

Imprint

Authors

Christiny Miller and Nicole Kormann da Silva

Contributing authors

Elizabeth Dirth, Christoph Gran, Jonathan Barth, Laura Danilaviciute

Reviewer

Louis Meuleman

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Glossary

process

Governance Governance is the totality of interactions in which government, other public bodies,

private sector and civil society participate (in one way or another), aimed at solving public challenges or creating public opportunities¹. In short: Policy is about what

and when, governance is about how and who.

Enabler Principles for effective governance for the green and just transition which serve as

practices to employ to create good policies.

Foundation Principles for effective governance for the green and just transition which are the

preconditions for good policies

Method In this context, a method is a way you use a tool. A tool can also be a method in and

of itself (e.g., a citizen assembly would be a tool and a method contributing to the

'participation' enabler).

Usually, different methods are used during the policymaking process. This helps to

ensure that all relevant aspects and interactions are considered when developing

effective policies.

Policy instrument A measure used by a governmental authority to try to gain support and influence or

prevent societal change.

Policymaking The process through which policy is designed and/or made including its deci

sion-making structures, knowledge sharing procedures, informal and formal pro-

cesses of exchange between actors involved.

E.g., informal and formal processes used to develop legislative and non-legislative policies such as protocols inside public policy who should be involved into drafting

a piece of legislation; decision-making structure in public policy; consultation (inter-

nal or public), procedure to develop legislative proposal.

Synergy An interaction between policy objectives in which there is a positive correlation

between pursuing multiple policy goals together and/or simultaneously imple-

menting different policy instruments.

Tension An interaction between policy objectives in which the improvement of one can lead

to the deterioration of another depending on the context. With a suitable policy mix,

tensions can be overcome².

Tool A tool is something policymakers can employ which supports the policymaking pro-

cess. These support adherence to the enablers (e.g., evaluation can be a tool supporting 'evidence-informed' policymaking as well as the 'experimentation & adapt-

ability' enabler).

Trade-off An interaction between policy objectives in which the improvement of one will nec-

essarily lead to the deterioration of another. Trade-offs cannot be overcome; a deci-

sion or prioritisation between objectives must be taken³.

Value In this context, overarching principles for effective governance for the green and

just transition which serve as preconditions for good policies.

Executive summary

To combat climate change and its effects, the EU, and the rest of the world, need to transition towards a net-zero economy. This agenda has been already endorsed by the EU as laid out in the European Green Deal. However, the transition needs to be based on fairness to ensure ongoing public support and ultimately benefit both people and planet.

The process of transition involves navigating tensions and trade-offs. The decline of industries reliant on fossil fuels, for instance, can lead to negative employment impacts, and rising energy prices can disproportionately affect low-income households. Moreover, connected governance challenges arise due to the complex nature of this issue, such as aligning short- and long-term goals and needs. If not well managed, these can jeopardise the transition.

Whereas most research tends to focus on what policies can support the transition, there is less about the how – the governance dimension of the green and just transition. This report attempts to fill this gap by asking how can the EU institutions be equipped to develop policies through effective policymaking processes for dealing with tensions and trade-offs?

Through research and interviews with topic experts, ZOE Institute developed a framework of effective governance for the green and just transition. These principles can be divided into **foundations**, which are the preconditions for good policies, and **enablers**, which are practices to employ in order to create good policies. The rest of the paper specifically focuses on the six enablers that can help tackle the governance challenges of the green and just transition:

- competence, capacity, & capability;
- evidence-informed;
- participation;
- coherence, coordination, & collaboration;
- commitment & leadership; and
- experimentation & adaptability.

This paper also explores some of the tools and structures that exist in EU policymaking which can support the application of the enablers. While the EU Commission has many such tools, a holistic perspective is essential to consider these enablers together while deciding on the tools to use throughout the policy cycle.

This way, this framework can be used to guide policymaking processes and help identify gaps in specific policy processes by seeing what enablers were missing or underused in the process. With better, more holistic policy processes, tensions and trade-offs can be better managed, leading to a transition that is just: a win-win for people and planet.

1. Making the transition possible

The EU is at a critical juncture in the process of implementing the European Green Deal (EGD) with no one left behind⁴. These crossroads offer one path with increasing backlash and regression on the EGD and net zero pathway and one path where the transition is successful because no one is left behind. Effective governance is an essential foundation to enable the latter to fulfil the EU's commitment to working towards a socio-ecological transition.

As the transition process unfolds in a time of cascading crises and an ever-changing socio-economic and environmental context, the EU faces a complex challenge. Within this context, tensions and tradeoffs are likely to occur between policy areas and outcomes because the costs and opportunities deriving from the transition differ across regions and sectors. Policies have disparate effects on different social groups, whether they be carbon taxes, job creation and reskilling programmes, or investments in specific technologies. In this way, policies may deepen or reinforce existing socioeconomic inequalities, making them appear unfair and less acceptable to the public⁵.

The effectiveness and ongoing public acceptance of the transition depend on whether environmental policies can create synergies and benefit both planet and human wellbeing. If not well-managed, tradeoffs and tensions can jeopardise the success of the transition, as evidenced by examples of social resistance and backlash to environmental policies:

The French yellow vests (Gilets Jaunes) movement illustrated how environmental policies can fail to succeed against the reality of socio-economic necessities. In 2019, the French government proposed to raise already growing fossil fuel taxes, which was further matched with a cut down on wealth taxes. This mix of policies and lack of support to low and

- middle-income French drivers, particularly those living outside of major cities, led to a strong feeling of injustice. As a result, these groups took to the streets to protest against the proposed measures.
- The European Court of Justice closed the Turów coal mine in Poland in 2021. Aside from the undoubted environmental damage, the mine had been negatively affecting local households' wellbeing, such as through water contamination and related health issues⁷. However, the region is economically dependent on coal, and the Turów mine and an adjacent power plant generated significant energy for the region. Poland pushed back on the ruling and many Polish workers from the sector gathered in protest over the EU court order to close the mine in 2021⁸.

These examples emphasise the critical need to reconcile environmental, social, and economic issues. Although policymakers have always had to deal with trade-offs and tensions⁹, the urgency to effectively address these challenges becomes clearer with the rapid changes the EU has witnessed in recent years.

The governance question

To achieve the green and just transition, harmful trade-offs need to be mitigated and tensions addressed to the greatest extent possible through well-designed policy mixes. However, much of the focus in the past has been on determining what these policy mixes contain, rather than how they are determined; policies are ultimately the result of a policy-making process. The process itself can produce very different policy options depending on the tools used and the principles behind the process. So, how can the EU institutions be equipped to develop policies through effective policymaking processes for dealing with tensions and trade-offs?

i According to Eurobarometer data from 2022, 88 % of EU citizens support a green transition that leaves no one behind: https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2672

However, the policymaking process is highly complex. Policies should be designed taking into consideration people's desires and needs as well as all potential impacts. In addition, policies are entwined with individual and cultural identities, rather than just being a matter of economic efficiency¹⁰. Policymakers are thus caught in the middle of competing interests. They need, for instance, to consider the needs of workers in carbon-intensive industries while shifting sectors to those that do not pose hazards to human and planetary wellbeing. Governance systems have to be able to deliver a feasible, coherent green transformation package without renouncing some of the most fundamental pillars for people's wellbeing. With a few exceptions, this important dimension of governance is generally missing in the EGD and other policy strategies 11.

Adhering to important principles for the green and just transition (see <u>chapter 3</u>) at the right stage in the policymaking process can help in mitigating tensions and trade-offs and thus create better policy outcomes. A well-designed transition will have positive side-effects on social aspects when policy packages are able to create synergies between measures. However, there is no silver bullet. Synergies cannot be made in every circumstance and there will always be prioritisations that have to be made.

Structure of the report

This report addresses the way policymaking processes can be better equipped to deal with tensions and trade-offs and promote synergies by looking at the principles for policymakers to follow and the tools for them to use. While the economic, environmental, and social dimensions of society are all interrelated and all may encounter tensions and trade-offs between their objectives, this report is focused specifically on the social impacts of environmental policies.

Chapter 2 delves into potential tensions and tradeoffs that emerge in the context of the green and just transition and reflects on other governance challenges that policymakers face today in this context. With those challenges in mind, chapter 3 outlines what is needed to effectively deal with such interdependencies, by first looking at principles of effective governance for the green and just transition, and then focusing on the "enablers" subset of these principles, i.e., practices to employ in order to create good policies. Chapter 4 builds on the framework laid out in the previous chapter to explore and assess what methods and tools exist in the EU for policymakers to successfully uphold each of these enablers. Chapter 5 concludes with recommendations.

This report uses qualitative research methods. A review of relevant academic literature was conducted, as well as an analytical reading of key policy documents. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with more than 20 key experts, including officials from the European Commission, topic experts in the field, and researchers.

ii The EGD, like the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), does not provide clear prioritisation between environmental, social, and economic objectives in the event of conflicts between objectives. However, in the event of trade-offs, a decision needs to be made. It is important to first see where conflicts can be resolved by combining and adjusting policy instruments. Where this is not possible, a prioritisation is necessary, with priorities established through democracy and deliberation.

2. Identifying challenges for the green and just transition

Policymakers are increasingly embracing the concept of transition and its systemic nature¹². This is reflected in the EU's political priorities and its recent policy strategies. The EGD is a key example of an overarching, systemic policy framework that aims at achieving several cross-cutting large-scale goals at the same time. Another example is the Fit for 55 package which aims to reach the EU's climate objectives in a socially-just way. As defined in the EGD, the EU needs to ensure that the transition is not only green but also just:

...to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society, with a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy where there are no net emissions of greenhouse gases in 2050 and where economic growth is de-coupled from resource use. It also aims to protect, conserve and enhance the EU's natural capital, and protect the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts. At the same time, this transition must be just and inclusive. It must put people first, and pay attention to the regions, industries and workers who will face the greatest challenges¹³.

This is not an easy task. The process of transitioning is gradual, complex, and full of challenges. This paper focuses on the tensions and tradeoffs between policy objectives given the importance of effectively managing them to make the transition possible – and fair.

Trade-offs and tensions

The environmental and social dimensions of society are inextricably intertwined. From an environmental perspective, the relationship between these policy areas can be seen two ways; environmental concerns and the policies designed to address them have ramifications for social wellbeing and the economy; and, on the contrary, current methods of production and consumption impact the environment. While the latter is also important for a holistic understanding of the transition, this overview focuses on the former, because these social impacts must be addressed for the transition to be viable for our society. As such, this report is focused specifically on the social impacts of environmental policies and tensions and trade-offs that may arise between their objectives.

The regulation establishing the Just Transition Fund was clear that "in order to be successful and socially acceptable for all, the transition has to be fair and inclusive. Therefore the Union, Member States and their regions must take into account its social, economic and environmental implications from the outset, and deploy all possible instruments to mitigate adverse consequences¹⁴." Additionally, the 2022 IPCC report cites learnings from experimental economics that say that people might not accept a distribution that is unfair, even if there is a cost to not accepting, such as in the case of climate change. Thus, equity and social acceptance must be a serious consideration of the policies and negotiations involved in tackling climate change¹⁵.

Tension: An interaction between policy objectives in which the improvement of one can lead to the deterioration of another depending on the context. With a suitable policy mix, tensions can be overcome.

Trade-off: An interaction between policy objectives in which the improvement of one will necessarily lead to the deterioration of another. Trade-offs cannot be overcome; a decision or prioritisation between objectives must be taken.

Synergy: An interaction between policy objectives in which there is a positive correlation between pursuing multiple policy goals together and/or simultaneously implementing different policy instruments.

Box 1: Defining tensions, trade-offs, and synergies

The framing of conflicts between policy objectives is important. Neglecting to distinguish between trade-offs and tensions might lead to the conclusion that some policy coherence challenges have no answers¹⁶, when tensions can be overcome with a suitable policy mix. Synergies between policy objectives should actively be strived for – they do not emerge automatically.

Policy, and policymaking, can be contradictory. In delivering environmental goals, numerous interlinkages emerge. The overall picture can be divided into four main dimensions¹⁷:

- Sectoral: relates to economic sectors and jobs
- Territorial: relates to territories, countries, and places
- **Distributional:** relates to people and social groups
- Temporal: relates to present and future needs and interests

Trade-offs and tensions occur in an interconnected manner. Nonetheless, the distinction above is useful in understanding the intricate and systemic interlinkages between environmental policies and their social impacts.

Table 1 presents a non-exhaustive overview of various aspects where potential impacts need to be carefully addressed.

Sectoral	Territorial	Distributional	Temporal
Main potential impact: risks / costs as well as benefits are not equally distributed across economic sectors	Main potential impact: risks / costs as well as benefits are not equally distributed across territories	Main potential impact: risks / costs as well as benefits are not equally distributed across social groups and people	Main potential impact: risks/ costs as well as benefits are not equally distributed across generations and time
Example of trade-offs and tensions that might be reinforced/emerge in this context: Certain sectors are more affected than others due to phasing out Job losses Decline of employment contributions to workers' pensions Indirectly decrease labour and productivity of specialised suppliers which are connected to these industries	Example of trade-offs and tensions that might be reinforced/emerge in this context: Certain regions/places are more affected than others due to phasing out Rising unemployment Negative impacts on tax income and local investments, and as a result, territories' capacity to establish new green sectors	Example of trade-offs and tensions that might be reinforced/emerge in this context: Certain social groups are more affected than others due to phasing out Income and purchasing power losses, which can lead, e.g., to increasing energy and transport poverty High upfront investment costs can prevent people from adhering to more sustainable practices	Example of trade-offs and tensions that might be reinforced/emerge in this context: Policies with long-term goals can lead to supply shortage of certain products in the short-term Phase-out of fossil fuels and gas can mean energy shortage in the short-term Investments needed can be costly in the short-term Quick reaction to crises can contradict long-term goals (e.g., building gas infrastructure that locks-in gas usage for years to come)
This is explained by: Some sectors / industries are more carbon-intesive than others Mismatch between where and when new jobs and sectors are created and old ones lost Mismatch between skills needed for emerging green jobs and existing skills	This is explained by: Productive structures vary across the EU, and many sectors (e.g. coal) are geographicaly concentrated Infrastructure also varies greatly across territories (e.g. energy grids and sources differ by country and region) Mismatch between where new jobs and sectors are created and old ones lost	 This is explained by: Income level as well as consumption patterns vary across social groups and territories Pre-existing inequalities, when not addressed, are likely to be reinforced (e.g. gender inequalities) Lack of means or lack of willingness (particularly high-income groups) to adhere to sustainable practices 	This is explained by: Mismatch between when costs are incurred and benefits perceived Present needs may conflict with future needs

 Table 1: Four types of trade-offs and tensions and examples of each

Based on 18,19,20

Nitrogen emissions reductions - sectoral and territorial trade-offs

In the Netherlands, the gross nitrogen balance, or the net amount of nitrogen added to and removed from agricultural land, of the Netherlands between 2012 and 2015 was more than three times the EU average²¹. Nitrogen pollution heavily contributes to biodiversity loss and is a key contributor to climate change²². In 2022, the Dutch government introduced measures to reduce nitrogen pollution, primarily targeting the agricultural sector²³. Pitting agriculture against other industries, the nature minister Christianne van der Wal said that housing and infrastructure could not be built until nitrogen emissions in the country, particularly in agriculture, were reduced²⁴. However, van der Wal pointed out that other sectors were targeted as well.

Farmers were upset and staged many mass protests in reaction to the law, with rural communities feeling that the government in big cities was making decisions that affected them unfairly. A new agrarian centre-right party, the BoerBurgerBeweging (Farmer Citizen Movement), or BBB, was formed in response and sailed to victory in elections in March 2023, demonstrating the dissatisfaction of rural people and especially farmers with government policies²⁵. A more inclusive policy process that listened to the needs and concerns of farmers could have helped to avoid this outcome²⁶.

Energy transition — distributional trade-offs

Price increases can pose a barrier to public support of the transition. There is widespread concern that energy costs are too high. In 2021, a 1% rise in carbon pricing was expected to increase the number of people experiencing fuel poverty by 0.5%²⁷. Currently, 16.2% of EU households are in a precarious situation²⁸, but it is not only low-income and vulnerable groups who are struggling to keep their houses warm. The energy crisis caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine put a strain on families who are not usually considered to be at risk as electricity prices increased in all but five Member States – Czechia, Latvia and Denmark saw more than a 56% increase²⁹. Therefore, environmental policy should address the risk of energy poverty in the short term.

Another possible source of negative consequences in the energy sector is the influence of regulatory instruments. Energy efficiency standards and labelling are one of EU main energy policy instruments³⁰. However, energy labelling in the building industry and energy efficiency measures in construction may have a negative impact on low-income families due to the probable rise in housing costs³¹. The policy impacts of the transition on the cost and accessibility of key services and goods to the populace have a significant effect on whether or not there will be public acceptance and support for a green transition.

Box 2: Recent examples of social trade-offs in environmental policies

As seen from Table 1 and the examples in Box 2, the green and just transition provides for a great challenge and multifaceted landscape of interdependencies and tensions. This puts the **need for policy-makers to mitigate trade-offs and address tensions at the heart of the transition.** By consequence, this requires significant governance efforts to coordinate policy design and ensure that addressing one issue

does not result in unintended harm in another area³². Policymakers are faced with multifaceted and interrelated challenges which increase the risk of mismanagement of tensions and trade-offs. The following section outlines the most prominent challenges arising from in the pursuit of the green and just transition which can create an added risk for trade-offs and tensions.

Other governance challenges

In carrying out the key role of managing trade-offs and tensions, policymakers face a number of challenges, both in terms of the intricate nature of the issue and of their capacity to act.

Trade-offs and tensions between different policy objectives emerge in a highly complex setting. A green and just transition is a multidimensional concept, which cuts across many different aspects of our economic, social, and environmental systems³³. The EGD itself is by design an integrated set of strategies and objectives spanning multiple domains. The clean energy transition strategy, for example, includes three dimensions: decarbonisation of the EU's energy grid (environmental); energy security (social); and a fully integrated and digitalised EU energy market (economic)³⁴. However, these may not always be in harmony. The phase-out of polluting energy sources, for instance, can lead to price increases in the shortterm, which if not addressed, can result in growing energy poverty.

In addition, new policy instruments are implemented in an already existing policy system. There is an ever-increasing quantity of policy objectives and tools. The Fit-for-55 package, for example, introduces additional instruments to the EGD and adds to the current EU policy toolbox³⁶. By default, this entails **growing complexity** as the field of interrelations between different actions expands. If the entire policy environment is not well assessed, the combination of different instruments may create incoherent policy mixes³⁷.

Within this complex governance system, there are also several features that affect the capacity of policymakers to effectively address trade-offs and tensions. These include the difficulties of managing different time scales, as policies created today will shape options for decades to come. This stresses that the EGD's long-term objectives need to align with its short-term policies, and the other way around. For instance, the goal of climate neutrality in the EU by 2050 depends on increasing supply of renewables in the next few years. On top of that, whereas the cost of investments into green infrastructure arise today, the cost of not shifting arising from climate catastrophe comes in the future. The integration of different time scales poses a challenge to decision making given the path dependence any transformation entails.

Related to this issue is the fact that the political cycle is short-term by design. To some degree, governance has been improving in this sense. The EU Commission has strengthened its long-term perspective by issuing a Strategic Foresight Report every year. Foresight is also now an obligatory part of all ex-ante impact assessments of the Commission. Moreover, the EU Environmental Foresight System (FORENV) was established in 2017 to support the identification of emerging environmental and climate risks. However, it is still unclear to what extent these are incorporated into policy formulation and decision-making processes. While existing mechanisms support this challenge, processes that embed these insights and can react in response to what emerges in strategic foresight are essential for the EU to be able to do this. Establishing a future-oriented culture in policymaking is crucial³⁸³⁹.

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of systemic approaches³⁵. What began as a health issue quickly grew to have far-reaching social and economic consequences. This demonstrates these three systems (social, economic, environment) are deeply interconnected. Lockdowns and the closing down of economic activities, for example, resulted in a temporary reduction in CO2 emissions. On the other hand, they exacerbated socio-economic inequalities in several places.

Box 3: COVID-19 and the interconnectedness of policy challenges

Additionally, policymakers have to **navigate different world views and related political values and assumptions.** These underlying values and beliefs can lead to conflicts of preferences and priorities. For many years, the EU Commissions' policies were largely market-liberal due to the dominance of neoliberal policies in Member States. However, the emergence of the EGD was the result of a robust campaign by social democrats in the 2019 elections, who were inspired by the efforts of young climate activists. Thus, governing tensions and trade-offs is not merely a coherence exercise but has a strong political dimension to it.

Moreover, policy is implemented in a world of fundamental uncertainty and polycrisis. It is not possible to predict how systems and innovations will evolve, what new crises will arise, or how government intervention will alter existing dynamics40. A green and just transformation cannot be planned from beginning to end. There are various pathways to a transition⁴¹, hence its results are open-ended, and its pattern follows a non-linear and iterative process. In addition, policymakers are currently trying to tackle a cascade of simultaneous crises. Policy needs to balance quick reactions to a crisis with the green and just transformation's objectives. Otherwise, shortterm fixes risk creating long-term lock-ins. The cessation of Russian gas delivery in 2022, for example, puts pressure on EU's decarbonisation plan and accelerates the shift to renewables. However, meeting this demand through short-term fixes like liquefied natural gas (LNG) and certain hydrogen sources could lead to negative lock-in effects, as the infrastructure to support these solutions could take years to be in place.

This further raises the question of how to ensure environmental policies that might have less immediate and apparent benefits (such as nature restoration) get the support and attention needed, while policymaking needs to answer to pressing social concerns such as unemployment, inequality, and energy poverty. At last, crises present a window of opportunity for both backlash and transformation. The ability of the policymaking process to deliver powerful policy mixes will determine the result.

To enable a green and just transition means that in many ways, policymakers will need to forge new paths, directions, and ways of working. This will require **new skills and competencies to deal with the challenges of the transition**⁴². One example is in the context of the Recovery and Resilience Facility where policymakers were required to apply the Do No Significant Harm assessment to their National Recovery and Resilience plans to ensure no measures would have a harmful environmental impact. However, as this was the first time Member States had been asked to do such an assessment, many did not have sufficient capacities within their teams to deliver this thoroughly.

Solving these challenges

Policymakers are challenged to mitigate tensions and balance trade-offs while navigating myriad other, interrelated governance challenges. Although these are not necessarily new, they become more apparent and intricate as the transition agenda unfolds.

Solving these challenges is unlikely to be a straightforward puzzle-solving exercise. Rather, it requires explicit and ongoing societal engagement and deliberation to deal with trade-offs and tensions inherent in the process. Conflicts, as illustrated above, are an essential part of the transition, and dealing with them requires a concerted effort from policymakers. Looking at the governance side of the green and just transition can help the success of this exercise. A systemic consideration of the transition is crucial to ensure that synergies between different policy areas and measures are promoted. Policymaking processes play a vital role in driving this systemic consideration. For a successful green and just transition, the EU needs to continue to bridge silos and develop capacity to effectively govern the transition.

Against this backdrop, the next chapter explores what effective governance means in this context, and outlines the principles for designing, choosing, and assessing policy instruments for the green and just transition.

3. Governing the green and just transition

When looking at the challenges of the green and just transition described in the previous chapter, most research tends to focus on policy options and strategies to deal with the conflicts that emerge (see, e.g., Heyen et al, 2020⁴³). However, there is less about the "how" – the question of governance, and the processes through which policymakers address these challenges.

At a basic level, **governance** is "the totality of interactions in which government, other public bodies, private sector and civil society participate (in one way or another), aimed at solving public challenges or creating public opportunities⁴⁴." This includes, for example, how governments are selected, monitored, and replaced, their ability to create and implement sound policies, and citizens' respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions. Many frameworks exist to define the principles which constitute the basis of "good" or "effective" governance but for the increasingly complex challenges of the 21st century and the cross-cutting goals of the European Green Deal, we must focus more specifically on the need for effective governance for the green and just transition.

Governance is a means to an end, not an end in itself. A green and just transition means governments mitigate environmental policy's negative impacts on the wellbeing of people here and now, elsewhere and later. This paper understands effective governance for the green and just transition as governance processes which are able to manage tensions and tradeoffs and cope with the challenges mentioned in the previous chapter by adhering to a specific set of principles.

In the scope of this report, the focus will be narrowed to the governance of policy instruments and the principles which should guide the process of designing, choosing, and assessing policy instruments for the green and just transition.

Key principles of effective governance for the green and just transition

There is no singular framework for defining what comprises 'good' or 'effective' governance. However, there are many frameworks which outline the key principles and attributes of both. To determine what should comprise the principles for effective governance for the green and just transition specifically, this research set out to do a landscape review of existing frameworks for good and effective governance at the EU and international levels.

Effective governance for the green and just transition is not a subsect of broader effective governance. Rather, to face the challenges of the 21st century, a green transition based on justice principles is key and for that to be achieved, effective governance is needed.

In total 12 frameworksⁱⁱⁱ for good or effective governance were reviewed and their lists of key principles categorised (see Annex). Many common themes were evident, with many of the same principles included across many of the frameworks. Added to the list of principles for effective governance of

iii OHCHR—Key attributes of good governance; UNESCAP—8 Major characteristics of good governance; Council of Europe—Principles of good democratic governance; EU governance white paper—Principles of good governance; OECD—Values and enablers of sound public governance; Better Regulation Guidelines—Key concepts and principles of better regulation; World Bank—Six broad dimensions of governance; European Commission—Values of good governance; UNDP—Principles of good governance; ILO—Principles to guide the transition to environmentally sustainable economies and societies; UN SDGs—11 Principles of effective governance for sustainable development; ERCST—Key aspects of good governance for the territorial just transition plans

the green transition were the top five cited^{IV}, along with six additional principles^V found amongst these frameworks which are particularly relevant for this context, some of which have been slightly reframed. Though included in fewer frameworks as in general, many of these frameworks were written with a broader, more general framing of "good governance" and may not have considered the particular needs of 21st-century challenges. The principles listed here were also frequently cited in interviews carried out with topic experts and policymakers, thus strengthening the basis for selection.

When focusing specifically on the context of **designing**, **choosing**, **and assessing policy instruments for the green and just transition**, the following principles are key:

- Contextuality
- Transparency & openness
- · Accountability, integrity, ethics, & the rule of law
- Inclusiveness, equity, & diversity
- Vision & target orientation
- Future-orientation
- Effectiveness & efficiency
- Participation
- Evidence-informed
- Competence, capacity, & capability
- Coherence, coordination, & collaboration
- Commitment & leadership
- Experimentation & adaptability

Following the OECD's Framework on Sound Public Governance⁴⁵, which divided its principles into values and enablers, this report divides the principles into foundational principles or "foundations" and enabling principles, or "enablers". The change from values to foundations was made because the former is laden with normative connotations which do not fit with the concept outlined here. It is worth noting that culture and contextual factors can influence how these foundations are perceived. Although some of the foundations can still be seen as normative, as a whole, foundations are intended to form the basis of effective governance. This decision was also reinforced through conversations with policymakers in the course of developing this report.

The OECD defines values as "context-based principles of behaviour that guide public governance across all of its dimensions in a way that advances and upholds the public interest". In this paper, foundations follow the same definition and can be described as overarching principles which should guide governance processes in a conceptual way. Put simply, foundations are preconditions for good policies.

The OECD defines **enablers** as "an integrated nexus of practices that support the effective definition and implementation of reforms". In this report, a similar definition of enablers is used, essentially meaning that enablers are principles which should guide governance processes in a more tangible way. Thus, enablers are defined as practices to employ in order to create good policies.

iv Transparency & openness; accountability, integrity, ethics, and rule of law; participation; inclusiveness, equity, and diversity; coherence, coordination, and collaboration; responsiveness [included amongst other aspects in the principle "contextuality"]. Some have been slightly reworded from their original phrasing for the categorisation.

v Competence, capacity, and capability; experimentation & adaptability; evidence-informed; future-orientation; commitment & leadership; and vision & target orientation.

Looking back at the previous chapter, the importance of these enablers is emphasised in their direct relationship to the challenges for the green and just transition. Whereas the foundations are more overarching for governance in general and thus directly relate to only some of the challenges, the enablers more concretely address these challenges.

These 13 principles are divided into 7 foundations and 6 enablers.

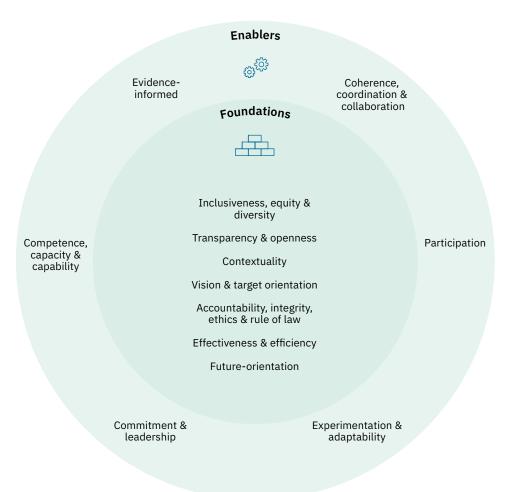


Figure 1: Principles of effective governance for the green and just transition

Foundations

As explained above, the foundations are overarching principles that are important for effective governance for the green and just transition. They are the preconditions for good policies. Below each is described with its definition and its relevance for the green and just transition.

Foundation

Relevance for the green and just transition

Contextuality

There is no one-size-fits-all approach that can be used for policymaking. Approaches to policy design should be context-specific, which includes several aspects. This should start with the appropriate identification of the challenges to be tackled, as different problems will require different approaches to solutions. The context also includes the principle of subsidiarity, meaning problems and solutions should be addressed at the appropriate level of policy (EU, national, sub-national).

Context is important for effective governance in general but for the green and just transition, consideration of the particular needs of a given region or group of people is particularly important. A policy could be perfect to address a challenge in one specific place, but could end up having disastrous consequences somewhere else, depending on the needs and realities. Thus, policies need to be developed with the context at the forefront and implemented at the appropriate level of policy.

Transparency and openness

Who policymakers listen to, take advice from, and pay for services should not be a secret. This information should be publicly accessible. Also, data collected by the government, such as census data or public opinion surveys, should be publicly available for people to use.

Public trust is essential for succeeding in a societal transition of any kind. Some people may be worried about how the green and transition will affect them and their families, their jobs, and their communities. Transparency on the part of their representatives is important so that the public can understand what decisions are being made, the reasons for these decisions, and which stakeholders played a role.

Accountability, integrity, ethics, and rule of law

Related to transparency and openness, policymakers and politicians should be bound to the same laws as other citizens. They should carry out their duties with integrity, founded on ethics that puts the public good at the fore.

Related to transparency and openness, the integrity and ethics of policymakers in making the right choices for their constituents and for society as a whole is important for public trust and for ensuring public funds are spent the way they should be. In cases of corruption, the rule of law and accountability of policymakers is important to ensure the system can keep functioning as designed.

Inclusiveness, equity, and diversity

These are elements that should be part of participation processes and an important consideration in the design of policies. Diverse stakeholders should be included in participatory processes, which also means considering how and when to reach different groups. Policy impacts on different groups also need to be taken to heart and included in policy design, for ex-ample considering how one policy could impact groups of different genders, races, or socio-economic backgrounds.

We live in diverse societies, with diverse backgrounds and accordingly, diverse needs. For the green transition to be truly just, these diverse perspectives need to be taken into account. Different groups will be impacted in different ways by climate change, and they will also be impacted differently by environmental policies made to address it. For the green transition to be just, the value of 'inclusiveness, equity, and diversity' needs to be a lens through which enablers are approached, such as inclusive participation and using disaggregated data in evidence.

Foundation

Relevance for the green and just transition

Future orientation

Policies need take long-term effects and impacts into consideration. This applies not only to long-term policies with targets set for faraway years, but also for policies which respond to immediate needs (such as in times of crisis). When considering the impacts a policy could have, policymakers should consider impacts on other policies and policy areas but also the impacts on future generations. This also means creating policies which foster a systemic transformation to address the root causes of issues, making them more resilient and future-proof. Future orientation includes preparing for the future, such as through foresight scenarios.

While the above is true for all policy areas, environmental policy should especially consider the long-term vision and impacts to reduce potential harm (e.g., climate mitigation measures rather than only climate adaptation measures). Focusing only on short-term immediate needs, such as in response to a crisis, can result in harmful lock-ins that can have negative impacts for years to come, (e.g., building gas infrastructure to respond to energy shortages which will jeopardise long-term climate goals⁴⁶).

Vision and target orientation

Related to "future orientation", policies should be designed with a clear vision and direction of travel in mind. This includes setting measurable targets with a timeframe by which to achieve them. Without clear and measurable goals and a vision of where we want to be in a certain number of years, progress cannot be ascertained.

As the goals for the green and just transition are complex and cross-cutting, the indicators used to measure progress need to be as well. This means looking beyond growth to other metrics for measuring progress which take into account environmental and social wellbeing. This can start with visioning ("where do we want to be in 30 years?") and working backward to today's policy ("what do we need to do today to get there?") with regular intervals for monitoring and evaluation to see whether progress is on track to reach those long-term goals.

Effectiveness & efficiency

Policies are carried out in a reasonable timeframe, with the best possible use of resources (natural and personnel), to meet agreed objectives. This also means making decisions and carrying out implementation at the appropriate level for the greatest impact.

Policymaking processes are long — it can take up to several years to come out with a new policy package that goes through all the necessary steps, procedures, and feedback loops. In that time, the challenges this policy package are trying to address are not being addressed and new challenges will arise, adding to the complexity of addressing the original challenges. Policymaking in this complex arena needs to be efficient enough that it can address challenges in a timely manner, with effective solutions to these challenges.

Enablers

As explained above, the enablers are practices to employ in order to create good policies. They are more tangible than the foundations, and thus their role is more specific; they are important for the green and just transition, but they can also help manage the tensions and trade-offs that arise through the transition. Each enabler is described here along with how it can help manage these tensions and trade-offs.

Enabler

How this can help manage tensions & trade-offs

Competence, capacity, and capability

This is an enabler which is more tangible than a foundation, but still more overarching than the others, as this is about the skills, knowledge, and time that policymakers need to use evidence, create participatory processes, interpret foresight scenarios, and manage potential tensions and trade-offs. As they might not personally have expertise on every subject area, this means being able to understand and interpret information on other topics and having a team that can help fill knowledge and capacity gaps. Given the systemic nature of the policy ecosystem, policymakers need to have the capacity for dealing with complexity. Furthermore, they require the ability to design and facilitate strategic dialogue within a future- and target-oriented perspective.

The sustainability of the green and just transition ultimately depends on the government's capacity to effectively address trade-offs and tensions. Policy- and decisionmakers need to have robust information and tools to carry appropriate identification of main policy interactions to be tackled. Building on the principle "evidence-informed", it is about developing the capacity of a government (or a governance agent) to interpret information and analyse the conflicts and needs that emerge as a result of policies. Accordingly, it also relates to having the right means to act on them to deliver a green and just transition.

Evidence-informed

This means using evidence to design policies in the first place, but also using evidence from evaluations to feed back into the process of reforming or adjusting policies. This connects to the principle "competence, capacity, and capability" as policymakers need the knowledge and skills to interpret this information.

Science, data, evaluations, and other sources of evidence can demonstrate the potential or actual interactions between policy instruments. By using this information, policymakers can prevent harm and promote synergies.

Participation

Participation is an essential element of a functioning democracy. Citizens and/or residents of a place should have the opportunity to participate in decisionmaking and agenda setting. This can happen through many different methods and at many different stages in the policy design process, and this can also look very different at different levels of policymaking.

Participation allows for context-tailored solutions⁴⁷. The engagement of stakeholders at various stages in the policy design process is critical for understanding specific regions' strengths and shortcomings in terms of adapting, creating, and implementing policies. In addition, inclusive processes can increase public acceptance of policies by creating a feeling of ownership in the outcomes.

To ensure the effectiveness of participation, it is important that there is a diverse group involved and not only a slice of society. Representation is key for consensus-building and dealing with trade-offs frequently entails prioritisation. A well-designed participatory process that pays attention to equity can help balance pressures from stakeholders with varying degrees of power⁴⁸. Additionally, stakeholders from varying backgrounds and areas of society will bring different perspectives and can help uncover potential tensions and trade-offs earlier on. Civil society organisations can also act as a bridge between government and the public and can bring expertise to help reduce risks in designing effective policy approaches in a given area⁴⁹.

Enabler

How this can help manage tensions & trade-offs

Coherence, coordination, and collaboration

This entails a whole-of-government approach, working across policy areas (e.g., between ministries at the national level or between Directorate-Generals (DGs) at the EU level) to create policies which are coherent with each other, promoting synergies and avoiding harmful trade-offs.

The cross-cutting nature of the transition poses coordination challenges at different levels and stages of the policymaking process. It is never only the topic area of one ministry or DG that will be affected by a policy. A holistic policymaking process in which interactions between potential policy instruments are examined helps to identify possible synergies that can be harnessed or trade-offs which will require a prioritisation and a decision. By working in "silos", these opportunities and risks might not be uncovered until the instruments are implemented, at which point it will be more difficult to modify them.

Commitment and leadership

The commitment of policymakers to creating policies with the best outcomes for people and planet, their [shared] vision of what these outcomes are, and their leadership in steering the ship towards these outcomes are essential for guiding the process. Related to future-orientation, this speaks to policymakers' readiness to create change to react to reality and depart from the status quo if the status quo is not working.

When a trade-off is on the table, a decision will have to be made to prioritise one goal over another. The commitment of leaders to changing towards a vision and the leadership to guide this vision is important for making this call. The way this vision is determined also matters; participation in the visioning process ensures that everyone agrees on a common direction of travel.

Experimentation and adaptability

Related to future-orientation, this enabler is about policymakers' readiness to adapt to changing realities and depart from the status quo if the status quo is not working. This also means looking to the future with experimentation and innovation for new technologies, ideas, and processes.

New problems can require new solutions, and sometimes these new solutions don't exist yet. Space to experiment can help policymakers test their assumptions and see what policy interactions exist on a smaller or experimental scale rather than discovering a problem when it is already too late to change tracks. Room for adaptability is partly about having this room for experiments to adapt to a changing landscape, but also means leaving space to change tactics when an unexpected trade-off or negative policy interaction arises. Long-term plans are made to focus on a goal but may have to react in real-time to changing circumstances to keep moving in the right direction.

In setting out the principles to be followed in policymaking processes, particularly looking at the enablers, the framework proposed in this paper can help identify gaps in specific policy processes by finding the areas where enablers were not applied or were only applied to a low degree. These more weakly applied enablers are then the areas that need to be improved, through the tools in chapter 4 or through other means, in order to reduce the potential harms that can arise through tensions and trade-offs that are not carefully managed through the policymaking process.

For example, in a policy brief by ZOE Institute⁵⁰ this framework was applied to the policy process behind REPowerEU as a case study of a governance process in a crisis. It concluded that, since the impact assessment and stakeholder consultation were left out of the process, **participation**, **coherence**, and **evidence-informed** were enablers that were only weakly adhered to, thus allowing potential for harmful trade-offs. Although REPowerEU was only recently adopted and its full impacts remain to be seen, it illustrates the need for tools which can help respond quickly whilst also adhering to these principles for effective governance for the green and just transition.

The rest of this report will focus specifically on the **enablers** mentioned here, as these principles are those that most directly support policymakers for addressing the key challenges of the green and just transition through the management of tensions and trade-offs.

The following chapter will be based on the framework established in this chapter. It will investigate the tools and methods that exist in the EU which can support policymakers for each of the enablers listed here.

4. EU tools for the green and just transition

The EU's arrangements for making policy include a large and complex group of processes and tools. This paper focuses on the tools used by the European Commission (EC) given its key role as a policy actor, being present in virtually all EU policy venues and settings. The chapter first presents a brief overview of the policy cycle, then explores what tools exist for the EC which help to enable a green and just transition.

The policy cycle

Looking at the policy cycle can help understanding the various steps needed to create, develop, and implement a policy instrument. Within the policy cycle, different processes take place at different moments in time. This concept is presented here to give a systematic representation of the steps a policy goes through, rather than an explanation of how policymaking works in practice.

The EU policy cycle is not exactly a linear process, but it can be simplified to five main stages⁵¹:

- Anticipate, plan and develop strategy: anticipation of upcoming challenges and strategies to address them
- 2. Assess impact and design policy: consideration of different policy instruments and their potential positive and negative impacts
- **3. Prepare and adopt policy initiatives:** preparation of policy proposals which are coherent and future-proof; bring to adoption by the College
- Negotiate interinstitutionally and internationally: negotiate with European Parliament and the Council, as well as at an international level
- **5. Implement, monitor, and evaluate:** implement policies, monitor their progress, and evaluate their performance

Policymaking process: The process through which policy is designed and/or made including its decision-making structures, knowledge-sharing procedures, informal and formal processes of exchange between actors involved.

Tool: A tool is something policymakers can employ which supports the policymaking process. These support adherence to the enablers (e.g., evaluation can be a tool supporting 'evidence-informed' policymaking as well as the 'experimentation & adaptability' enabler).

Method: In this context, a method is a way policymakers apply a specific a tool. A tool can also be a method in and of itself (e.g., a citizen assembly would be a tool and a method contributing to the 'participation' enabler).

Box 4: Defining concepts

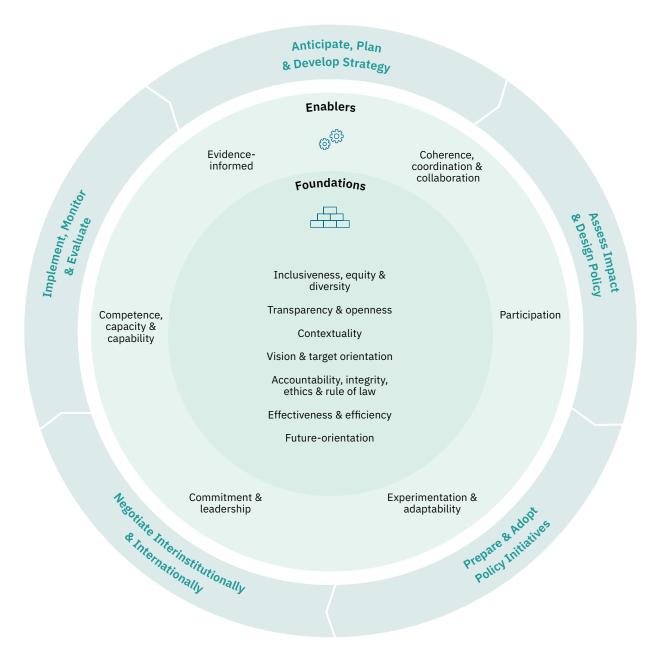


Figure 2: Framework within the policy cycle

Relevant for the transition is that in stages 2 and 5, the Commission is expected to make the relation of a policy proposal to, and impact on, each of the SDGs explicitly, as announced in its April 2021 Better Regulation Communication. It is equally important that the SDGs guide also stage 4, but the means by which this will occur are less clear.

Policy instruments are designed in a combination of continuous feedback loops and connections between all the outlined stages. The negotiation stage, for example, is an ongoing and continuous process. Evaluations can also take the form of continuous monitoring and impact assessment to check whether the policy is achieving its intended goals or be carried out at the end of the policy cycle to determine what worked and why.

With the exception of "negotiate interinstitutionally and internationally", all the enablers of the framework laid out in the previous chapter are in some way connected to all the stages of the policy cycle. This distinction is made because the negotiation stage is highly political in nature, setting in apart from the others. Still, it is important that negotiation and decision processes uphold many of the principles, e.g., 'transparency & openness', and 'commitment & leadership'.

Because most of implementation occurs at other levels of governance⁵², this paper is focused mainly on the "anticipate, plan, & develop strategy", "assess impact & design policy", and "prepare & adopt policy initiatives" stages of the cycle as it is focused on EU level. However, these principles should still be considered and utilised in implementation and when it comes time to monitor and evaluate the policy package and its effects.

Tools used by the European Commission

This part aims to understand what tools and structures in the EC policymaking process exist based on the enablers for a green and just transition. For each one, the paper first looks at specific formal tools in place, then presents a brief assessment of the enabler's tools. This overview is not intended to be an exhaustive list of mechanisms but rather to provide a main picture of how fit the EU is to adhere to these enablers.

The investigation gathers inputs from desk research as well as semi-structured interviews conducted with key experts in the field, including officials from the EC. Most interviews with EC have been done at the working level from head of unit to policy officer. The Better Regulation Guidelines (BRG) was the starting point of the research, and the Better Regulation Toolbox (BRT) was systematically analysed while collecting existing tools. The paper also looks beyond these documents to other tools and methods used by the EC.

It is important to recognise that policymaking involves both formal and informal arrangements.

Formal arrangements are those in which official structures and processes exist, being either obligatory or non-binding. Looking at formal arrangements only gives a partial insight into how the EC operates. Many processes happen in an informal manner and are vital in successfully upholding the enablers. For example, personal relationships and informal networks can facilitate collaboration and coordination among policymakers and DGs, leading to more effective policymaking. The overview below focuses only on the formal tools. However, it is not able to provide a comprehensive examination.

Additionally, different policy instruments may involve different tools in the process of their development. Variations occur for many reasons. For instance, the process might depend on which specific actor is leading the initiative. Alternatively, policy proposals as a response to crisis generally demand a faster policy process and hence might not encompass all tools at hand.

Tools for competence, capacity & capability

This enabler differs from the others as it is not about tools within the process of making policy itself but rather about ensuring policymakers are able to navigate through the policy cycle well. Any tool cannot be successfully implemented without dedicated human resources.

Knowledge4Policy (K4P) is an online platform for bridging science and policy. It hosts the services offered by competence centres and knowledge centres and enables collaboration between scientists and policymakers. Besides content and data, policymakers can find **trainings and resources**, such as:

Competence framework: The EC, under the guidance of the JRC, has created competence frameworks to provide guidance on the specific skills required for policymaking activities.
 One example is the European competence framework on sustainability for lifelong learning. It provides a common ground to learners and educators on what sustainability as a competence entails, and an be used in education and

Joint Research Centre (JRC): is a department at the centre of the 'science-policy interface' embedded inside the EC. It seeks to maximise the value and impact of research in the EU policy process. Among its responsibilities is to create and manage knowledge in policymaking, to develop innovative tools and make them available to policymakers, to anticipate emerging issues and trends that need to be addressed at EU level, and to understand policy environments.

European Environment Agency (EEA): is an agency of the EU whose task is to provide sound, independent information on the environment. The EEA works towards supplying polic makers and the general public with relevant, accurate, and up-to-date information.

Box 5: Structures related to the 'Competence, capacity, & capability' enabler

training programmes in formal, non-formal and informal settings.

- E-learning: Online courses for researchers and policymakers. E-learning provides skills, stateof-the-art knowledge and successful practice examples for designing better policies.
- Training material: Professional training course material in various topics to support policymaking processes. It helps policymakers becoming reflexive practitioners, mastering complex tasks, etc.

Other examples of tools that work towards enabling competence, capacity, & capability are:

- Centre for Advanced Studies (CAS): The
 aim of the centre is to enhance policymakers'
 capability to better understand and address
 complex and long-term societal challenges. The
 CAS works to establish strategic connections
 with prominent scientists and institutions to
 strengthen the JRC's knowledge base.
- Publications on policy relevant topics. One example is the "Managing complexity (and chaos) in times of crisis" guide⁵³.

Brief assessment

The EC has various tools and structures in place to build capacity and skills needed for a successful policymaking process. The EC conducts trainings with organisations and engages external stakeholders to aid policymakers in strengthening their skills and capabilities. By involving outside parties in the

capacity building process, policymakers can broaden their knowledge and understanding of the issues at hand. These external stakeholders bring a unique perspective and can provide valuable insights, making training and other tools more comprehensive.

However, certain areas could benefit from further efforts. It is critical that policymakers are not only able to understand tensions and trade-offs from a technical perspective but also to act on them by tackling coordination failures within and beyond their organisational silos. Moreover, the effective management of tensions and trade-offs involves navigating conflicts. In this sense, **building negotiation skills** is also key. Negotiation skills encompass various components such as communication skills, meaning that policymakers can clearly articulate interests, expectations, and concerns, as well as engage in actively listening. In addition, trust and flexibility are also essential. All of these can be developed through dedicated training.

Tools for evidence-informed policymaking

A main tool is the **impact assessment (IA)**, used to evaluate the problems, objectives, trade-offs, and potential impacts of policy options. An IA is required for EC initiatives that are likely to have significant economic, environmental, or social impacts or which entail significant spending. Additionally, the EC is integrating the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) into its IA procedure to avoid unsustainable policies. IA is typically used during the policy formulation period as DGs should establish as early as possible in the policy planning process whether an impact assessment is required.

Another important tool is **foresight**. The **Competence Centre on Foresight** supports policymaking by providing strategic input and developing a future-oriented culture inside the EC. There are a set of methods employed by the centre such as **horizon scanning** which helps to identify emerging issues not yet adequately addressed or on the policy radar. The centre also publishes the Strategic Foresight Report every year.

Other tools to enable evidence-informed policymaking are:

Evaluation: This is used to gain insights into
the performance of an EU intervention and
determine if it is achieving its intended goals.
The evaluation process considers the reasons
for the outcomes, providing an objective
assessment based on evidence. It informs
decisionmaking and assists in the development
of future interventions by applying the "evaluate
first" principle. One of its main goals is to ensure

- that EU policies consider the lessons learned from past actions.
- Do No Significant Harm (DNSH): This is a principle that supports the close scrutiny of investments, particularly public investments, to their contributions to the green transition. In order words, it is an approach aiming to exclude activities harmful to the environment from funding and investment. The DNSH has been first applied to the EU Taxonomy Regulation, and later adapted for the Recovery and Resilience Facility.
- There are different bodies and groups who provide scientific, technical, and policy advice to the EC. One example is the **Fit for Future Platform**, a high-level expert group that includes Member States, EU Committees, and stakeholders to support the EC in simplifying EU laws and reducing unneccessary burdens. Another is the **Chief Scientific Advisors**, who provides independent, high-level scientific advice to the EC at the request of the College of Commissioners on any policy topic at any stage of the policy cycle.
- Relevant experts or actors in a certain field can engage directly with policymaker and provide input to the process.
- Environmental Implementation Review (EIR):
 a regular reporting tool designed to improve the
 implementation of EU environmental laws and
 policies. It identifies causes of implementation
 gaps as well as solutions that have been
 successfully implemented and presents them in
 country reports.
- Modelling: Models are extensively used to support policymakers in the policy cycle. The EC uses models to make projections, to assess

The EC has set up the **Regulatory Scrutiny Board (RSB)** as an independent quality control body. The RSB assesses all impact assessments and fitness checks, and some selected evaluations. The Board provides quality assurance to the political level of the EC enabling it to take decisions on the basis of the best available evidence. It acts independently and provides opinions autonomously.

Box 6: The Regulatory scrutiny Board Regulation Agenda

the behavior of a system under specific policy assumptions, and consider policy options. The **Competence Centre on Modelling** uses different tools such **Social multi-criteria assessment of European policies (SOCRATES)** which is a software tool designed to support ex-ante impact assessment. Modelling is further related to "coherence, coordination, and collaboration", and "competence, capacity, and capability".

Brief assessment

Evidence-informed policymaking is a cornerstone of the BRG and, as such, the EC has many tools in place to ensure its policy cycle is based on robust evidence. Especially in the policy formulation stage, having an accurate understanding of the problem and its causes enables designing policy instruments that enhance synergies while mitigating potential trade-offs.

However, interviews also indicate that many times there might be a preferred policy option before conducting the IA. This can result in the IA becoming a mere formality, rather than a chance to consider a policy's social and environmental impacts. As this tool is typically performed during the policy formulation stage, decision makers need to stay committed to using its results to inform their policy choices. In addition, IAs, and particularly environmental IAs in the context of enabling the green and just transition, could be further integrated into policymaking procedures, such as the European Semester, to better address tensions and trade-offs between policies across the EU. On top of that, although economic models for IA like QUEST are beginning to integrate the environmental and social dimensions, more research is needed to thoroughly evaluate the impacts on these areas. Similarly, it is important to consider integrating qualitative and visionary elements into models – with which foresight can help.

Accordingly, the recently-adopted BRG Communication emphasises **integrating strategic foresight into policymaking**⁵⁴. Yet, it is still unclear on how far this is incorporated into policy formulation and decision-making processes. Strategic foresight plays a key role in ensuring that visionary and long-term thinking are embedded in policies. Moreover, using

foresight scenarios to map out potential pathways works towards enhancing preparedness so that policymakers are better fit to react to these scenarios.

Tools for participation

The main tool for enabling participation is the **stake-holder consultation**, which gathers inputs from the general public as well as experts, private sector, and civil society about EU policies. As stated in the BRG, the EC must carry out broad consultations with interest stakeholders in order to support coherence, credibility, and transparency in EU action.

These can take many forms and happen in different stages of the policymaking processes, especially:

- During the initial stage, where initiatives and policy proposals are being designed
- As part of impact assessment (see evidence-informed, below)
- Ex-post, i.e., to support evaluations of existing policies

Stakeholder consultations are mainly carried out through the **Have your Say** portal. This is an online platform where citizens and stakeholders can provide feedback to legislative proposals. Each proposal has its own dedicated consultation. There are around 300 to 400 consultations every year on the platform⁵⁵.

These consultations can be either **public consultations or targeted consultations.** Whereas the former is open to all those interested in participating, the latter focus on specific stakeholders or interest groups. The actual policy process further allows for targeted stakeholder consultations to take place behind closed doors.

Other tools are:

- citizens' panels: These panels can be conducted online, through focus groups, or through other methods. The goal of citizens' panels is to gather a representative sample of views from citizens, which can then inform the Commission's decision-making process.
- European Citizen's Initiative: Enables citizens

to request the EC to propose new laws. Any citizens can start a call. Those initiatives that reach enough support are considered by the EC, who will then determine the appropriate course of action, which may or may not result in legislation.

- Citizens' dialogues: Public debates with European Commissioners and other EU decision-makers in the form of Q&A from the public.
- Sectoral social dialogue: social dialogue taking place at branch level between the European trade union and employer organisations of a specific sector of the economy. The aim is to improve working conditions and promote competitiveness of European businesses.
- Competence Centre on Participatory and Deliberative Democracy: This platform is an online space for sharing experiences and methodologies on how to promote public engagement and participatory governance. This method relates to the "competence, capacity, and capability" enabler.

Brief assessment

Over the years, the EC has gradually standardised its stakeholder consultation process. Combined with those efforts, the EC has also aimed at making consultations more visible and ensuring diversity and engagement.

However, consultations are often of a technical nature and hence might require previous knowledge on the topic. This can potentially limit the general public's ability to participate and provide meaningful input. Additionally, this can reinforce the view that participation is often imbalanced towards organised interests. On top of that, the public often feels a sense of powerlessness in influencing outcomes. According to a 2020 survey, only 46% of respondents felt that their voices were heard in the EU. However, there is a public sense of a lack of ability to influence outcomes. Only 46% of respondents to a 2020 survey felt their voices were heard in the EU56. This underscores a concern raised by some interviewers regarding the lack of follow-up. It remains largely unclear how consultation input is reflected and translated into policy output.

The Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFoE) was a significant milestone in promoting participation as enabled people to share their ideas through a citizen-led series of discussions. But the initiative also illustrates this lack of follow-up. While the CoFoE provided an open and participatory exercise, it was left up to governments to decide whether to take proposals forward⁵⁷. Citizen engagement should be also about whether it offers a formal and regularised means to hold decisions accountable, as a way to make results more tangible. On a positive note, the CoFoE reflected in growing commitment to more regular forms of citizen participation, as evidenced by the increasing use of citizens' panels to inform EU policymaking initiatives.

Finally, part of participation is about **building trust**. For this, it is essential to be clear on how decisions have been made. In this sense, not only effective communication is needed, but also managing expectations and providing clear guidance on what stakeholders can expect to influence from the process. On top of that, policies impact people differently. Policymakers need to be equipped to understand and address such variations.

Tools for coherence, coordination, & collaboration

One of main tools for enabling coordination is interservice consultations. This usually takes place during the policy formulation phase58. A policy initiative typically starts in a specific Directorate-General (DG). However, its impacts often overlap with policy responsibilities of other parts of the EC. For instance, a food production proposal by DG Agriculture and Rural Development (AGRI) is likely to have implications for the work of DG Environment (ENV), or DG Health and food safety (SANTE). In such cases, the lead DG must ensure that all relevant parts have the opportunity to provide input, which can come in various forms. **Interservice meetings** as well as written inputs are often a most-used practice. Some sort of agreement is needed to move forward with the policy proposal. For some issues, permanent interservice groups are established59. These groups bring together officials from different DGs on a regular basis.

Several mechanisms are already in place which actively follow a **mainstreaming or policy integration approach**. Some examples are:

- Gender mainstreaming: (re)organisation, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated into all policies at all levels and all stages.
- Policy coherence for sustainable development (PCSD): mainstreaming the Sustainable Development Goals into EU policies and initiatives, with sustainable development as an essential guiding principle for all its policies.
- Environmental and climate policy integration: environmental policy integration is constitutionalised in TFEU Art. 11, but the EC also follows an ambitious goal for climate mainstreaming across all EU programmes with a target of 25% of EU expenditure contributing to climate objectives⁶⁰.

At present, some of these tools remain underutilised and are viewed more as policy objectives (e.g. PCSD). Other structures in place are:

- Staff rotation: the Commission promotes mobility between DGs, heads of unit are not to stay for more than ten years in the same DG.
- EU semester: an instrument for economic coordination and integration. The EU semester monitors Member States' progress on fiscal policies and provides space for the EC to make recommendations for policy reforms at the national level.
- **Fitness check:** a comprehensive evaluation of two or more interventions usually in the same policy area that share common objectives or procedures (such as reporting) thus justifying a joint analysis. The aim of the fitness check is to assess whether those interventions are fit for purpose, and to assess the coherence of measures, while also attempting to quantify any synergies.

There is also communication between the technical and the political level. This can take several forms, depending on the policy area and the stage of the policymaking process. Example of tools, or institutional mechanisms, are the **Special Chefs meetings**, where representatives of Commissioners' cabinet meet to discuss policy proposals, and the **College of Commissioners**, which meets every week to discuss politically-sensitive issues. Effective communication between both levels is crucial for developing policies that are based on a good analysis of issues and are politically viable.

In addition to the tools mentioned above, **informal knowledge sharing** is a common practice among departments and individuals within the EC⁶¹. These interactions can lead to valuable exchanges that are later reflected in better designed policies. Engaging in collaboration and coordination across services allows for a broader perspective beyond a single policy area and enhances the coherence of EC initiatives.

Brief assessment

The EC has been putting efforts towards bridging its silos, and many tools for effective coordination and collaboration are in place. Interservice consultation, for instance, is a valuable opportunity for DGs to express their concerns and engage with each other.

However, coordination between units can still be challenging⁶², and it is important to consider the **power dynamics between DGs**. For example, units with a greater focus on long-term thinking (e.g. the Joint Research Centre) are not necessarily at the centre of the decision-making process. The different DGs' competencies also play a role on which units have a stronger voice in agenda setting and making decisions. Moreover, the work within one's own DG domain may be valued differently than work across units. Shared efforts are not always adequately acknowledged. These efforts could be enhanced through further **follow-up tools** like horizontal progress reports or enhanced shared knowledge management systems.

In addition, the fitness check is a tool that looks at more than one single policy. However, its purpose is more focused on efficiency. The assessment of policy instruments interaction can benefit from building capacity to deal with complex systems.

Finally, the EC has an essential role in coordinating Member States' (MS) actions. The European Semester started incorporating social and environmental elements, such as monitoring progress towards principles set by the European Pillar of Social Rights. Still, these dimensions are not always given the same level of attention as the economic dimension. There is a need to strengthen tools that can effectively deal with trade-offs and tensions that emerge from all three dimensions. Moreover, while this is only briefly touched upon here, it is important to highlight that MS will implement most policies. The EC, through the European Semester, also needs to develop tools for building capacity at the national and regional level and ensuring peer learning across geographical territories in a way that helps to find resolutions to policy tensions and trade-offs across the EU.

Tools for commitment & leadership

The EC sets its **Political Guidelines** every five years, at the beginning of each new presidential term. The priorities set are generally aligned with the European Council's Strategic Agenda, and hence are part of the agenda-setting stage in the policy cycle. Furthermore, DGs produce **strategic plans** and **management plans** showing how they will contribute to the EC's priorities and set clear objectives and indicators for monitoring and reporting.

The **Commission's work programme** is published every year and contains the most important actions that the EC will take in the year ahead. The programme lists upcoming initiatives, withdrawals of pending proposals, or reviews of already existing EU legislation.

There are also **guiding frameworks** like the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the European Green Deal (EGD) under which various action plans and policy strategies sit.

Brief assessment

The current EC presidency has put high ambitions on the green agenda by setting the European Green Deal as first of its six headline targets for the EU. Under this priority, the need for a just transition is also highlighted. Furthermore, President von der

Leyen has appointed Frans Timmermans, who has worked in the EC for many years, as the vice-president in charge of the EGD. This suggests that von der Leyen wanted to see an experienced commissioner leading the agenda⁶³.

However, some interviewees perceived the agenda-setting stage and prioritisation process to be more top-down from the political level than other stages of the policy cycle. Connected with this challenge is the fact that the EGD, as well as the SDGs, lacks a clear prioritisation mechanism between environmental, social, and economic objectives in the event of conflicts⁶⁴. Prioritisation is important for the commitment to reaching a goal.

Strong leadership and direction are ultimately needed to enable a green and just transition. At the same time, effective leadership entails not only providing the direction, but actively listening to and incorporating the perspectives of the public. In addition, the complex and interconnected nature of the transition requires that leadership is distributed across people, institutions, and levels.

Tools for experimentation & adaptability

In the context of experimentation, the EC has established some co-creative spaces, such as:

- The **Policy Lab**, which is a research facility located within the Joint Research Centre (JRC). The Policy Lab consists of an actual physical space designed to foster creativity and engagement to develop interactions, processes, and tools in EU policymaking.
- The NEB Lab, which is part of the New European Bauhaus community, and serves as a space to implement the initiative in concrete and tangible projects as well as sharing learnings and experiences.

Evaluations can also serve as tools to enable adaptation by providing a systematic assessment of its impact and identify areas for improvement.

The EC may also provide guidance and frameworks for the use of **regulatory sandboxes**. This is a relatively novel tool. Regulatory sandboxes are programs that allow companies to experiment with new ideas in a controlled, real-world setting with oversight from a regulatory authority. These programs are typically designed on a case-by-case basis, involve a temporary relaxation of regulations, and maintain important safeguards such as consumer protection and safety.

Brief assessment

This enabler has great potential to develop. Currently, there are few tools in place that foster experimentation and adaptability in the policy cycle.

It is essential to notice that **establishing a culture around experimentation and adaptability** is key for successfully promote this enabler. For example, policy labs can be a useful tool for developing innovative solutions, but their effectiveness depends on whether they encourage out-of-the-box thinking. To achieve this, it is crucial to use state-of-the-art, co-creative methods in a way that bring together a diverse range of perspectives and expertise, foster a culture of creativity, and arrive at novel solutions to complex challenges.

There are some indications that the EC is working in this direction. In the recently published "A Green Industrial Plan for the Net-Zero Age", the EC mentions its ambitions to publish guidance on the relevance of regulatory sandboxes, test beds, and living labs⁶⁵. It also states their importance to support policymakers in their approach to experimentation.

Connecting the tools

The EC policymaking process has many tools in place that support each of the different enablers of effective governance for the green and just transition. However, tensions and trade-offs still often remain unmitigated through the policy cycle.

While this analysis categorises these tools under each specific enabler, they are interconnected and should be used in conjunction with each other to enhance outcomes. For instance, participation typically occurs during the first stages of the policy cycle. By enabling public engagement during implementation, policymakers can create positive feedback loops with the 'experimentation and adaptability' enabler. This is because such engagement allows for the sharing of real experiences, which helps to identify what challenges appear along the way and spark innovative ideas on how to address them. By considering the enablers as a whole and using the tools which can support each of them, policymakers can be more effective in governing the green and just transition.

5. Conclusion

In sum, effective governance for the green and just transition requires sticking to a set of principles that can help policymakers manage tensions and tradeoffs, reducing the chances of unintended harm through policies. The European Commission already has a plethora of tools available to help policymakers adhere to these principles; what is important is considering these enablers together while deciding on the tools to use throughout the policy cycle.

Building on this, and bolstered by a roundtable held by ZOE Institute in March 2023, which gathered Commission officials and other governance experts, some recommendations are outlined here for how to improve governance for the green and just transition:

- Integrating strategic foresight into policymaking can help prepare for potentialies so that for different eventualities, there are already plans that can be called up based on foresight scenarios. This can include the political priorities and policies that would be used to react to the situation, whatever it may be, but could also include first lists of the potential stakeholders who should be consulted and the DGs that should be involved in developing the response. Having preparations based on foresight can empower faster and more strategic responses in normal times, and can also help adapt faster to crises and new realities. It can also help anticipate tensions and trade-offs that are coming so that these can be dealt with well in the policy cycle.
- A big part of the challenge of effective policy responses, especially in a time of crisis when a very rapid response is needed, is the slow pace of "standard" governance processes. "Fast" versions of processes could be created which are able to be called up quickly. For example, creating an expedited version of an impact assessment which can be completed more quickly

would make stronger policies than having no impact assessment at all. Having targeted consultations to specific groups would make stronger policies than having no stakeholder consultation at all. For these to work smoothly in a crisis, they need to be developed, honed, and practiced in "normal" times. However, there is a risk that these expedited processes would become the new normal tools. If developed, they should be a well-defined exception that are only used for specific situations, such as an urgent crisis response.

- Additionally, during 'normal', or non-crisis times, the EU institutions should work to 'build muscle' that they can exercise during a crisis. Effectively upholding all enablers is crucial to ensure that policies responses do not result in any backlash or setbacks to the green and just transition.
 These muscles can be built in different areas to make governance stronger and more efficient as a whole.
- Lastly, and in line with the competence, capacity, and capability enabler, the Commission should work to build a culture of dealing with tensions and trade-offs. The impacts across policy areas need to be one of the first considerations while making policies, so that this becomes second nature as this "muscle" is flexed. This means better communication between the political and technical level, as well as better communication and collaboration between DGs outside of, and prior to, the interservice consultation. It also means bringing the question of what potential trade-offs there could be to every stage of the policymaking process to ensure that all potential impacts are being considered.

Finally, it is important to note that for any meaningful and significant improvements to the policymaking process to take hold, the structural dimension of governance is important to consider. That is to say, policymakers need to have their own knowledge and responsibilities, but they need to have structures and resourcing in place that allow them to work efficiently in a way that allows them to adhere to the enablers. This is not to say that every structure needs to be formalised; there needs to be room for flexibility. However, there need to be clear structures in place that allow and encourage, for example, participation and vertical and horizontal collaboration. For the EGD, and for the green and just transition as a whole, policy processes must result in policies which are socially acceptable for the people who will be affected by them. There are many dimensions to this, but dealing with tensions and trade-offs and maximising synergies throughout the policymaking process is an essential part of making this possible.



Frameworks for good governance which already take green and/or just transition into consideration

As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	OHCHR: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU governance white paper: principles of good governance ⁶⁹	OECD: values & ena- blers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	BRG: key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	UNDP: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	ILO: principles to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies ⁷⁵	UN SDGs: 11 principles of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	ECRST: key aspects of good govern- ance for territo- rial just tran- sition plans ⁷⁷	totals**
transparent/ transparency														
openness & transparency	Transpar- ency &	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1	9
openness	openness													
independent oversight														
accountability & the respect for the rule of law														
accountable/ accountability/ clear accountability														
public sector integrity; integrity	Account- ability,													
[follows] rule of law	integrity, ethics,	1	1	1	1	1		1	1			1	1	8
voice and accountability	& rule of law													
integrity														
legality														
control of corruption														
ethical conduct														

Selected as foundations

Frameworks for good governance which already take green and/or just transition into consideration

As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	OHCHR: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU governance white paper: principles of good governance ⁶⁹	OECD: values & ena- blers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	UNDP: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	riciples to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies ⁷⁵	UN SDGs: 11 prin- ciples of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	key aspects of good governance for territorial just transition plans ⁷⁷	totals**
multilevel partici- patory process														
participation/ participatory/ participative	Participa- tion	1	1	1	1		1				1	1	1	8
participation, representation, fair conduct of elections														
timely and efficient	Effective-													
effective & efficient	ness & efficiency		1	1	1			1	1				1	5
innovation & change management	Experi- mentation			1		1			1					2
innovation	& adapt-	ot-		1		1			1					2
innovation & open- ness to change	ability													

Selected as foundations

As categorised by theme* General frameworks for good governance General frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Here are considered by theme and consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration ILO: principles of principles of ples to good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration Frameworks for good governance which already take green and / or just transition into consideration

As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	OHCHR: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU governance white paper: principles of good governance ⁶⁹	OECD: values & ena- blers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	UNDP: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	riciples to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies 15 cm.	UN SDGs: 11 prin- ciples of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	key aspects of good governance for territorial just transition plans ⁷⁷	totals**
human rights, cultural diversity, social cohesion														
non-discrimination				1										
inclusiveness, participation, gender equality, diversity											1	1		
inclusive/ inclusiveness	Inclu- siveness, equity, &		1			1			1	1				6
equitable & inclusive	diversity													
impartiality														
user-centricity														
take into account gender dimension														
leaving no one behind														

Selected as foundations

Frameworks for good governance which already take green and/or just transition into consideration

As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	OHCHR: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU governance white paper: principles of good governance ⁶⁹	OECD: values & enablers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	undp: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	riciples to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies ⁷⁵	UN SDGs: 11 prin- ciples of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	key aspects of good governance for territorial just transition plans ⁷⁷	totals**
competence	Compe-													
capable	tence, capacity,			1						1		1		3
competence & capacity	& capability													
evidence-based														
equitable & evidence-informed policy-making	Evidence- informed					1	1							2
whole of govern- ment coordination														
coherence/coherent	Coher-													
sound policymaking	ence, coordi-				1	1	1		1		1	1	1	7
connectivity	nation, & collabora-													
collaboration	tion													
multidisciplinary approach														

Selected as foundations

Frameworks for good governance which already take green and/or just transition into consideration

As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	OHCHR: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU gov- ernance white paper: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁶⁹	OECD: values & enablers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	BRG: key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	UNDP: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	ILO: principles to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies ⁷⁵	UN SDGs: 11 principles of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	ECRST: key aspects of good govern- ance for territo- rial just tran- sition plans ⁷⁷	totals**
intergenerational equity	Future-													
sustainability & long-term orientation	oriented			1						1			1	3
proportionate														
subsidiarity														
no one size fits all	Contextu-	1	1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	9
responsive, proac- tive and conscious	ality	1					_		_	_	_	_	_	,
responsive[ness] [to needs]														
consensus-oriented	Consen-													
social consensus, social dialogue	sus-ori- ented		1								1		1	3
commitment, vision and leadership	Commit- ment & lead- er-ship					1								1
visionary and target-oriented	Vision & target-orien-tation					1			1				1	3

Selected as foundations

												just transition into consideration				
As written in frameworks	As catego- rised by theme*	ohchr: key attrib- utes of good govern- ance	UNES- CAP: 8 major charac- teristics of good govern- ance ⁶⁷	Council of Europe: princi- ples of good demo- cratic govern- ance ⁶⁸	EU governance white paper: principles of good governance ⁶⁹	oecd: values & enablers of sound public govern- ance ⁷⁰	key con- cepts & princi- ples of better regula- tion ⁷¹	World Bank: 6 broad dimen- sions of govern- ance ⁷²	European Com- mission: Values of good gov- ernance ⁷³	UNDP: princi- ples of good govern- ance ⁷⁴	ILO: principles to guide transition to env. sustainable econ & societies ⁷⁵	UN SDGs: 11 prin- ciples of effective govern- ance for sus- tainable develop- ment ⁷⁶	key aspects of good govern-ance for territorial just transition plans ⁷⁷	totals**		
learning from experience	Reflection						1		1					2		
reflection																
appropriate identifice main challenges to b													1	1		
respect rights at work	k										1			1		
foster international c	ooperation										1			1		
responsibility		1												1		
sound financial man	agement			1										1		
comprehensive							1							1		
Political Stability and Violence/Terrorism	d Absence of							1						1		
Regulatory Quality								1						1		

Frameworks for good governance which already take green and/or

^{*} If the principle was not renamed or combined with others, the first two columns were merged to keep the original name

^{**} Note on methodology: where the same list (column) included multiple principles (rows) that were combined, only one point was counted. So there can only be one point per list per principle

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- info@zoe-institut.de
- www.zoe-institut.de