CITIES FOR AN INCLUSIVE AND JUST TRANSITION

• FOR THE GREATEST CLIMATE IMPACT, ENGAGE PEOPLE WHERE THEY ARE: CITIES

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FOR THE GREATEST CLIMATE PACT IMPACT, ENGAGE PEOPLE WHERE THEY ARE: CITIES¹

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he EU Climate Pact will be launched in December 2020. It is one of the strategic pillars of the European Green Deal (EGD) proposed by the EU Commission in December 2019, which commits the EU to become climate neutral by 2050. The pact aims to reconnect with disenchanted citizens and grant everyone – youth, businesses, academia, trade unions and the media – a proactive role in designing climate actions and supporting the EU in its new goal. As the level of government closest to citizens and frontrunners in the fight against climate change, European cities have great potential for strengthening the Climate Pact and reaching out to a wide range of local stakeholders. From talking about climate to triggering action and working together, they can become a key partner, but only if their role is recognised and they are empowered and equipped to make the appropriate contributions.

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I. Background: The brewing of the EU Climate Pact

The 2019 European Parliament elections showed that for the first time climate change was at the forefront of voters' priorities. The Greens ended up being the election's big winners, increasing their number of MEPs from 51 to 74 to become the fourth largest political group (EP, 2019). Opinion polls in Germany and municipal election results in France have ratified this growing support for Green parties and policies.

This should come as no surprise to anyone. A month prior to the European Parliament elections, the Eurobarometer survey on climate change carried out in the 28 member states revealed that 79% of respondents considered climate change to be a very serious problem, and that widespread support exists for national and EU action to fight climate change and the transition towards a carbon-neutral economy (EC, 2019a). The youth mobilisations inspired by Greta Thunberg's activism, which urged the EU to double its ambition on greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) reductions, also helped draw attention to climate change.

This chapter was written in September 2020, before the EU Climate Pact was launched.

The Climate Pact is a response to the new, polarised and more fragmented political environment that resulted from the European Parliament elections.

EU representatives finally grasped this call for action and decided to make it real. The European Commission President, Ursula von der Leyen, put climate at the centre of her presidency and on December 11th 2019 the Commission's executive vice-president, Frans Timmermans, presented the EGD to EU leaders, a plan to make Europe the first climate-neutral continent by 2050.

The commitment to net-zero GHG emissions as soon as possible and by 2050 at the latest was supported by the EU parliament in its resolution of November 29th 2019 and endorsed by the EU Council on December 12th 2019.

Of course, the plan will go further than emissions. It will be about decarbonising the energy sector, building and renovating buildings in an energy and resource-efficient way, supporting industry to innovate and become global leaders in clean, circular economies, accelerating the shift to smart, clean mobility, preserving and restoring ecosystems and biodiversity, and promoting healthy and environmentally friendly food systems, with the European pillar of social rights guiding actions. In essence, it is Europe's new strategy for sustainable growth and job creation, where no one is left behind (CoR, 2019).

"We do not have all the answers yet, today is the start of a journey, but this is Europe's man on the moon moment", Von der Leyen said (EC, 2019c). One of the first steps on this journey is to get everyone on board. The EU Climate Pact, a broad initiative in the framework of the Green Deal is intended "to give everyone a voice and space to design new climate actions, share information, launch grassroots activities and showcase solutions that others can follow" (EC, 2020a).

Achieving net-zero emissions by 2050 will entail profound transformation of our society and economy. As the executive vice-president for the EGD, Frans Timmermans, put it: "This will affect every single institution upon which society is based ... and we have a collective responsibility in preparing all these institutions to handle this, to leave no one behind and to bring everyone on board" (EC, 2020b).

In the same vein, in a webinar organised around the EU Climate Pact, Clara De La Torre, the EU Commission's director-general for climate action, said "We are making it a Pact as we need to do things together ... One of the principles of the EU is solidarity. But selfishly, if we don't have everyone with us, we won't make it because ultimately, what we do in our everyday lives, how we behave, has an impact on how our politicians govern, how our industries envision their supply chains, etc."²

As well as the climate concerns of voters, these efforts towards inclusive and effective mobilisation are also a response to the new, polarised and more fragmented political environment that resulted from the elections. For the first time, Europe's traditional centre-left (S&D) and centre-right groups (EPP) lost the majority they had held for decades, in what was their worst result since European Parliament elections began in 1979. And although two-thirds of voters supported pro-European parties, Eurosceptic and far-right populist parties secured almost a quarter of all the seats.³

- 2. For further reference, see: "Second European Climate Pact webinar".

 Available at: https://www.youtube.
 com/watch?v=31JNPDP9KWM&feat
 ure=youtu.be
- 3. For further reference, see: "2019 European election results." Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ election-results-2019/en

Further, climate narratives and interests vary (and clash) between member states. Those dependent on coal-fired power plants, such as Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, are concerned about their competitiveness and job losses, and have powerful industry lobby groups that may hinder progress.

Against this backdrop, building public support is key. The public consultations to gather stakeholder input on the pact acknowledged as much: "We need everyone on board, the people marching with Greta, and the people marching with the yellow vests ... How can we learn, how can we identify the gaps where action is not happening but it is absolutely needed, how can we replicate and scale best practices" (EU Climate Action, 2020).

The fact that the 2019 European Parliament elections recorded the highest turnout in the last 20 years affords us a glimpse of hope. Voters are looking to the EU for leadership and action. But what is the EU Climate Pact about and who should join this massive endeavour of talking, inspiring, and of fighting climate change?

The EU Climate
Pact aims to get all
Europeans involved
and brings citizens,
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II. Spelling out the details of the EU Climate Pact

The EU Climate Pact is at the heart of the EGD. Born out of the idea that the implementation of the EGD should happen through a meaningful participatory and inclusive process with monitoring, reporting and accountability mechanisms, the EU Climate Pact aims to get all Europeans involved and brings citizens, communities and organisations in all sectors of our society and economy together to make Europe climate neutral by 2050 (EC, 2020c).

The pact has been conceived as an instrument to facilitate the exchange of information, to capture everyone's best ideas and contributions and to learn what is happening on the ground. In other words, it is a recognition that if we are to succeed in becoming climate neutral by 2050, we need to do more than merely refocus our economy away from fossil fuels. We also need to reinvent our governance systems. The transition from a vertical fossil-fuel-based system relying on a few stakeholders to a horizontal system based on renewable sources with a whole new set of local players is fertile ground for inclusive, innovative and resilient solutions. Yet, for such a transformation to take hold, it is important to have mechanisms that are transparent, provide guidance and legitimacy, and create the space for dialogue and interaction between all sectors and individuals.

Figure 1: Produced by the author based on EU content provided in the Second European Climate Pact webinar organised on July 14th 2020 by EU Climate Action.						
Who is the EU Climate Pact for?						
Public administrations	National, regional and local authorities					
Civil society	Local communities, grassroots organisations, activists					
Academia	Scientific, research and innovation organisations and networks					
Citizens	Consumers and households					
Businesses	Non-profits, for-profits, social innovators, trade unions, investors, philanthropies					
Youth	Already-active and inactive young people					
Multipliers	Organisations and networks already taking climate action with the ability to reach places the EU is unable					
Education	People who can change and influence education programmes, since the EU has no direct competence					
Media	Traditional and non-traditional media to act as amplifiers for coverage of climate change, progress, stories, challenges, etc.					

In preparation for the pact, the EU Commission organised a 12-week open public consultation from March 4th to May 27th to gather inputs from stakeholders ahead of the launch in mid-November 2020. Alongside the open public consultation, a webinar was organised to give interested individuals, organisations and networks participating in the consultation an opportunity to learn about the pact, ask questions and share information and ideas. In July 2020, a second webinar was held to discuss the Climate Pact in depth, co-create its key elements and foster action. "It was an extensive consultation for EU standards as the goal was for everyone to think thoroughly about the Pact", De La Torre said (EU Climate Action, 2020).

At the time of writing, the EU is processing the feedback provided through the consultation and events to shape the pact, and the outcome is still unknown. Yet, certain aspects emerged during the consultation process that can be shared already.

The first is the criteria guiding the EU Climate Pact's construction. The presentations by EU representatives at the webinars suggested the pact follows certain criteria or aspirational goals:

- 1. The Climate Pact will be a vehicle for promoting broad social mobilisation. The EU reckons that everybody has a stake in designing and implementing actions and that everyone plays a role in pressuring the EU to deliver on the Green Deal.
- 2. Top-down will no longer work. The EU wants this initiative to be what everyone wants it to be. The pact will be conceived not as something with set-in-stone guidelines, but as something organic that helps the EU to capture what is happening on the ground, facilitate the best exchange of knowledge and make progress.
- **3.** The EU Climate Pact will trigger action. The Commission will promote individual and organisational commitments to concrete actions (pledges) and support initiatives to reduce GHG emissions and fight climate change.
- **4.** This will be a European project, something in which everyone has a responsibility. The EU aims to draw legitimacy from people's ideas, inspirations and actions.
- 5. The pact should not become a space for climate deniers. Through the pact, the EU wants to welcome people who are ready to act and to create a European movement a European wave of policies to turn the science into specific actions.
- 6. The EU Climate Pact will succeed if everyone manages to do something together that they would not have achieved alone. The pact is about working, learning and creating together, and informing about and sharing what is already working and where gaps exist in order to accelerate action and avoid reinventing the wheel.

The second known aspect is the profile of the respondents and their expectations and attitudes towards the public consultation.

Overall, citizens, civil society, businesses and other relevant stakeholders participating in the public consultation welcome this initiative and the EU's efforts to be at the forefront of climate change action and make a concerted response. They agree that for systemic change – in whatever form it takes – getting everyone on board is crucial.

In total, the EU Commission received over 3510 contributions, with 80% from Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, 32% of whom were young adults.

Younger people in particular see their role as watchdogs ensuring the EU Commission ups its commitment and sets interim incremental goals for the EGD. The fact that the Green Deal does not yet have a 2030 target concerns them. The Commission's proposed 2030 target is a 50–55% reduction in GHG emissions, insufficient if we want to deliver the commitments made under the Paris Agreement.

"Time is running out", Anouna de Wever, one of the founders of the "Youth for Climate" movement, told Timmermans in a conversation on the EU Climate Pact.⁴ For the EU, meeting the 1.5°C Paris Agreement target would mean hitting an interim target of at least 65% less CO₂ by 2030 (EP, 2020).

Beyond ensuring that the EU doubles down on its GHG emission efforts and meets the 2050 carbon neutrality targets, participants in the consultation and events organised around the pact highlighted that they saw the pact as an opportunity to be inspired, share knowledge and work together to shape EU climate policy and advance climate literacy; as well as to network and expand connections.

The third aspect relates to the general inputs from participants on the support needed from the EU to meet the pact's goals, which can be divided into the following topics:

 Talking about climate: what the pact's charter and storyline should include.

The pact should be open to everyone: from citizens and NGOs to local authorities and companies. Yet there should be rules of the game to demonstrate that signatories to the pact are taking climate action in line with the specific commitments prescribed by the pact, and to avoid greenwashing or marketing misuse, particularly by big corporations. Equity, justice and accountability should be the pact's core values.

• **Triggering action:** how to promote action through individual and organisational pledges.

To catalyse action, participants stressed the need for a demonstration of commitment. For both individuals and organisations, ideas proposed included drawing up a catalogue of achievable actions, a list of standard pledges to inspire and give ideas, and prioritising pledges in terms of the benefits they may bring. For individuals, actions would be tailored to different geographies (coastal, urban, rural, etc.) and brought down to the local level to facilitate contributions in their everyday life. Lastly, ambassadors were proposed to help trigger action. The participants believe ambassadors should act as a bridge, linking ideas from the community to the resources available. They should be knowledgeable about the climate and EU politics, and be driven by passion and resilience, as there will be obstacles along the way. Ambassadors should also be theme-specific in order to encompass all areas of action and knowledge around the climate.

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4. For further reference, see:
 "#EUGreenDeal live conversation
 on EU Climate Pact with Frans
 Timmermans." Available at: https://
 www.facebook.com/EUClimateAction/
 videos/2935481313139716

• **Working together**: how to support knowledge-sharing, capacity building and networking, both online and offline.

The pact should make information ubiquitous and integrate climate into as many discourses and as many levels as possible to avoid it being a niche topic. In this, climate programmes in schools, city hall meetings, advocacy groups and so on are fundamental to provide education and training to various groups in society. The organisation of sectoral webinars, context-based and in different languages, would also be important to discuss climate-related policies and practices with a wider audience. Beyond webinars, other channels suggested for sharing knowledge and spreading know-how include platforms and websites. A multi-stakeholder match-making platform at the local level that helps citizens connect with funders could help boost action and facilitate local stakeholders becoming agents of change in their own communities.

III. Unlocking cities' potential in the EU Climate Pact

The Climate Pact is crucial to activating and uniting EU citizens and their different realities under the EGD umbrella. Fighting the current climate crisis requires a systemic change in which everyone dramatically changes their behaviour and consumption patterns. At the same time, the solutions to tackle climate change can and will impact our habits, employment and lives differently. As EU representatives acknowledge with the pact, if the transition to a carbon-neutral economy is not designed properly, the journey may leave many people behind, and the efforts will be undermined and fruitless.

Avoiding this means designing policies that address inequalities, maximise the benefits of a climate-neutral economy and minimise the disadvantages of the transition. And it also requires a well-designed process that engages citizens and relevant stakeholders in assessing the needs of their communities, addresses their concerns, grants them an active role in crafting the solutions and, most importantly, places equity, inclusion and collaboration at its heart.

Local authorities are well positioned to facilitate this. As engines of the modern economy and key providers of public services, they have the potential to strengthen the Climate Pact by becoming key partners in bringing everyone on board and creating support for climate policies, triggering action and facilitating knowledge-exchange and replication, and enabling and stimulating the locally driven partnerships that the Climate Pact seeks to embrace.

Today, cities host approximately 75% of Europe's population and are responsible for 70% of climate mitigation actions and 90% of climate adaptation measures. As major contributors to energy consumption and GHG emissions, and as the main victims of its adverse effects (extreme cold and heat, droughts, wildfires, rising sea levels, flooding, landslides, etc.), their role and engagement is crucial to fighting climate change. As pointed out by Rafał Trzaskowski, mayor of Warsaw: "Without local communities, the ambitious climate-neutrality goal of the European

Green Deal will simply not happen. We implement 70% of all EU legislation" (CoR, 2020a).

Indeed, cities stand on the frontline of climate change action and typically show greater commitment than the EU. Back in 2008, European cities gathered as part of the Covenant of Mayors initiative to voluntarily commit to achieving and exceeding EU climate and energy targets (see Ruiz Campillo in this volume). Today, the initiative counts on over 10,000 local and regional authorities, 94% of whom are EU-based, with an average CO2 emission reduction target of 30% by 2020 and 47% by 2030 compared to baseline emissions projected in 2005. In other words, 10% and 7% above the EU target, respectively. A number of signatories are even aiming at climate neutrality (EU Neighbours, 2020).

Through their actions, local authorities are increasingly shaping practices, strategies and frameworks in which energy and climate action operationalises at the national and international levels. Cities are large enough to test and pilot different ideas before modelling solutions and small enough to discard them at lower cost if they are not fully functional.

At the same time, cities have long involved citizens and other relevant stakeholders in local climate decision-making and implementation, becoming fertile ground for social innovation. They acknowledge that for lasting and systemic changes, alongside government policies and regulation they need the engagement and behavioural change of everyone in their territories, as city authorities often control a small fraction of local GHG emissions – rarely above 10%.

For instance, in 2014 the mayor of Nantes, Johanna Rolland, decided to launch a "Great Debate" alongside her 23 fellow mayors in the metropolitan council. The goal was to activate Nantes's citizens to craft a plan and identify concrete initiatives related to the energy transition in Nantes. Over a seven-month period, the debate engaged 53,000 participants and gathered 11,000 contributions from 270 different local organisations. Based on the findings and discussions that emerged from the debate, Nantes metropolitan council approved a roadmap for the energy transition in 2018, outlining 15 goals and 33 initiatives (García & Khandke, 2020).

By organising the Great Debate, Nantes not only succeeded in enabling citizens to shape the energy transition in their territory, making them aware of the room for collective action and the impact each individual can have, it also managed to address citizens' needs and concerns by listening to their ideas and inputs and incorporating them in the roadmap for Nantes's energy transition.

So it was predictable that through the European Committee of the Regions (CoR) cities would embrace the Green Deal and voice their support for the Climate Pact. Parallel to the public consultation initiated by the Commission in March on the EU Climate Pact, the CoR launched a study on the views of local and regional authorities on the Climate Pact to determine the support they need in this field to transition towards climate neutrality. The findings fed into a draft working document which was discussed and voted through in June 2020 at the meeting of the Commission for the Environment, Climate Change and Energy (ENVE).

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The final vote and adoption is scheduled for the plenary in October 2020, a few weeks ahead of the launch of the Climate Pact.

In general terms, local authorities stressed in the working document that "the Climate Pact should be first of all a platform for co-operation between local and regional authorities and the European institutions", and that they are committed to becoming "key partners" with citizens "in designing climate actions and shaping their environment" (CoR, 2020b).

The document also underlined that the COVID-19 pandemic should not "slow down the necessary transformation of the European Union towards climate neutrality". In the opinion of the cities, the pact should be used as an instrument to simultaneously fight climate change, tackle the economic crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic and improve societies' resilience. The pact should also become a platform for further enhancing cities' action towards carbon neutrality, building on local experiences of policy co-creation and civic dialogues, and stimulating the creation of local climate pacts across the EU.

The EU has hit the nail on the head with the initiative of engaging Europeans in meaningful conversation, pinning down what climate means for them and, ultimately, transforming the talk into action through the Climate Pact. Recognising the role cities can and should play would allow the EU to better address the aspirations, ideas and concerns Europeans expressed in the consultation and events around the pact. And it would help meet the pact's overarching goal of ensuring the commitment and involvement of all stakeholders and citizens in making Europe carbon neutral by 2050, while ensuring social fairness. Below, a set of strategies and tools is listed that the EU should consider to empower and equip cities for this undertaking:

Talking about climate:

Cities are in a key position to launch climate dialogues with local stakeholders to analyse how climate change will impact citizens and communities and jointly navigate the possible solutions within reach, with equity and justice as the cornerstones. Given the different existing initiatives to support the EU reach climate neutrality by 2050 (i.e. the Covenant of Mayors, the National Energy and Climate Plans, the Territorial Just Transition Plans, the Recovery and Resilience Plans), the EU Climate Pact could provide help cities ensure they mainstream all the information and reach out to the relevant stakeholders in each case. The dialogues can take many different forms, such as living labs, conferences, workshops, climathons, community gatherings or town hall meetings.

• Triggering action:

As the closest level of government to citizens, cities can tailor the impact of transitioning to a carbon-neutral society to their specific contexts and communities. This is particularly true for the citizen and community actions the Commission has identified for initial targeted support –buildings, mobility and tree-planting – as all lie within cities' competences. Cities can channel the resources coming from the EU on

climate action and assign them to projects that will increase citizen and community ownership, while making societies more socially, economically and environmentally resilient. Likewise, cities can facilitate knowledge exchange and practice sharing in these fields and support the replication of best practices by disseminating results and lessons learnt. The Covenant of Mayors may become a major tool in this regard.

Cities can also become ambassadors. Local authorities meet the criteria outlined by participants in the consultation and are, above all, great connectors. They can act as a focal point where citizens and local stakeholders connect, network, share information about their climate-related projects and partner up. In their role as ambassadors, cities can advance climate literacy. They can engage citizens and target different sectors of the population in a way that informs about options, prompts behavioural change and empowers each of us to find solutions to the daunting task of fighting climate change and collectively refocusing our carbon-intensive systems. Finally, they can provide periodical feedback on the effectiveness of EU policies on the ground and promote coherence and integration of policies across different levels of government.

The Climate Pact should provide stronger support to cities to promote multi-stakeholder collaboration.

· Working together:

Cities have long been working with citizens, civil society, businesses, academia and other relevant stakeholders to speed up actions against climate change. They have even created local climate roadmaps or pacts, as in the case of Nantes or Amsterdam. The Climate Pact should provide stronger support to cities to promote multi-stakeholder collaboration. This can be done by creating a platform that allows local stakeholders to connect with each other and team up for the design and implementation of local projects that accelerate climate action and new opportunities for the well-being of citizens, such as job creation and improved health. The Climate Pact can also help build local synergies by providing technical and financial guidance to cities on how to establish effective local partnerships around climate action.

Conclusion

Through its pact, the EU Commission aims to regain trust and confidence from disenchanted citizens demanding more action, and to connect with those not yet active, but whose engagement will be important to ensure an inclusive, competitive and just transition to a climate neutral Europe by 2050. It essentially seeks to bring everyone under the same roof, instilling a new culture of climate awareness conducive to behavioural change, from the individual to the largest multinational and supporting Europeans to accelerate whatever action to fight climate change they are undertaking.

Fortunately, the goals underlined by participants in the consultations and events around the Climate Pact are consistent with those of the EU. To make the pact inclusive, meaningful and action-oriented, the ball is now in the Commission's court. We cannot overlook the fact that, even if participation rates have been high, they have mainly come from a small list of countries (eastern European countries are notable by their absence). By contrast, cities across the EU have been frontrunners in devising

climate actions and engaging citizens and relevant local stakeholders along the way. They can certainly play a key role in strengthening the Climate Pact by fostering dialogues, reaching out to a wider constituency and facilitating climate action tailored to their own contexts and communities. But first the role they can play must be recognised and they must be empowered and equipped accordingly.

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