profile when it comes to exports and imports; domestic technological and industrial capacity; sectors targeted for investment and development; and the environmental and social priorities of the domestic economy at large.
- The extent to which prevailing procurement policies provide for working with small businesses and minority-owned enterprises
- The extent to which environmental and social standards and labels are used and promoted across the domestic economy
- The availability and retail prices of green and sustainable goods and services in the domestic economy
- Which green technologies, industries and product groups have been signalled out by the government for special support and subsidies?
- The extent to which specific environmental and social priorities such as energy efficiency, low carbon development, green jobs and clean technologies are being singled out as development priorities.

2.15 Changing mindsets from “best value for money” to “best value across the project/product life cycle”

It is essential for procurers to appreciate the value of sustainable development and life-cycle thinking if the public procurement mindset is to change from “best value for money” to “best value across the project/product life cycle.” This requires setting environmental, social and economic objectives at each stage of the procurement process: establishing the need to procure; setting specifications; developing pre-qualification questionnaires; developing award criteria for the evaluation tenders and making award decisions; contracting and contract monitoring.
2.16 Embedding life-cycle thinking in procurement procedures

Changing mindsets also requires that procurers appreciate the comparative environmental and social advantage of the products and services they are buying. Comparative advantage is determined through either product-related or performance-related criteria. Product criteria stipulate the design or composition of a product, whereas performance criteria specify performance aspects such as thresholds of energy efficiency, increased recyclability or longer user life. In targeting outcomes during the user life of assets, performance-based criteria promote innovation and enable bidding companies to develop creative strategies to attain the level of performance being requested. Product-based criteria, on the other hand, do not spur sustainable design improvements to the same extent, though often they do involve a lesser degree of uncertainty and risk. Using life-cycle analyses will help procurers and policy-makers better appreciate the trade-off among these selection criteria and make the best decisions on a case-by-case basis.

Thinking across the life cycle also becomes easier when the classic question, “What needs to be bought or what infrastructure needs to be built?” is replaced with “What are the needs that need to be fulfilled?” This shift opens the door for developing performance-based specifications and purchasing integrated services, which are important incentives for sustainable design.

2.17 Do procurers have incentives to buy green?

As with all management functions, responsibility has to be assigned and good performance has to be rewarded. Procurers’ job descriptions have to expressly state that purchasing decisions need to be linked to life-cycle thinking and promote environmental stewardship and social cohesion. Similar criteria should also be echoed in performance and salary reviews. Even the best design policies will not be implemented unless those directly affected by them are incentivized to do so.

2.18 Provide for ongoing skills development

The pace of change and innovation across green goods and services is fast. Similarly, there is a lot of movement in the upgrading and expansion of environmental laws as well as the application of labour and human rights laws. Therefore, procurers and procurement policy-makers need to have the opportunity to continuously upgrade their skills in order to be able to appreciate the latest innovations in green product design, come up with alternative ways of creating green services (instead of outright product purchase), work actively with environmental consultants and lead in the design of sustainable tenders.
2.19 **Maintain an ongoing dialogue with listed suppliers**

In order to enable tenderers to respond to tenders with sustainable, cost-effective alternatives and innovative ways of securing private sector capital participation, in the case of public works, SPP champions must maintain an ongoing dialogue with suppliers. This will help policy-makers keep abreast of ongoing innovation in the private sector and to gauge where and when to raise the bar when setting specifications and tender award criteria so as to incentivize continuous improvement in green design and corporate social responsibility. In the same vein, suppliers will also have the opportunity to understand procurement policy objectives. This will then enable them to organize design and R&D functions well in advance so as to meet the specifications of green tenders in the future.

2.20 **Make provisions to purchase for small businesses**

Public agencies need to make special provisions to purchase from small businesses, as the multi-player benefits (or positive externalities) are immediate and tangible. This is especially true when local authorities and other decentralized agencies procure from businesses located within their constituencies, which in turn highlights the business case for SPP and “participative government” more broadly.

There is also the case to be made for the public sector to operate minority suppliers programs to align SPP with ancillary policies on social integration, social cohesion and the promotion of rural enterprises. Minority supplier programs make concerted efforts to purchase from rural business, cooperatives, and from enterprises owned/managed by women, ethnic minorities, disabled persons and the like.

2.21 **Maintain the fundamental principles of public procurement—equal treatment and transparency**

Awarding tenders on that are more sustainable does not imply that the fundamental principles of public procurement—equal treatment and transparency—are compromised. All competitors should have equal access to tender notices and equal opportunity to compete for the contract. At the same time, time frames, receipt of bids (or tender applications), requests for participation and rules on how technical specification should be drawn up may have to be revised to provide procurers to select the most efficient alternative across the life cycle (rather than at time of purchase).
Annex 1: The Business Case for the Public Sector to Buy Green

Sustainable public procurement (SPP) is about laws, policies and practices to integrate economic, social and environmental risks into public procurement processes and decisions. It is about achieving “value for money” across the life cycle by considering the environmental, social and economic consequences of design; non-renewable material use; manufacture and production methods; distribution and commercialization; operations and/or user life; disposal, reuse and recycling options; and suppliers’ capabilities to address these consequences throughout the value chain. In other words, sustainable procurement is about doing business with taxpayers’ money in a way that benefits society in the longer term. The business case for SPP is discussed below.

Meet Election Mandates and Trigger Green Markets

The case for green and sustainable procurement is that the quality of public services is a mandate on which governments win and lose elections. To fulfill this duty, governments need to procure. They commission rail and road developments, including stations and airports. They roll out utility networks and build hospitals, schools and homes. They contract catering and landscaping services and buy paper, computers and furniture for their offices. This massive purchasing power is large enough to trigger markets for green and socially-equitable goods and services. SPP provides both long-term demand and incentive to innovate. Public tenders are large enough for enterprises to take the risk to innovate, achieve economies of scale, reduce costs and plan the wider commercialization of green goods and services.

Develop Green Competitiveness

The demand for large volumes of green goods and services (such as those called for in public sector tenders) may also help prepare the domestic private sectors to develop comparative advantages on green goods and services, to such an extent that they might be able to service domestic markets, and also compete on export markets. This marks the turning point for green economy transformation. Indeed, government demand can even be large enough to raise the bar for improving the environmental and social credentials of goods and services across the board.

The potential for SPP to trigger markets is clearly demonstrated if we look at the origins of green goods in industrialized countries. In the United States, the domestic market for green electronics, including computers and mobile telephones, was born when the federal government began buying green in the early 1990s. Indeed, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency’s (USEPA) eco-label, Energy Star, was created to support federal public procurement mandates on energy-efficient electronics and appliances in 1992. Similarly, in Europe, public procurement served as the launch
market for organic food and drink, fuel-efficient vehicles and sustainable timber products. Fair Trade Foundation reports that in the U.K., The Netherlands, Germany and Belgium, the public sector demand for Fair Trade Mark foods increased by 11 per cent per annum from 2003 to 2008.

Increase Transparency in Tender Procedures

When governments buy goods and services, they usually put out an invitation to tender, a formal procedure for generating competing offers from different private-sector bidders with the intention to commission works or purchase supply and service contracts. Tenders are usually preceded by:

a. A pre-qualification questionnaire to short-list suitable private-sector candidates
b. A technical tender specification that spells out the details of the goods/services/works that the public sector wishes to purchase
c. A tender award document (or tender appraisal), which details the criteria on which tender applicants will be evaluated and the tender awarded.

Carrying out SPP requires that environmental and social improvements are included throughout the procurement decision-making processes, especially in the decision to procure and the design of specifications and appraisals. The tendering organization will therefore have to increase communication with short-listed suppliers across the public domain as new elements are being introduced into award criteria. Procurers will also consult with suppliers to design the tender to ensure that suppliers are able to propose legitimate and cost-efficient green alternatives. These activities will inherently provide governments with an opportunity to review and revamp procurement processes to improve time, cost-efficiency and transparency.

Lead by Example

If governments want to develop safer, prosperous and equitable societies and reduce environmental and social risks, the public sector needs to lead by example. SPP provides governments with a valuable tool to demonstrate commitment to sustainable development.

Green Procurement Works

There is already a significant body of evidence to indicate that SPP works. The IISD 2007 survey State of Play in Sustainable Public Procurement points out that all industrialized nations have implemented SPP policies, and from the BRIC nations, Brazil, China and India have developed federal legal frameworks to promote the concept. Since then, emerging and lower income economies are fast following suit. For example, the IISD SPP programs have kick-started efforts in Chile, South Africa,

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2 BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India, China
Vietnam and India, while the UNEP Marrakech Task Force on SPP are promoting the policies in six countries.

Admittedly, most of these programs might be still in their early days; a 2007 review of green procurement in the EU indicated that in seven member states, sustainable procurement had only penetrated 45 per cent of the government’s procurement, the equivalent of 55 per cent of its total contracts. Nevertheless, their outcomes are rather promising. At the very outset, green procurement data from industrialized countries indicate that green products bring sizable cost savings across their use life. Figure A1 presents the average life-cycle cost savings across a number of green products purchased by public sector procurers in the E.U., U.S. and Canada.\(^3\) Note that the negative numbers indicate cost savings across the product user life.

![Figure A1: Life-cycle costs in the E.U. and North America.](image)

**Building Green and Sustainable Industries**

Green procurement has also provided incentives for the private sector to improve the environmental characteristics of their products. For example, the U.S. federal government’s green purchasing program in the 1970s was what first prompted leading computer manufacturers to design energy-efficient and less toxic IT equipment. It was also the trigger for the launch of the USEPA certification initiatives, the Energy Star and Green Building partnership programs. The October 2009 Federal Acquisition regulations, which focuses on a zero carbon footprint for the federal

government, is expected to trigger innovation in low carbon products, especially vehicles. Similarly, in Germany and Sweden, green government procurement was the key stimulus for the launch of entirely new green industries in paper, forestry, food and waste management services.

There is also a growing interest among procurers to demonstrate how buying green goods and services contributes to smaller carbon footprints across the public sector. As the urgency to mitigate climate change increases, governments appear to be looking to low-cost policy implementation mechanisms and SPP can indeed be one of them.

Based on and drawing from the 2008 report Collection of Statistical Information on Green Public Procurement in the EU (PricewaterhouseCoopers, Significant and Ecofys), we are able to suggest that national green procurement policies in a number of industrialized countries are indeed reducing carbon emissions across the following product groups: electricity, construction, paper, textiles, transport, office IT equipment, food and beverages, and cleaning services. Figure A2 charts out the estimated savings in carbon dioxide emissions (the negative numbers indicate savings).

![National green stimulus ranking as a percentage the total government economic stimulus spending](image)

Figure A2: National green stimulus ranking as a percentage of the total government economic stimulus spending.

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