

The Citizens' Climate Convention: 149 measures for a new vision of the transition

Mathieu Saujot, Nicolas Berghmans, Andreas Rüdinger, Sébastien Treyer, Michel Colombier, Laura Brimont, Yann Briand (IDDRI)

A few months after the Citizens' Climate Convention (CCC) delivered its final report, the goal of this *Study* is to assess it against the expectations set out by IDDRI in August 2019: the CCC could be called a success "if it enables us, on at least one important aspect of the transition, to take a step forward; offers a solution to an existing bottleneck, or provides direction to policy makers and the French public alike on some form of acceptable response".¹ The perspective was one of more ambitious measures to reduce emissions or of measures adapted so as to make their implementation possible. The analysis proposed in this *Study* provides a better understanding of the CCC's contribution, including its complementarity with the way in which these conventional debates are typically conducted between stakeholders. It can also be used to build on this novel experiment in participatory democracy for future citizens' exercises in France and, potentially, for other countries wishing to replicate this exercise.

¹ <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/blog-post/citizens-climate-convention-what>

KEY MESSAGES

1. The measures proposed by the CCC provide a real contribution to the policy discussion on the ecological transition. Despite a limited timeframe and turbulent conditions (strikes, health crisis), the CCC proposes more proactive measures for the climate than those already existing, packages of proposals that have systemic added value and a new perspective on the transition agenda. By advancing our understanding of what is possible and acceptable, the CCC thus presents a new frontier for climate action.

2. Few truly innovative measures are found in the CCC report, but it makes some valuable proposals for policy trade-offs. France does not suffer from a lack of knowledge and proposals on the ecological transition, but rather from a lack of trade-offs regarding what is possible and desirable and what needs to be strengthened in spite of the barriers and obstacles. The true added value of the CCC lies in the identification of these possible pathways as well as in the quality of its debates.

3. The scope of what is proposed incorporates a large number of components (social justice, innovation, advertising, education, trade policy, circular economy, etc.) and indicates willingness to refocus every dimension of our society on the climate priority. It shows the need to radically transform our entire economic system and our lifestyles. In this respect, the CCC proposals translate the urgent need to act into a unique plan of action.

4. The convention has avoided the risk of the requisite collective approval of the 150 citizens leading to a weak consensus and to vague proposals, and has revived the social debate on the ecological transition: this is an important result. The implementation of this precise and ambitious programme would, by definition, have impacts on society, and especially on the economic sphere: this was inevitable in light of the ambitious mandate given by the government. It is now the responsibility of policymakers and civil society to take up this challenge of economic and industrial policy.

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METHODOLOGY

The report of the Citizens' Climate Convention¹ is organised around seven categories: consumption, production and work, travel, housing, food, constitution, and financing). Each category includes between 3 and 12 objectives. All of the proposals have been analysed from a legal viewpoint, with "points of consideration" produced by the jurists committee, and 98 measures and sub-measures have been drafted in legal terms with a proposal to amend the law (for some measures, no amendment to the law was required; for others, the jurists committee was unable to propose legal terms).

To organise this *Study* and to look differently at the work of the CCC, we have not followed the distribution of measures according to these broad categories, but have chosen to divide the proposals into four categories, focusing on the nature of the CCC's contribution: (1) those that propose a more proactive trade-off than what already exists; (2) those that stand out for their overall coherence; (3) those that propose a fresh perspective or a step to the side; and finally (4) the proposals or dimensions that may be lacking.

To conduct this qualitative assessment, we mainly built on the analysis of the final report. We also mobilised our monitoring and observation of debates in situ when they helped to better understand the proposals made by the citizens and the intentions behind them. Michel Colombier, IDDRI's Scientific Director, was a member of the Governance Committee responsible for organising the work of the Convention; Sébastien Treyer, IDDRI's Director, was a member of the support group, a group of experts that the citizens could call upon, for example regarding impact assessments for the measures; Nicolas Berghmans, Senior Research Fellow in Climate and Energy at IDDRI, was a member of the group of researchers observing the process; and Mathieu Saujot, Senior Research Fellow in Lifestyles in Transition at IDDRI, spoke as an expert during a group hearing on "Travel".

To assess the contribution of the CCC proposals, we drew on our knowledge of existing debates and proposals, as well as on recent work such as IDDRI's study "Assessing progress in the low-carbon transition in France", published in late 2018, which presents an overview of existing tools for action and impacts on the level of emissions, or the two annual reports of the French High Council on Climate, which take stock of progress towards the transition and the key challenges of its implementation. We sought to put the proposals of the 150 citizens into context, in order to conduct this qualitative assessment of the progress they enable. To do so, our analysis considers all of the categories, but is not intended to be exhaustive.

Finally, the scope of the study should be specified: we analyse the content of the CCC proposals rather than the way in which they are currently appropriated, discussed and modified in the context of the policy processes to produce the corresponding legislation. We made this choice in order to clearly distinguish between the "official" phase of the CCC's work, which ended with the delivery of the final report and the speech by the French President on 29 June 2020, and the subsequent phase in which this work was discussed, with the participation of some of the 150 citizens and the association they created. In our opinion, the final assessment of the CCC, including this legislative phase, can only be made in a satisfactory manner once these proposals are translated into law and the laws passed. Only with this sufficient hindsight will we be able to make an overall assessment.

¹ <https://propositions.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/pdf/ccc-rapport-final.pdf>

BOX. 149 MEASURES RESULTING FROM A CO-CONSTRUCTION PROCESS SPANNING EIGHT MONTHS²

The Citizens' Climate Convention (CCC) brought together 150 citizens selected at random and representing the diversity found in French society,³ tasked with defining structural measures "to achieve a reduction of at least 40 % in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 (compared to 1990), in a spirit of social justice".⁴ This mandate was accompanied by a pledge by the French government to apply the recommendations of the convention "without filter" in the appropriate form—direct regulatory application, transmission to Parliament for legislative application or referendum—with the CCC able to give an opinion on the most appropriate form. This "without filter" pledge communicated to the general public and to the citizens of the CCC was not based on any existing institutional mechanism, but symbolically committed the government to follow up on the CCC recommendations. It also steered the work of the convention towards the objective of making the proposals as applicable as possible, and thus of aiming, beyond their formulation, at a specific legal translation.

The work of the convention, coordinated by a Governance Committee made up of 15 designated experts⁵ and constantly supplemented by two citizens chosen at random among the 150 participants, took place over a period of eight months, from October 2019 to June 2020⁶ (see Figure 1). Six sessions lasting two and a half days each were organised at the French Economic, Social and Environmental Council (ESEC),⁷ followed by a seventh session to vote on

the proposals, their mode of transmission and the different components of the final report.⁸

During the sessions at ESEC, the work by the citizens combined thematic workshops (consumption, production and work, travel, housing, food) and plenary sessions bringing together all citizen participants to address the organisational dimensions of the convention, the cross-cutting issues for all working groups, such as the initial knowledge base or the issue of financing, and the votes organised during the different sessions. Each citizen was chosen at random to participate throughout the whole convention in one of the five working groups, within which the majority of measures were developed. The presentation of the CCC measures in the final report thus logically follows the structure of the five thematic groups designated.

During these sessions, the citizens heard more than 130 speakers either mobilised by the Governance Committee based on their expertise or at the request of the citizens themselves.⁹ They were also supported in their work by two groups of experts. A jurists committee made up of six people was tasked with assisting the citizens in the legal wording of their proposals. A second support group,¹⁰ composed of specialists in decarbonisation solutions and policies, was also formed to assist the citizens in their work through continuous involvement in the sessions devoted to formulating the convention's proposals, during remote work sessions between the sessions at ESEC, and through written feedback on the citizens' proposals. Finally, it is important to note that over the course of those eight months, some citizens also met civil society actors or policymakers on their own initiative or organised debates that inspired their work. The measures proposed by the CCC can therefore be considered as the result of a co-construction process by the 150 citizens in interaction with several groups of actors both within and outside the convention.

The work was divided into three phases. An initial phase (sessions 1 and 2) for the citizens to familiarise themselves with the issues of the climate transition in plenary sessions and in the thematic groups. The second phase (sessions 2 to 5) concentrated on the development of proposals, and mainly involved work in the thematic groups along with several sessions in sub-groups or with all 150 participants on cross-cutting issues, especially financing for the transition. And a finalisation phase (sessions 5 to 7), during which the measures prepared in the thematic groups were discussed

2 Adrien Fabre & Bénédicte Apouey & Thomas Douenne & Louis-Gaëtan Giraudet & Jean-François Laslier & Antonin Macé (2020). "Convention citoyenne pour le climat : les citoyens de la Convention comparés à des échantillons représentatifs de la population française. Note de travail". PSE Working Papers; Convention citoyenne pour le climat (2020). "Les propositions de la Convention citoyenne pour le climat", final report.

3 A summary of the selection process is available on the Citizens' Climate Convention website: <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/en/>. For a discussion of the representativeness of the Convention, see the comparison of the views expressed by the citizen members of the Citizens' Climate Convention with a representative sample of the French population as a whole in (Fabre A. *et al.*, 2020).

4 Mission statement from the French Prime Minister Edouard Philippe to the Citizens' Climate Convention <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/lettre-de-mission.pdf>

5 The composition of the Governance Committee is available on the Citizens' Climate Convention website: <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/en/comite-gouvernance/>

6 The initial programme included six working sessions spread over a tighter schedule, between October 2019 and February 2020, but this schedule was extended twice due to the consequences of the strikes over the proposed pension reform, then the COVID-19 health crisis.

7 The French Economic, Social and Environmental Council is the third constitutional assembly of the Republic, after the National Assembly and the Senate. It has a consultative role and brings together the different components of organised civil society.

8 Citizens' Climate Convention (2020). "Les propositions de la Convention Citoyenne pour le Climat".

9 The list of speakers is available on the Citizens' Climate Convention website: <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/intervenants/>

10 The composition of the jurists committee and the support group can be found on the Citizens' Climate Convention website: <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/groupe-appui/>

FIGURE 1. Schedule of working sessions for the Citizens' Climate Convention

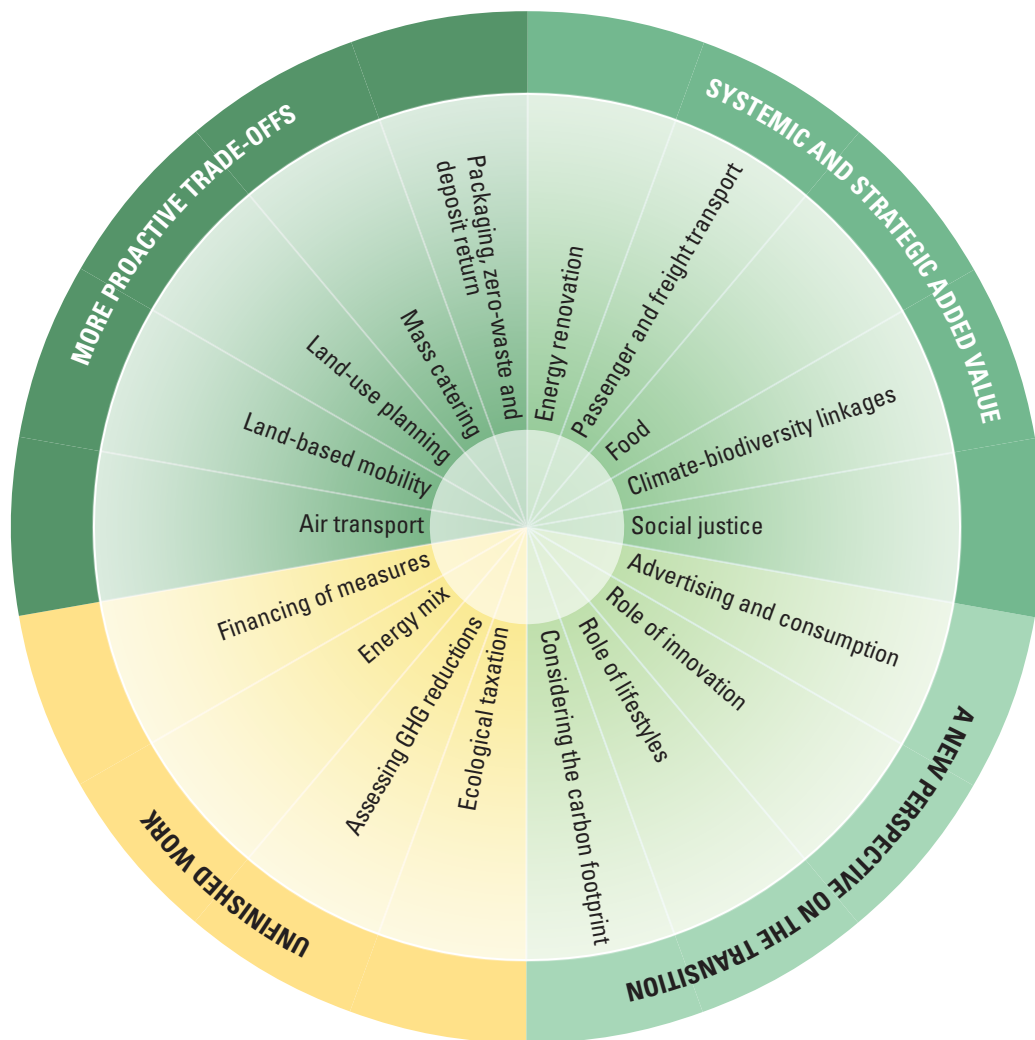


by all of the citizens, and some were adjusted, before being translated legally with the support of the jurists committee and voted on during the final session.

During this final session, the 150 measures proposed were organised according to 46 coherent thematic objectives containing between 1 and 10 of the 150 measures proposed by the citizens, or 3.3 measures on average. The

vote organised in session 7 on each of these objectives revealed very high support on the whole, with approval of at least 85 % for 44 of the 46 objectives, approval of 59 % for the proposal to reduce speed on motorways to 110 km/h, and a rejection of 65 % for the proposal to reduce the working week to 28 hours. All of these measures are discussed in the rest of this study.

SUMMARY DIAGRAM. Our assessment of the contributions of the Citizens' Climate Convention in four categories



Source : IDDRI.

1. MORE PROACTIVE TRADE-OFFS

This part discusses the proposals that we believe go further than those already existing. These proposals are rarely innovative, and have already been put forward in similar terms by stakeholders or policy-makers. But, on the whole, this level of ambition was not sufficiently consensual, or could even appear as radical, especially for economic actors, and some proposals were therefore not adopted.

A reading of the CCC report shows that the citizens sought to obtain a global picture of what already exists, through hearings with experts and exchanges with the support group, and to compare this to the French ambitions in order to identify the points to be strengthened.¹¹ In practical terms, this implies amending certain measures in order to "go from possible to certain" or to "go from a scope that is currently limited to systematic application" (see p. 161 on mobility). In doing so, the citizens identify a pathway that they believe to be acceptable and credible.

[TRAVEL]

a) Air transport [p. 252] [SD-E1 to E7]

Based on a high level of support in the final vote (Yes: 88 %), the citizens' proposals reflect the limitations of technological solutions between now and 2030 and therefore the need to control the level of air transport wherever possible. The convention's proposals thus include increasing the eco-tax on air fares, gradually banning domestic flights where an alternative exists (train journeys of less than four hours) and prohibiting the construction

¹¹ For example, the citizens noted the gap between the findings of the consultations under the Etats Généraux de l'Alimentation (French National Food conference) and the provisions ultimately included in the EGalim law: they then decided that some of the recommendations of this conference should be reiterated, or that the means of implementation should be strengthened (p. 316).

of new airports¹² and the extension of existing ones. Not only do these proposals put on the table a subject for which there were no truly ambitious policies and thereby foster debate on this issue, but they also break the silence surrounding the contradictions of current policies. For example, how can airport expansions be planned and carbon neutrality pursued when the technological solutions are still highly uncertain?¹³ How can people accept higher fuel taxes for land-based mobility when the air transport sector is exonerated from such taxes? Although civil society and parliamentary proposals already existed for aviation,¹⁴ they could certainly appear as "radical". By putting them back on the agenda, the CCC calls for these contradictions to be addressed.¹⁵ Finally, one notable point of the proposal on domestic flights is that it identifies the silos existing in mobility (air and train), which are not organised in a coordinated manner, and it discusses the issue of journey times (which also links to the proposal on the 110 km/h speed limit on motorways).

b) Land-based mobility [p. 160]

The CCC recognises that a good deal already exists on this subject, but considers that we now need to move up a gear and to consolidate the whole field (p. 161), as illustrated by several measures:

- **Cycling Plan** [SD-A2.3]: based on a comparison with funding allocated to cycling in the leading European countries in this field (p. 176), the convention proposes quadrupling national funding for the Cycling Plan (50 > 200 m€/year), which can

¹² With one exception: "Its application for Mayotte should be subject to an impact assessment, since the island currently lacks the necessary airport infrastructure to ensure adequate coverage and to address its insularity" (p. 255).

¹³ On this issue, see the recent examples in Europe: Vienna Airport: <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/vienna-third-runway-airport-expansion>; Heathrow Airport: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/feb/27/heathrow-third-runway-ruled-illegal-over-climate-change>

¹⁴ See, for example, during the examination of the French LOM law on mobility: <https://reseauactionclimat.org/tribune-transport-aerien-et-climat-il-est-temps-datterrir/>

¹⁵ See the consultations planned by the ministry: <https://www.lesechos.fr/industrie-services/tourisme-transport/faux-depart-pour-le-debat-sur-lavenir-du-transport-aerien-en-france-1241856>

be interpreted as an alignment between the objectives set by the French government¹⁶ and the means implemented.

- **Changing the rules for the mileage allowance**¹⁷ [SD-A1.2]: the citizens follow through on the rationale and reforms of the last few years by proposing that this allowance is no longer indexed to vehicle power in order to remove any incentive to choose a vehicle with higher fuel consumption.
- **Enhancing capacities for a transition to a clean vehicle fleet** (p. 213) [SD-C1.1 to C1.8]: the citizens propose a package of changes to reinforce all mechanisms, including strengthening the bonus-malus system, a tool to facilitate the purchase of clean vehicles (zero-interest loans) and incentives (green stickers for access to certain services).
- **110 km/h on motorways** [PT3.1]. This proposal was the subject of much debate, with a relatively close vote (yes 59 %, no 40 %) after intense discussions in which the citizens clearly identified the problems of acceptability (p. 185). However, they also considered that this call for “sobriety” was legitimate and ultimately the only response consistent with the urgent need to act immediately, whereas the more structural changes required (for example, a modal shift in transport or technological change) will take time to be deployed. This proposal is also emblematic, since it questions our relationship with space and time, which is one dimension of our lifestyles, but also an element that structures modal choices (cars versus trains) and technical choices (for example, the size of batteries and the autonomy of electric vehicles) over the long term. The French President Emmanuel Macron nevertheless used one of his jokes on this measure in his speech of 29 June, saying in particular that he wanted to avoid the CCC’s work being reduced to just this single divisive measure, and to ensure people living in isolated areas did not feel stigmatised.¹⁸

[HOUSING]

c) Land-use planning [SL3.1 to 3.4]

Here, the citizens again propose a set of measures aimed at stepping up efforts to prevent land take (p. 298-301). The proposal to “take immediate enforcement measures to halt the development of space-intensive suburban commercial zones” is a good illustration of a more proactive trade-off on a subject identified by all, but highly divisive; an issue that also seems to have resonated with the French President, who announced

¹⁶ Tripling the modal share of cycling by 2024: https://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/document/document/2018/09/dossier_de_presse_-_plan_velo_-_vendredi_14_septembre_2018.pdf

¹⁷ “Actual expenses” scheme making any work-related travel expenses tax-deductible.

¹⁸ See the speech here: <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2020/06/29/le-president-emmanuel-macron-repond-aux-150-citoyens-de-la-convention-citoyenne-pour-le-climat>

a moratorium.¹⁹ In a context of inadequate policy responses and continuing land take,²⁰ in which the management of land consumption in France is the result of a complex set of planning documents at different levels, giving local trade-offs certain flexibility, the citizens are sending a strong signal here that this is an issue of national importance, calling for swift action.

[FOOD]

d) Strengthening the EGalim law on mass catering [SN1.1.1 à 1.1.9]

The citizens’ systemic approach to the transition of agri-food systems will be analysed in the following part. Here, we have chosen to illustrate a trade-off that is more proactive than what already exists. By proposing to substantially strengthen actions on mass catering, the citizens note that the recent EGalim law (2018) is a step in the right direction, but lacks the necessary means (p. 316): the scaling of the public policy was wrong. However, mass catering seems important to the citizens, since they consider that it can help to change the food on consumers’ plates and agricultural and agri-food production systems (p. 315), and that it is therefore a key driver of the transition. The convention thus proposes nine measures to strengthen the means of implementation (combining financial support, tools aimed at sharing good practice and monitoring, changes to nutritional regulations, extending measures that only concern public catering to private mass catering,²¹ etc.). Examples include proposing two vegetarian meals per week instead of one from 2025 onwards, extending the provisions of the EGalim law to private mass catering from 2025, which includes an objective of 50 % high quality and sustainable products (including 20 % organic products), and diversifying protein sources.

[CONSUMPTION]

e) Limiting over-packaging and developing zero-waste and deposit return systems [C3.1 to 3.4]

In this field, the citizens propose reinforcing the trade-offs of the recent French law for the circular economy, for example by bringing forward the ban on single-use plastic packaging from 2040 to 2030. The citizens also propose an obligation to set up zero-waste systems in shops and glass deposits schemes. Beyond

¹⁹ See the speech of 29 June 2020 by Emmanuel Macron to the CCC: <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2020/06/29/le-president-emmanuel-macron-repond-aux-150-citoyens-de-la-convention-citoyenne-pour-le-climat> and the legislative proposal of 2 June: http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dyn/15/textes/l15b3040_proposition-loi

²⁰ See, for example, IDDRI’s recent Issue Brief on land take and the policies implemented: <https://www.iddri.org/sites/default/files/PDF/Publications/Catalogue%20Iddri/D%C3%A9cryptage/201902-IB0219EN-AC%20artificialisation%20France.pdf>

²¹ See table p. 4 of this document to take stock of this consolidation and the scope of the extension to private actors: https://www.inao.gouv.fr/content/download/3309/29857/version/1/file/2001_Mesures-LoiEGalim_BRO_BD.pdf

the technical and economic feasibility of these measures, they can be seen as a means of galvanising all actors to keep pace, but also to address a certain incomprehension among citizens that this objective is set for the long term, when the issue is already very clearly identified by the population (deposits, plastic). This measure, like the previous one, although not disconnected from the scientific analysis on climate, shows the citizens taking a step to the side in relation to a purely climate-based approach to their mandate, towards another environmental concern that is already ingrained in the public mindset: tackling the accumulation of waste. It is interesting to note that this measure was selected despite a low "climate impact" rating by the support group.

2. SYSTEMIC AND STRATEGIC ADDED VALUE

In this part, we describe the convention's contribution in terms of a systemic approach. In many cases, the desire to simultaneously address several objectives, to lead all actors towards an ambitious transition and to show that these measures can be built in a spirit of social justice has resulted in the combination of several complementary measures and tools. The citizens describe this as follows for the category Food (p. 312): "we intend to mobilise tools for action to reduce emissions, which act as a package. We believe it is important to act on the entire food production chain, from farmers to consumers". This attention to the combined effect of several measures is found in numerous other thematic objectives (for example in the inclusion of financial support for the building renovation obligation). It also justifies the mobilisation of certain tools that can help to anchor climate action more broadly in all sectors, such as measures aimed at changing the information provided to consumers through the regulation of advertising, or to use education and training.

With this package of actions and this approach to the issues, the citizens sometimes set out a way of addressing the problem and solutions, and thus give direction to climate action.

2.1 Coherent packages of measures

[HOUSING]

a) Associating a renovation obligation, support and financial mechanisms within an integrated approach (p. 266) [SL1.1 to 1.5]

The citizens' proposals aim to substantially strengthen²² all tools for action on building energy renovations, articulated around a

²² For a more detailed look at the issue of renovation, see <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/blog-post/energy-renovation-what-outlook-recommendations-french-citizens> and <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/blog-post/energy-renovation-buildings-french-recovery-plan-opportunity-be>

broader, far more ambitious renovation obligation. The citizens' contributions are multiple: first by giving the renovation obligation a long timeframe (2040 and beyond, beginning in 2024 for individual houses), with progressive implementation according to the segment of the building stock and the initial level of performance. This should help to activate the whole system. Next, by articulating this obligation with the "high performance" requirement (aiming for energy class A, B or exceptionally C after work). Finally, by attempting to identify all of the mechanisms that will be needed to make this obligation viable and acceptable for all actors, insisting on support, funding mechanisms and assistance in structuring the renovation offering.

In this sense, the convention acknowledges that the traditional opposition between incentive and punitive approaches is no longer valid, but that the two must be articulated within a systemic mechanism, aimed at integrating a strong signal for the whole market (a generalised obligation in the long term), by offering in exchange a strong public commitment on the support and financing tools adapted to the different household categories for the remaining amount (and especially for the lowest income households). Finally, the convention's work moves away from the "small actions" approach to renovation and highlights the need for systemic coherence to steer all mechanisms (both regulatory and incentive) towards very high performance or "BBC" (the French low-energy housing standard) energy renovations, which are rarely undertaken in the current context. By doing so, we can identify in the convention's work a strategic vision that was previously missing to coordinate and guide all existing mechanisms, but also to set an acceptable and effective pace of change.

[TRAVEL]

b) Mobility

In terms of mobility, the citizens' work was not limited to the technological change represented by electric vehicles, the solution central to most of the reference works on the decarbonisation of the sector.²³ For the citizens, it is "by accompanying the transition to use modes of transport differently, by combining them, and rethinking land use to enable this change, that we will be able to travel better and transport goods differently (and sometimes less), while guaranteeing social justice" (p. 160). Careful attention was thus given to social and territorial disparities, and to the conditions enabling the use of all alternatives

²³ Here, we consider the debates at the national and international levels. This is particularly the case in a context in which European regulation of emissions from new vehicles is a key policy tool for emissions reductions. This is reflected, for example, in the civil society reference works produced by the European NGO Transport & Environment (<https://www.transportenvironment.org/>). With regard to international expertise, in connection with the international climate negotiations, most transport sector decarbonisation scenarios focus on these technological solutions for private vehicles. See Lefèvre J, Briand Y, Pye S, Tovilla J, Li F, Oshiro K, Waisman H, Cayla J-M and Zhang R, 2020, A pathway design framework for sectoral deep decarbonization: the case of passenger transportation, Climate Policy 1–14.

that adopt a “systems” approach to mobility. The focus on life cycles, integrating the GHG impact of the construction of combustion and electric vehicles, has certainly played a role in driving this vision of future mobility (see the section in part 3 on the weight criterion).

Specifically, this first leads the citizens to simultaneously address land-based passenger transport, freight and air transport, then to review all measures that have an impact on daily travel: financial incentives to be increased or reduced in order to change mobility habits (e.g. the mileage allowance, the sustainable mobility allowance) and vehicle purchase choices (bonus/malus, new infrastructure [e.g. park-and-ride], changes to existing infrastructure [e.g. dedicated lanes], and support for new offerings [e.g. Cycling Plan]). The stated objective of reinforcing alternatives to private cars (p. 173) is based on this whole, supplemented by a package of measures (p. 189) aimed at increasing the role of trains (over and above high-speed lines): reducing VAT, generalising the tariff policies of the most proactive regions, and investing in rolling stock and infrastructure (in connection with the measures for freight transport).

c) Freight transport [SD-B1.1 to 1.7]

In this field, the convention insists on certain systemic articulations²⁴ between the characteristics of demand and the relevance of certain service offerings: the objective of the “modal shift” thus primarily targets “long distance” transport flows (p. 197). On this objective, the citizens propose tools for land-use planning and infrastructure to be developed “as a priority” (p. 191, p. 199), a set of economic incentives to encourage the use of cleaner fuels and alternatives to roads, regulations on transport activities to foster good eco-driving practices (p. 200), and a measure aimed at making backers more accountable (p. 201-202).

[FOOD]

d) Food (p. 312)

The citizens find that the current package of measures, programmes and actions has not brought about changes in French diets in line with needs (p. 312). The systemic focus is seen from the beginning of their proposals (p. 313), when they present the challenge as the combination of changes in consumption and changes in agricultural production. While numerous studies focus on the choices of end consumers, this attention to the whole agri-food system is significant. Similarly, whereas the discourse on the transition sometimes places a disproportionate share of responsibility on farmers, the convention works on the assumption that the agri-food chain as a whole needs to evolve in order to create the conditions for upstream changes in agricultural systems.

²⁴ For recent work on systemic changes in this sector towards decarbonisation, see the study coordinated by IDDRI with its partners: <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/report/deep-decarbonization-pathways-freight-transport-france>

To build their proposals, the citizens began with the debates linked to the États Généraux de l’Alimentation and the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy to indicate all measures that must be taken regarding consumer information, procurement, sectoral negotiations or the construction of sectors such as protein crops, and policies directly aimed at supporting change for farmers. They also include this agricultural issue as a key challenge of trade agreement negotiations (p. 370) [SN4.1.1]. Finally, and even if this is not directly linked to climate issues, the citizens also make proposals concerning highly or ultra-processed products (p. 392) [SN6.1.1 to 6.1.4]: indeed, coherence is envisaged between less processed²⁵ and more raw products and diets that are healthier and more environmentally-friendly. Aware of the central role of the food industry for both farmers and consumers, the citizens consider that reducing the share of highly processed food products is a means of systemically supporting the transitions in supply (agricultural production) and demand (consumption).

Lastly, by aiming to ensure 50 % of farms are committed to agroecology by 2040 (p. 337) [SN2.1.1], the convention gives a clear direction on the agricultural transition. Indeed, the citizens define their vision of agroecology in a proactive manner (phase-out of pesticides) and adopt an approach to the agricultural transition that goes well beyond simply reducing GHG emissions, and beyond their mandate for this convention, by incorporating issues of biodiversity, pesticides and land use.²⁶ They consider that these dimensions are an integral part of the transition required in the agri-food system.

2.2. A broader interpretation of the citizens’ mandate

[CROSS - CUTTING]

e) A climate transition that takes account of biodiversity [PT8.1]

Aware that “the fight against global warming and the fight for the protection of biodiversity are two ways of contributing to the preservation of the conditions for life on Earth” and are “intimately linked” (p. 121), the citizens chose to go beyond the explicit mandate of the CCC, centred on the reduction of greenhouse gases, to adopt a broader ecological focus. In a context

²⁵ In line with the rejected proposal on the shorter working week, given that the consumption of processed products is also connected to the limited time allotted to cooking.

²⁶ At the French and European levels, there is currently a wide range of approaches to the transition to be made, giving different levels of importance to issues of biodiversity, pesticide reduction and soil management to close the nitrogen cycle. At present, for example, the key tool represented by the Common Agricultural Policy is far from being aligned with the transition to which the citizens refer, and which is also found in the Green Deal. On this specific point, see the explanation by the jurists committee on the central role of this tool (p. 343) and the recent study [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/629214/IPOL_STU\(2020\)629214_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/629214/IPOL_STU(2020)629214_EN.pdf)

in which "science, international governance and civil society continue to compartmentalise responses to climate change and biodiversity" (Deprez *et al.*, 2019),²⁷ this emphasis (and the 95 occurrences of the term "biodiversity" in the final report) should not be minimised. By adopting this global vision, which is also reflected in the proposal to legislate against the crime of ecocide (p. 399), the citizens enable a step forward towards a better connection between biodiversity and climate change in public strategies.

f) Social justice

"How to achieve a reduction of at least 40 % in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 (compared to 1990) in a spirit of social justice": this was the question asked of the convention. The citizens consider social justice to be "one of the drivers of the transition" (p. 9). Although the work of the convention does not outline a cross-cutting vision or even a specific social justice objective, numerous references in the report show that this principle served as a guide, as a filter to analyse their proposals, which are found in the trade-offs on the framework for their work and the tools mobilised. Moreover, on numerous occasions the CCC's deliberations gave rise to differences of opinion on social justice.

- In several parts of the report, specific measures are identified as being essential to ensure the social justice of the whole plan of action: this is the case, for example, of the specific measures on renovation for low-income households (p. 271) [SL1.4] or fair payment for farmers, which is seen in particular in the attention given to tripartite negotiations (p. 327) [SN1.2.1].
- The principle of social justice is also mobilised to justify the design of packages of measures and the conditions for their implementation, for example to adjust changes to the mileage allowance in mobility (p. 167) [SD-A1.2] or to define possible regulations on advertising for sales, while recognising the importance of this commercial practice for low-income households and thus the need to maintain it (p. 27). This is also the case for the guidelines set by the citizens in the field of taxation: the principle of social justice underpins their desire to establish a new income tax band or to increase the tax base for the largest private fortunes (p. 427). The citizens also propose establishing a tax on dividends paid out by corporations,²⁸ to ensure the participation of all in efforts to drive the transition.
- In other cases, this principle seems to have been the

common thread of debates between citizens in order to assess the possibility and desirability of a change, as with mobility (where the "Yellow Vests" and "Red Hats" crises underpinned the discussions, p. 160 and 161), or to assess its compatibility with certain proposals, as discussed for digital sobriety (p. 157: the citizens consider that digital sobriety can be seen as a vector of social equality).

- The principle of social justice has had an impact on the consultation process: according to the citizens, it justifies the need to extend their work beyond climate issues to include biodiversity and environmental limits (p. 121), since it is the whole Earth system that constitutes the basis for human life, and whose disruption particularly affects the most vulnerable populations. This principle also calls for particular attention to the overseas territories (e.g. p. 20).
- The principle of social justice has also had an impact on the nature of the public policy tools mobilised for the transition: using a standard or a regulation, for example, has the advantage of concerning everybody in the same way, with no exceptions,²⁹ which can be seen as an advantage in terms of social justice. This is, of course, provided that actors and individuals are given the means to adapt to this obligation, especially those with the most significant constraints (e.g. the ban on driving in certain zones according to the Crit'Air sticker).
- Finally, the fact that measures to reduce the working week and to tax corporate dividends have been put on the agenda can be interpreted as a reflection of deeper discussions on social justice.

Ultimately, this concern for the mandate set by the French Prime Minister's mission statement means that the CCC proposals can be seen as a reference work on the way in which the citizens perceive issues of social justice and how to take them into account. Here, we can attempt to identify principles that seem to underpin the references to social justice in the report: securing access to alternatives for all (e.g. passenger mobility); the attention given to the pace of introduction of numerous measures in the implementation of the transition; redistribution and transparency on the use of carbon taxation (e.g. the EU carbon border adjustment mechanism, p. 135, PT9.1); ensuring a minimal contribution to renovations for low-income households (see for example p. 268); and a higher contribution for large companies (see for example the tax on dividends, p. 427).

3. A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE AGENDA OF THE TRANSITION

In this part, we analyse proposals that we believe provide an original perspective on the actions needed to tackle climate change.

²⁷ See IDDRI's study on the integration of climate and biodiversity: <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/study/towards-climate-change-ambition-better-integrates-biodiversity-and>

²⁸ The French President Emmanuel Macron nevertheless used one of his jokers on this measure in his speech of 29 June, noting in particular "the need to attract capital, both French and foreign, to France in order to innovate and to change the model", the fact that France is "already a highly taxed country" and that "increasing taxation to meet this challenge is not the way forward": <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2020/06/29/le-president-emmanuel-macron-repond-aux-150-citoyens-de-la-convention-citoyenne-pour-le-climat>

²⁹ On the contrary, the very principle of a carbon tax is to protect a certain freedom: individuals can pay more to avoid changing their actions, with this capacity being dependent on their financial margins.

Our analysis covers not only specific proposals, but also more cross-cutting elements, and is not intended to be exhaustive. We can interpret this originality in the agenda through the nature of the participants (citizens building on their specific experience) and the framework for the convention (thematic groups based on uses, e.g. housing, travel, food). This has certainly contributed to the emergence of these issues, which are often perceived more peripherally or even disregarded in policy discussions on the transition.

[CONSUMPTION]

a) Consuming less and improving the regulation of advertising³⁰ [C2.1 to 2.3]

Among a set of proposals concerning consumption (information on the carbon footprint, overpackaging, education, monitoring of existing policies), the proposal to regulate advertising is perhaps one of the most innovative of the CCC. Proposals to regulate or reduce advertising are nothing new; "anti-ad" groups have been active for many years and several reports by a wide range of actors have been published recently.³¹ Policy-makers have also recently questioned the level of advertising and examined ways to reduce it.³² However, in this context, the proposals by the citizens of the convention "had the effect of a bomb in the advertising world", according to the academic T. Libaert,³³ especially as the part on regulation, despite a potentially radical appearance, is based on high approval by citizens (Yes = 89.6 %). Considering the overexposure of individuals to advertising, its role in steering citizens' behaviour and choices, and its obvious and frequent contradictions with the spirit of the Paris Climate Agreement (overconsumption, products and services with high emissions), the citizens propose more energetic action in this field, with a ban on advertising for products with the highest emissions (p. 25-26). For example, public policies are currently aimed at discouraging sales of vehicles that emit more than 95g CO₂/km, and the citizens see a certain contradiction between advertising for these models and the fight against climate change, and thus propose action. They also propose regulating this advertising in order to reduce its influence in our everyday lives and to thereby

³⁰ For complementary elements, see the preparatory note for the consultation meetings: <https://www.actu-environnement.com/media/pdf/news-36157-etude-impact-mesure-ccc-publicite.pdf>

³¹ Publicité: pour une loi Evin climat. Greenpeace, Réseau Action Climat and Résistance à l'Agression Publicitaire, June 2020; Publicité et transition écologique, Géraud Guibert and Thierry Libaert, Report for the Ministers E.Borne and B.Poirson, June 2020; Big Corpo. Encadrer la pub et l'influence des multinationales. Initiative by a group of associations, and report led by Renaud Fossard (SPIM), June 2020.

³² See for example the debates at the Assembly with the MPs M. Orphelin and D. Pottier during the examination of the law on the circular economy:

http://videos.assemblee-nationale.fr/video.8096244_5d7949651a973.2eme-seance--orientation-des-mobilites-nouvelle-lecture-suite-11-septembre-2019

³³ See this op-ed, which explains the strength of this CCC proposal in relation to what already exists: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2020/08/24/la-responsabilite-du-modele-publicitaire-dans-la-transition-ecologique-est-desormais-questionnee_6049741_3232.html

reduce its capacity to drive consumption. For example, they propose banning billboards in outdoor public spaces, and video screens in public spaces, public transport and retail outlets. To implement the measures proposed, the citizens suggest developing a CO₂-Score in order to provide a tool to measure and debate thresholds from which a ban may be decided (p. 26).

The legal feasibility of such a proposal is a subject of debate, since advertising is protected by the principles of freedom of expression and freedom of entrepreneurship. But this does not mean that these obstacles are insurmountable, and the Evin law has been successfully established in the face of these principles due to issues of public health. The technical feasibility of the proposal can also be questioned, especially the development of the carbon score for all products (p. 21 and p. 29-34). However, through these proposals, the citizens have established a new perspective on the issue of advertising, which is helping to put it on the policy agenda.

Concerning the technical and political feasibility of the CO₂-Score, the example of the agri-food sector seems to show the way forward. Indeed, from a technical viewpoint, ADEME's Agribalyse³⁴ approach as well as the Nutri-Score system show that robust tools and databases can be developed. Moreover, from a policy viewpoint, these tools can be considered within a virtuous dynamic, where the value set by the tool can be discussed when the company provides better data or a better assessment, and where the transparency requirement leads all actors in a sector to exchange information. Overcoming initial reservations may help to move forward in a spirit of cooperation. The impact of these rating tools is therefore not limited to the act of buying, and the citizens also discussed the role information plays more generally in initiating changes in the sectors concerned (for example, a poorly rated product may encourage the producer to change its design), over and above consumer behaviour alone. There are thus many potential uses, beyond just taxation or prohibition.

[PRODUCTION AND WORK]

b) The role of innovation [PT2.1]

In this field, the direction set by the convention is clear: "By 2025, any financial aid for innovation must be part of a process moving away from a carbon-based model". By going against a widespread view that innovation, a natural component of progress, is inherently good,³⁵ the citizens propose that policies to support innovation should be better targeted towards reducing

³⁴ https://www.bilans-ges.ademe.fr/documentation/UPLOAD_DOC_FR/index.htm?produits_agricoles.htm

³⁵ IDDRI has conducted research over several years on this issue in the context of its Digital and Ecological Transition initiative. The White Paper *Digital Technology and Environment*, written with Fing, WWF, GreenIT and with the contribution of the French National Digital Technology Council, highlights the idea that digital innovation should be given a time horizon, and be redirected primarily towards the ecological transition: <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/report/white-paper-digital-economy-and-environment>

greenhouse gas emissions. Far from being against innovation—the citizens call for innovation in numerous fields throughout the report (agriculture, renovation, circular economy, etc.)—the convention proposes a change of perspective: first, by considering that a lot can be done with existing technical solutions (p. 79-81), and second, by considering that we need to move away from “innovation for innovation's sake” (p. 81), in other words from an approach in which innovation is automatically virtuous and should not therefore be a matter of debate. Discussing upstream innovation pathways in this way is even more important when the innovation process commits society to socio-technical pathways from which it is subsequently difficult to depart.

A good illustration of this approach is the—controversial—example of 5G. The citizens thus propose adopting an eco-design rationale for services and “assessing the advantages and disadvantages of 5G in relation to fibre before, rather than after, granting the licences for its development”. While awaiting the results, they propose calling a moratorium. Whatever one thinks about this complex issue,³⁶ considering as the citizens do that it is legitimate to debate technological innovation based on an assessment of its advantages and disadvantages, before making long-term choices, seems logical in a democracy, especially when the precautionary principle is enshrined in its foundations. This is, however, relatively original, given the central role technological innovation plays in our societies, especially in terms of the hope provided by its promise of progress.³⁷

In this field, it is worth noting that while the guidelines are clear and consensual among the citizens, the means of implementation have not been truly debated and identified (see p. 83 for the explanation by the jurists committee). This example illustrates that beyond the legal drafting of proposals, some should be taken as an intention that must guide the action of a certain number of actors (researchers, companies in this case, etc.)

[CROSS - CUTTING]

c) The role of lifestyles

The convention's report begins with this statement: “It appears inevitable that we must revise our lifestyles, the ways in which we consume, produce, work, travel, and house and feed ourselves, if we are to achieve a 40 % reduction in GHG emissions by 2030”

(p. 9). The citizens also explain that it was not always easy to agree among themselves due to their “differences of opinion, lifestyle, culture and social origin”.

The notion of lifestyles³⁸ refers to the fact that there is a collective framework for social life, which organises the life of all individuals and defines a type of normality in every society. A lifestyle is therefore a reflection of society and its organisation (social, technical, economic), which will be translated at different levels (territory, social category, age group, etc.), right down to individual lifestyles. These concepts mean that individuals have a coherent set of practices, habits and representations, and a way of using their time. This concept therefore refers to the idea of an overall logic, which makes it difficult to break down lifestyles into smaller pieces,³⁹ which would be dealt with separately by public policies. The now frequent calls for new “stories” and “imaginings”⁴⁰ can also be interpreted as the need to define new matrices for our lifestyles.

Assuming that the majority of the convention's citizens are now convinced of the need for these changes, including at the level of their own lifestyles, then we can interpret their proposals as a vision of what is needed to accompany this change and to make it coherent, and to thereby make it possible. This is another contribution of the convention: a better representation of all of the changes required in society. For example, concerning food, the convention opts for a focus on short supply chains (p. 330). Even if citizens are aware that this is not necessarily more effective from an environmental viewpoint, they consider that “bringing consumers and producers closer together will make it possible to change the whole of our food system”. In another field, it was by considering “its major role in the production of our lifestyles” that the citizens developed proposals to regulate advertising (p. 24). Finally, by proposing to modify the Constitution with the addition of this phrase, “The alignment of rights, freedoms and the resulting principles must not compromise the protection of the environment, the common heritage of humankind” (p. 414), the citizens propose changing the legal basis underpinning our lifestyles and, in a certain sense, modifying the philosophical matrix of our society.⁴¹

³⁶ The debates concern its efficiency compared to 4G in terms of the quantity of data processed, the technical developments enabled by this new solution, the risk of developing uses that are ever more data- and resource-intensive, the best way to regulate operators and the implantation of the different networks, the need to renew equipment, the current lack of scientific health data, etc. Indeed, it is this wide range of issues that justifies an eco-design approach.

³⁷ See IDDRI's research to analyse and relativise the promises of autonomous vehicles, often presented as one of the revolutionary uses of 5G: <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/study/putting-autonomous-mobility-path-sustainable-development> and https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2018/10/11/la-mobilite-autonome-va-impliquer-une-adaptation-des-infrastructures-routieres_5367707_3232.html?xtmc=iddri&xtcr=1?xtmc=iddri&xtcr=1

³⁸ Maresca, B. (2017). Mode de vie : de quoi parle-t-on ? Peut-on le transformer ? *La Pensée écologique* 1, 233–251.

³⁹ The sociologist Sophie Dubuisson-Quellier speaks of the governance of behaviour in relation to this approach, which consists in separating lifestyles into a set of choices or behaviours. She points out that these specific and sometimes superficial actions are not capable of overcoming the deeper, cross-cutting barriers that concern inequalities, social expectations, infrastructures, economic organisation, etc.

⁴⁰ For example, see “La fabrique des récits” by Sparknews, the CGDD work on Explor'able and discussions on stories; see Y. Rumpala, *Hors des décombres du monde*, Edition Champ Vallon, 2018, on the linkages between science fiction and the ecological transition.

⁴¹ By associating here the alignment of freedoms and the protection of the environment, this proposal modifies the fundamental pairing of abundance and freedom, as described by P. Charbonnier in his environmental history of political ideas (*Abondance et liberté*, 2020, La Découverte).

[TRAVEL]

d) Considering the carbon footprint: the example of automobiles [SD-C1.2]

The introduction of weight as a variable of the bonus/malus system illustrates the contribution of the convention. A basic physical datum, the mass of a vehicle will appear to any expert as an obvious variable for reducing pollution linked to manufacturing (more mass = more material) and to driving (more inertia = more fuel). However, the regulations and debates of the last 30 years have tended to focus on engine efficiency and pollution levels⁴² (e.g. European standards) rather than on vehicle weight, which has continued to increase.⁴³ Regulating vehicle weight⁴⁴ was not central to the debate, even if some proposals⁴⁵ attempted to discuss it. The convention could help to truly put this matter on the agenda, which would be useful not only for emissions from combustion engine vehicles, but also for the overall ecological balance of electric vehicles.⁴⁶ Specifically, the citizens propose integrating vehicle weight as a variable of the bonus/malus system as follows, and for all vehicles (including electric and hybrid):

- Vehicles weighing less than 800 kg = bonus of 4 000 €
- vehicle weighing between 800 and 1 200 kg = bonus of 4 000 €, but malus of 10 €/kg from 800 kg
- vehicle weighing between 1 200 and 1 400 kg = 0 €
- vehicle weighing more than 1 400 kg = malus of 10 €/extra kg⁴⁷

The citizens also provide for an exemption for large families. This proposal is a subject of debate, with some highlighting the contradiction between the desire to develop electric vehicles and the negative impact of such a malus, while others point out that weight also reflects higher demands in terms of depollution and safety. These points are certainly valid and highlight the need to find terms of compromise (e.g. weight thresholds for electric vehicles that enable their development while directing manufacturers towards a focus on lighter vehicles). But they do not call into question the approach adopted by the CCC, which is to achieve a satisfactory ecological and social result: this proposal has the

⁴² As a final outcome, the emissions levels clearly also reflect the weight variable for the driving phase. But we know that their standardised measurement is not easy and has caused scandals when governments have exposed cheating. The measurement of weight is far more direct.

⁴³ See <http://carlabelling.ademe.fr/chiffrescler/r/evolutionMasseMoyenne>

⁴⁴ At the European level, the opposite is even observed: the rule that average emissions should be less than 95 g CO₂/km in 2020-2021 is in fact different for each manufacturer according to the weight of their vehicles. For Mercedes, which produces heavier vehicles, the target is thus between 105 and 110 g. <https://www.lesechos.fr/industrie-services/automobile/emissions-de-co2-les-marques-automobiles-qui-sont-pretres-et-les-autres-1165803>

⁴⁵ <https://www.strategie.gouv.fr/publications/faire-enfin-baisser-emissions-de-co2-voitures>

⁴⁶ For electric vehicles, there is either a vicious circle (more weight > bigger battery > more weight) or a virtuous circle (less weight > smaller battery > less weight).

⁴⁷ By way of illustration, this represents around 4 000 € for a Mercedes GLC SUV weighing 1 800 kg for the diesel model and 6 000 € for the hybrid model.

merit of highlighting the issue of weight and initiating work on the adjustment of measures enabling the different variables and goals to be taken into account. Over and above mobility, this illustrates the citizens' interest in the carbon footprint, which is still a relatively new dimension of national climate policies.⁴⁸ This interest is seen again in the proposal on the EU carbon border adjustment mechanism (p. 135) and the proposals to reduce the ecological impact of digital technology (p. 155).

Other proposals in the field of mobility reflect a new perspective on public action: could bicycles become school supplies like any other in order to accustom adolescents to using them (p. 168; SD-A1.3: school bicycle loan system)? Should citizens be associated with the transport authorities at all territorial levels in order to integrate the spirit of the Convention into local implementation, as proposed (p. 249; SD-D3.1)?

4. UNFINISHED WORK

We conclude this overview with what can be considered as unfinished or incomplete dimensions of the convention's work.

[CROSS - CUTTING]

a) Ecological taxation

In the section on social justice, we mentioned several proposals by the citizens concerning taxation in general (new tax band, tax base for the largest private fortunes, tax on dividends), which reflect their thinking on ways to organise the contribution to financing the transition in a spirit of social justice. The specific point of the carbon tax was certainly a high expectation among many observers of the convention's work.⁴⁹ Echoing numerous studies proposing changes to this mechanism towards greater social justice,⁵⁰ this would have been an opportunity to provide a citizens' perspective on this measure and to potentially ensure greater trust and equity in this mechanism.

However, carbon taxation is only mentioned four times in the final report: once in the context of the proposal (PT9.1) on the establishment of a European Union border adjustment mechanism and twice in the guidelines on financing for the Citizens' Climate Convention. Does this mean the CCC was a missed opportunity on the issue of the carbon tax? Close attention to the debate shows that, far from having been left aside, the issue of the carbon tax was in fact discussed on numerous occasions

⁴⁸ See, for example, the references to carbon footprint issues in the recent French National Low-Carbon Strategy, with a view to a carbon neutrality.

⁴⁹ See for example the collective op-ed: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2019/04/30/la-hausse-de-la-fiscalite-carbone-devra-revenir-dans-le-debat-public_5456748_3232.html

⁵⁰ See these proposals: <https://reseauactionclimat.org/calculateur-taxe-carbone-juste/>; <https://tnova.fr/notes/climat-et-fiscalite-trois-scenarios-pour-sortir-de-l-impasse>; <https://www.iddri.org/en/publications-and-events/policy-brief/after-carbon-tax-freeze-what-are-priorities-french-ecological>; <https://www.ofce.sciences-po.fr/pdf/dtravail/OFCEWP2019-06.pdf>

by the citizens, who examined a VAT indexed to the carbon content of products, or ways of redistributing carbon tax revenues via carbon revenues. The speakers also mentioned this issue several times on their own initiative or further to questions from the citizens.⁵¹ It seems that the context played an important role. The citizens, who just a few months after the Yellow Vests crisis began a democratic experiment that was unprecedented in France, chose to exercise caution and to not tackle head-on the measure that was accused of having set off the powder keg. An exchange with experts entitled "What tools for what objectives?" during session 2 illustrates the fears expressed by some of the citizens, who questioned the readiness of the organisers of the Citizens' Climate Convention to push them to decide on the carbon tax.⁵² Next, the guidelines on financing the low-carbon transition explored several tools, among which an increase in the carbon tax. These discussions make it clear that other tools, such as public debt, the redirection of certain spending, the cancellation of tax loopholes for fossil fuels or other taxes such as the one on digital service providers, should be prioritised to finance the measures proposed by the Convention. Some commentators criticised a form of political calculation by the citizens, on a subject that raised high expectations but also considerable mistrust. But this in no way contradicts the principle of the Convention: the citizens were legitimate in making choices on what they wanted to address and on the way in which their work could best contribute to driving the transition forward; and in this field no choice is politically neutral.

Ultimately, the Convention considers in its guidelines on financing that the carbon tax should be kept at its current level while waiting for the change to be implemented and for society to be ready. The proposal (p. 428), based on an "average consensus"⁵³ of the citizens (Yes vote >50 % but <66 %), is to implement: "a moratorium on changes in the carbon tax for five years, giving households time to be informed about the climate emergency and to have the means to change their habits (beyond that time, the matter will need to be reviewed according to the economic and social context)". It will therefore certainly be some time before we have a citizens' perspective on the reform of taxation, including ecological taxation.⁵⁴

⁵¹ For example, during session 3, Nicolas Hulot talked about the power of the carbon tax and the need to redistribute revenue (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajO_dBjyc0w), while Agnès Bénassy-Quéré and Christian Chavagneux discussed the regressive effects of the carbon tax during a speech in session 4 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rHrGbbwMP8&feature=emb_logo).

⁵² AEF info "Climat : vifs débats entre citoyens et experts sur la taxe carbone pour la reprise des travaux de la convention citoyenne", 25 October 2019.

⁵³ See p. 425 for the framework to interpret the voting on guidelines concerning financing.

⁵⁴ In his speech of 29 June in response to the Convention, the French President reacted as follows: "At the national level, we will need, in the coming years—this is not something that we can initiate in the next two years—to consider a radical reform of our taxation to integrate fair carbon pricing, but which implies reforming the other taxes to simultaneously make this taxation just. This is therefore what needs to be done calmly in France. I think you are right to not propose a carbon tax immediately, but I believe we should not ignore the issue of the radical reform of our taxation to make it even more just and ecological. This is a process that will undoubtedly fuel the debates in 2022".

[PRODUCTION AND WORK]

b) Energy and nuclear energy

The issue of nuclear energy was not addressed in the final report of the convention. The citizens may have considered that nuclear power was not an issue as such for greenhouse gas emissions, given that it is mainly other questions (waste management, nuclear risk) that are debated within society. Moreover, some speakers⁵⁵ stressed very early on in the process that since France's power mix is decarbonised, electricity is not really a factor in the debate on climate issues. Moreover, the fact that the group work for the convention was organised according to uses, combined with the difficulty of organising cross-cutting discussions in the process, reduced the possibility for the citizens to successfully consider the energy system as a whole.

Consequently, the issue of the energy mix was not addressed in a more systemic manner: there are few proposals other than for electricity—which is, however, only a fraction of the energy consumed—and therefore few proposals on other transition issues that are already identified as urgent (district heating, renewable gas, solar power, etc.). The way energy is produced, stored and redistributed is nevertheless the subject of a category in the chapter on "Production and work", and shows how the citizens address this issue. The three proposals are all geared towards the democratisation of energy policies, aiming to improve territorial governance, to foster the participation of citizens and local actors in renewable energy projects and to support self-consumption.

[FINANCING]

c) Financing

It could be said that the convention's work lacks both an overall vision on financing for the transition⁵⁶ and technical details by sector. Consequently, the work does not adequately fulfil the initial government mandate presented during the speech by the French Prime Minister Édouard Philippe on the first day of the convention.⁵⁷ "We must indicate whether these new priorities are to be financed by debt, taxes or savings". As with the previous point, the difficulty of organising cross-cutting work played an important role.⁵⁸

In practical terms, this issue of financing was addressed both in the thematic groups and during specific exchanges. It is the subject of a concept note at the end of the report (p. 423-432),

⁵⁵ For example, Anne Bringault, Coordinator for the Energy Transition at Réseau Action Climat, in the plenary of session 1 (see here at 1h48): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zj97r5Dkdk0&feature=emb_logo

⁵⁶ For example, there are few estimates of revenues associated with the fiscal or financial proposals. See p. 422-432.

⁵⁷ See the speech: <https://www.gouvernement.fr/partage/11173-discours-de-medouard-philippe-premier-ministre-premiere-session-de-la-convention-citoyenne-pour-le>

⁵⁸ This point on cross-cutting work will be examined in more depth in an IDDRI study on the functioning of the CCC, to be published in early 2021.

which contains guidelines that were put to the vote. The vast majority of measures received strong support. Together, all of these measures reflect what appears desirable, without however providing a clear vision on the level of financing necessary and the trade-offs to be made.

Several complementary remarks can be made on this subject. First, the finding that the investment needs in question are relatively low in relation to the size of the economy and are comparable to other budget decisions made by the state (see the analysis by I4CE⁵⁹). Second, the citizens consider, in the context of their contribution to the crisis response plan,⁶⁰ that the recovery plans will mobilise "major financing mechanisms that inject substantial funds into the economy", and that this is an opportunity, provided "care is taken to ensure this increase in investment is massively directed towards the ecological transition and takes account of the situation of the most vulnerable". Finally, this should be put into a context in which public debt currently costs little, and its mobilisation to address the climate emergency may appear logical.

a) Assessment of emissions reductions associated with the citizens' proposals

Concerning the issue of assessment, the mandate of the convention was to identify ways of reducing emissions by 40 % by 2030. At this stage, the assessment made by the support group remains qualitative (p. 11) and does not fully establish whether the work of the convention effectively enables this -40 % target to be reached. The citizens recognise that it is likely that the measures "are still insufficient to achieve the objective of a reduction of at least 40 % in GHG emissions by 2030" (p. 437).

However, the assessment process within the convention followed two approaches that are both of importance. The interviews conducted with the members of the support group indicate the methodological options they used to respond, as far as possible, to this need for assessment. First, a qualitative assessment of the temporal balance between what is proposed and the initial mandate. Second, an analysis based on a "threshold" approach: is there a sufficient critical mass of measures to achieve the bifurcation the citizens want? Do the measures envisaged target the main sticking points of the transition identified as socio-technical obstacles in the scientific and expert literature, and would they therefore help to initiate the transition? The support group was thus able to confirm, in connection with the content of the SNBC and the existing climate policy assessments, that this threshold was generally reached. These methodological options nevertheless need to be further explored. It is also worth noting that this potential weakness of the CCC is common to most draft laws, which suffer from a serious lack of

climate assessment, as recently pointed out by the French High Council on Climate.⁶¹

This should not, however, prevent us from considering ways to overcome this difficulty in future exercises of this type. With regard to this convention, the lack of an accurate assessment should come as no surprise: this work is conducted by the French Ministry of Ecology for the National Low-Carbon Strategy, during its revision every five years, and mobilises the administration for several years, in particular around a number of complex modelling tools, which represent the reduction measures in a simplified manner. It was certainly not feasible to mobilise such tools in the very short deadline for the convention.⁶² In the future, would it be better to develop modelling tools that are perhaps simpler and less detailed, but which can be used to test proposals for measures more rapidly? This is an area worth exploring for the future of energy and climate foresight exercises.⁶³

5. CONCLUSION

At the end of this detailed analysis, it appears that the proposals of the Citizens' Climate Convention help to move forward in terms of substance, by proposing more proactive measures than what already exists, coherent packages of proposals, and an original perspective on different problems of the transition. By putting forward ideas that are on the fringe of what is commonly considered to be widely acceptable, the CCC thus opens a new frontier for climate action.

Although there are a few truly innovative measures in the convention's work, it nevertheless contains valuable proposals on policy trade-offs. This shows that France does not suffer from a lack of knowledge and proposals on the ecological transition (and the expertise mobilised to inform the citizens is a striking example of this), but rather from a lack of trade-offs on what is possible and desirable, and on what needs to be strengthened in spite of the difficulties. This is certainly where the true value of the CCC lies. Citizens are perhaps sometimes better placed than politicians, or at least complementary to them, when it comes to identifying how to make "strong" but necessary measures more acceptable (e.g. finding the compromise needed to reconcile the renovation obligation with support for the lowest-income households).

Taken as a whole, the work of the CCC is a translation of the urgent need to act into a unique plan of action. The scope of what is proposed, thanks to the attention given to the incorporation of a large number of components (social justice, innovation, employment transition management, advertising, education,

⁵⁹ <https://www.i4ce.org/convention-citoyenne-une-ambition-climat-rehaussee-un-cout-raisonne/>. The I4CE estimations were presented in session 6, day 1, in March. See session 6 at around 2h57 here: <https://vimeo.com/395718015> password VODConvention#6 (private session).

⁶⁰ Published in April 2020, <https://www.conventioncitoyennepourleclimat.fr/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Contribution-de-la-CCC-au-plan-de-sortie-de-crise-1.pdf>

⁶¹ https://www.hautconseilclimat.fr/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/communiqu-de-presse_haut-conseil-pour-le-climat.pdf

⁶² Remember that it was initially planned over six weekends until February 2020.

⁶³ See IDDRI's study "For a better representation of lifestyles in energy-climate foresight studies" (2020), which looks at the tools and methods most likely to reflect discussions on societal changes in energy and climate scenarios that traditionally focus on technical and economic issues.

trade policy, circular economy, etc.), and the desire to redirect every dimension of our society towards the climate priority, shows the need to radically transform the whole of our economic system and our lifestyles. And, in many places, it is also the urgency of action required that has been specifically translated. Moreover, by seeking coherence of action, and extending their discussions to subjects that did not immediately appear to be within the scope of their mandate, the citizens outlined a new model of society. This model takes shape throughout the proposals made: for example, the connection between production and consumption for food; a new role for consumption; the renewal of the debate on technological innovation; the desire to associate citizens with transition policy; and the importance of social justice.

Within this package, numerous proposals are found at the frontier between discussion and decision-making, since the citizens have set guidelines that sometimes require greater maturity due to uncertainties and complexity. But they made choices with the information available to them, thus setting a direction. The shortcomings we have identified point to the need to carefully analyse the impacts of the choices made concerning the organisation of the process and perhaps to consider organising other citizens' initiatives in order to fill these gaps, especially on certain thematic subjects (e.g. nuclear energy, carbon tax, etc.).

Finally, we can draw lessons from the initial political reception of this work about the substance of what the citizens have produced. The idea behind the convention was a kind of challenge to the citizens: would they be able to propose and agree on a plan in line with the objective of a 40 % reduction by 2030?

This study shows that this challenge has been met. However, if we simplify, one of the first political reactions was to highlight the fact that this plan would have significant impacts on society and its economic system, and that it was therefore problematic to a certain extent. In the future, this experiment should help to overcome this tautology: by definition, ambitious emissions reduction measures involve significant impacts, unless certain commentators imagined that a miracle solution, requiring neither efforts nor compromise, would be discovered by the citizens. Immediately after the submission of the report, the issue of the impacts on different economic actors and on jobs was raised, especially through impact studies whose simplistic nature was not consistent with the role assigned to the convention. Once again, this impact on the economic sphere is logical, but was it the role of the citizens to find solutions? We believe that they were not in a position within the scope of this exercise to discuss and propose the only industrial and economic policy framework capable of managing the tensions necessarily created by the redirection of different sectors (e.g. air travel, automobiles, media and advertising), in a context which, irrespective of climate policies, is already one of deindustrialisation and high unemployment. It is now the government's responsibility to take up this challenge of economic and industrial policy in order to successfully implement this transition project. Or is this a new opportunity for participatory democracy: debating the rights and obligations of the state, territorial authorities and companies in terms of job creation during this critical phase of the transition?

ANNEX. LIST OF MEASURES PROPOSED BY THE CITIZENS' CLIMATE CONVENTION ACCORDING TO THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE FINAL REPORT

CONSUMPTION

Objectives	Proposals
Creating an obligation to disclose the carbon impact of products and services	C1.1 Develop and then implement a carbon score on all consumer products and services. C1.2 Make it mandatory to display greenhouse gas emissions in retail and consumer places and in advertisements for brands.
Regulating advertising to reduce incentives for over-consumption	C2.1 Prohibit the advertising of the products that emit the most greenhouse gases, in all types of advertising. C2.2 Regulate advertising to strongly limit the daily and non-chosen exposure to incentives to consume C2.3 Put in place labels to encourage people to consume less
Limiting overpackaging and the use of single-use plastics	C3.1 Gradually introduce an obligation to introduce zero-waste systems in all stores and impose a percentage on central buyers C3.2 Gradually implement a glass deposit system until generalised implementation in 2025 C3.3. Promote the development of compostable bio-based packaging C3.4 Replace a part of the Household Waste Disposal Tax (TEOM) by modalities that encourage eco-responsible behaviours
Making education, training and awareness-raising tools for responsible consumption	C5.1 Modify the education programme to generalise education on the environment and sustainable development in the French school system C5.2 Strengthen education on environment and sustainable development by making it a cross-cutting subject for teachers C5.3 Raise awareness among the French population by linking understanding of the climate emergency and action
Ensuring better implementation of government environmental policies and evaluating them	C6.1 More effective monitoring and sanctioning of infringements of environmental regulations C6.2 Strengthen and centralise the evaluation and monitoring of government policies on the environment

PRODUCTION AND WORK

Objectives	Proposals
Transforming production Promoting more responsible production, developing repair, recycling and waste management facilities	PT1.1 Adapt design to increase product longevity and reduce pollution PT1.2 Enforce the law on the prohibition of programmed obsolescence PT1.3 Make it compulsory to enable repairs of manufactured products that are sold in France, the availability of original spare parts for a defined period of time. Set up local repair facilities and workshops, and make after-sales services accessible PT1.4 Make recycling of all plastic objects mandatory from 2023, eliminate all single-use plastics from 2023 and increase recycling of other materials PT1.5 Strengthen and enforce regulations on waste management
Developing and supporting transition innovation	PT2.1 By 2025, any financial aid for innovation must be part of a process moving away from a carbon-based model.
Organise and support the financing of the transformation of companies' production facilities of within the framework of the ecological transition	PT3.1 Regulate the use of savings managed by Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations and banks to finance green investments PT3.2 Companies that distribute more than 10 million euros in annual dividends will contribute every year to financing the ecological transition, with a total of 4 % of dividends distributed PT3.3 Set up the financing arrangements by law or decree with a State loan dedicated to financing the transformation of companies.
Transforming jobs	PT4.1 Accompany employees and companies through the transition PT4.2 Create a new governance of the jobs and skills transition at the national and regional levels
Tracing the impact of emissions, strengthening environmental obligations and making financing conditional on green criteria Adding a carbon balance to the balance sheet	PT6.1 Annualise reporting and extend it to all organisations PT6.2 Broaden the reporting scope to the financial sector, strengthen reporting obligations to the financial sector PT6.3 Provide for a bonus for companies with a positive development. Make public aid conditional on positive development of the greenhouse gas balance sheet
Strengthening environmental clauses in public procurement	PT7.1 Strengthen environmental clauses in public procurement

Protecting ecosystems and biodiversity	PT8.1 Create departmental courts for environment and public and private works to regulate polluting farm activity PT8.2 Address "toxicity" – GMO and precautionary principle – prevention PT8.3 Waste and product processing PT8.4 Water treatment PT8.5 Forest use and management PT8.6 Moratorium on industrial mining in French Guiana PT8.7 Protect aquatic areas and change the way they are used
Taking better account of import-related greenhouse gas emissions in EU policies	PT9.1 Carbon adjustment at EU borders and consideration of redistribution issues to avoid burdening the least advantaged households
Encouraging sober energy use Production, storage and redistribution of energy for and by everyone	PT11.1 Improve territorial/regional governance PT11.2 Participation of citizens, local businesses, local associations and local authorities in RE projects PT11.3 Develop self-consumption
Keeping pace with the evolution of digital technology to reduce its environmental impacts	PT12.1 Keep pace with the evolution of digital technology to reduce its environmental impacts

TRAVEL

Objectives	Proposals
Changing the use of private cars Developing other modes of transport	A1.1 Encourage the use of soft or shared means of transport, particularly for commuting to and from work, by generalising and improving the sustainable mobility package A1.2 Reduce incentives for the use of cars by reforming the income tax mileage allowance system A1.3 Encourage the use of soft or shared means of transport
Designing public roads to allow for new ways of travelling	A2.1 Create park and ride A2.2 Ban city centres for the vehicles that emit the most greenhouse gases A2.3 Increase the amounts of the Bicycle Fund from 50 to 200 million euros per year to finance cycle paths A2.4 Generalise the development of reserved lanes for shared vehicles and public transport on motorways and fast roads
Reducing greenhouse gas emissions on motorways and fast roads	A3.1 Reduce speed on motorways to 110 km/h maximum
Creating the conditions for a strong return to the use of trains beyond high-speed tracks	A4.1 Reduce VAT on train tickets A4.2 Generalise the attractive pricing measures A4.3 Develop a massive investment plan to modernise infrastructure, rolling stock and stations to turn them into multimodal hubs
Reducing road haulage Reducing truck traffic	B1.1 Develop sea (and river) freight transport "highways" on specific routes B1.2 Impose regular monitoring of eco-driving training for drivers B1.3 Require truck manufacturers to adopt the same energy sector in their research and development B1.4 Gradually phase out tax advantages on diesel, in exchange for compensation for carriers for the purchase of new, cleaner trucks B1.5 Encourage, through regulatory and tax obligations, partial deferral to other, less emitting means of freight transport B1.6 Require shippers to incorporate environmental clauses in their contracts. B1.7 Encourage the transport of goods on short, local routes by modulating the VAT.
Reducing to zero emissions from ships during their operations in ports	B2.1 Prohibit the use of polluting engines during stops in ports B2.2 Provide the means to supply electricity to ships in port in order to reduce emissions from the use of engines B2.3 Act on international regulations to control greenhouse gas emissions from ships
Assisting the transition to cleaner vehicles	C1.1 Increase the bonus for vehicles that pollute less C1.2 Significantly increase the penalty on polluting vehicles and introduce weight as one of the criteria to be taken into account C1.3 Prohibit from 2025 onwards the marketing of new vehicles with high emissions; old vehicles may still be used C1.4 Modify taxes on insurance policies according to CO ₂ emissions of the vehicle in question to encourage clean vehicles C1.5 Enable access to clean vehicles by developing long-term leasing C1.6 Offer zero-interest loans, with a government guarantee, for the purchase of a low-emission vehicle C1.7 Create green stickers to be placed on number plates for the cleanest vehicles, which grants access to particular services C1.8 Provide training for garages, and more broadly for the «oil» sector, to accompany the gradual transformation of the vehicle fleet
Better organising travel Better organising employee travel	D1.1 Reinforce mobility plans by making them compulsory for all companies D1.2 Promote inter- and intra-company plans as part of mobility plans D1.3 The Mobility Organising Authorities can help to set up these mobility plans by supporting companies D1.4 Promote new ways of organising work (teleworking)
Setting up a single portal, providing all information on the transport systems and means of transport in a given area	D2.1 Set up a single portal providing information at any time on the transport means and systems existing in a given area D2.2 Develop a project for the unification of transport tickets or multimodal cards
Including citizens in the governance of mobility	D3.1 Integrating citizens into the mobility organising authorities at all levels

Limiting the effects of air travel	<p>E1 Adopt an eco-contribution per kilometre</p> <p>E2 Gradually organise the end of air traffic on domestic flights by 2025, only on routes where there is a low-carbon alternative that is satisfactory in terms of price and time (</p> <p>E3 Prohibit the construction of new airports and the extension of existing ones</p> <p>E4 Increase fuel taxes for recreational aviation</p> <p>E5 Promote the idea of a European eco-contribution</p> <p>E6 Ensuring that all emissions that cannot be eliminated are fully offset by carbon sinks</p> <p>E7 Support R&D in the development of a biofuel industry for aircraft</p>
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HOUSING

Objectives	Proposals
Making energy renovation mandatory by 2040	<p>SL1.1 Oblige homeowners and landlords to renovate their properties in a comprehensive manner by 2040</p> <p>SL1.2 Require the replacement of oil and coal-fired boilers in new and renovated buildings by</p> <p>SL1.3 Deploy a harmonised network of single-window facilities</p> <p>SL1.4 Gradual system of aid packages for renovation, with loans and grants for the most needy</p> <p>SL1.5 Train construction professionals to meet the demand for global renovation and ensure a transition of all building professions to eco-responsible practices</p>
Significantly limiting energy consumption	<p>SL2.1 Oblige public spaces and commercial buildings to reduce their energy consumption</p> <p>SL2.2 Encourage individuals to reduce their energy consumption</p> <p>SL2.3 Encourage limiting the use of heating and air-conditioning in housing, public spaces and commercial buildings</p>
Tackling land take and urban sprawl	<p>SL3.1 Define a restrictive envelope of a maximum number of hectares that can be developed</p> <p>SL3.2 Prohibit any development of land as long as commercial, rehabilitation or wasteland is possible within the existing urban area</p> <p>SL3.3 Take immediate enforcement measures to halt the development of suburban commercial zones</p> <p>SL3.4 Protect natural areas, suburban agricultural areas and suburban forests. Ensure sustainable management of forests</p> <p>SL3.5 Facilitate the conversion of unoccupied developed land to other uses</p> <p>SL3.6 Facilitate requisitioning of vacant housing and offices</p> <p>SL3.7 Facilitate the recovery and rehabilitation of wasteland, in particular by the possibility for municipalities to expropriate wasteland abandoned for 10 years or more</p> <p>SL3.8 Assess the potential for reversibility of buildings prior to demolition</p> <p>SL3.9 Allow the construction of apartment buildings in suburban residential areas</p> <p>SL3.10 Strengthen checks on compliance with the obligations to protect land and limit the consumption of non-urbanised land and impose criminal penalties for failure to comply with these obligations</p> <p>SL3.11 Raise awareness of the importance and value of more compact cities, and develop a new culture of collective housing</p> <p>SL3.12 Financing housing renovations in small municipalities</p> <p>SL3.13 Making centres more attractive by revitalising shops and keeping schools in rural areas</p>

FOOD

Objectives	Proposals
<p>Guaranteeing a healthy, sustainable food system with fewer animal products and more plant products</p> <p>Moving the collective catering sector towards more virtuous practices</p>	<p>SN1.1.1 Set up a premium for establishments to enable them to achieve the objectives of the EGalim law</p> <p>SN1.1.2 Propose a bonus of 10 centimes per meal for small organic and local canteens to help them in the first 3 years of their transition</p> <p>SN1.1.3 Create an "observatory of the restaurant sector"</p> <p>SN1.1.4 Set up a control body to ensure the proper implementation of the EGalim law</p> <p>SN1.1.5 Encourage reflection on rewriting the decree of 30 September 2011 on the nutritional quality of meals served in school canteens</p> <p>SN1.1.6 Switch to a daily vegetarian choice in public mass catering from 2022 onwards, including in single-menu restaurants</p> <p>SN1.1.7 Extend the provisions of the EGalim law to private mass catering from 2025</p> <p>SN1.1.8 Extend the list of products eligible for the 50 % threshold defined by the law to farmers in transition to organic farming and to products with low environmental costs</p> <p>SN1.1.9 Help to structure the sectors so that they can gain recognition for high-quality products</p>
Making tripartite negotiations more transparent and fairer for farmers	SN1.2.1 Ensure the presence of the Directorate General for Competition, Consumer Affairs and Fraud Control in the negotiations, make the method compulsory for all sectors and organise regular meetings at the inter-professional level, oblige food companies and central purchasing bodies to ensure transparency.
Developing short supply chains	SN1.3.1 Use public procurement to promote products from short, local supply chains with low environmental costs
Pursuing efforts to reduce food waste in catering and at the individual level	SN1.4.1 Pursue efforts in mass catering

Changing our agriculture to make it low-emissions Developing agro-ecological practices	SN2.1.1 Reach 50 % of farms in agro-ecology by 2040 SN2.1.2 Inclusion in the law and the NSP: "Developing organic farming" SN2.1.3: Increase the General Tax on Polluting Activities (TGAP) for nitrogen fertilisers SN2.1.4 Reduce the use of pesticides with a ban on CMR products, halve the use of plant protection products by 2025. Ban the most environmentally damaging pesticides by 2035 SN2.1.5 Inclusion in the law and the national strategy plan: "Help to structure the protein crop sector" SN2.1.6 Inclusion in the law and the NSP: "Help to maintain permanent grasslands" SN2.1.7 Inclusion in the law and the NSP: "Prohibit financing for the establishment of new livestock farms that do not respect the conditions of agroecology and low greenhouse gas emissions, support farmers in restructuring their livestock to improve the quality of production"
Reforming agricultural education and training	SN2.2.1 Reform agricultural education and training
Maintaining France's ambitious position for the Common Agricultural Policy negotiations	SN2.3.1 Raise requirements levels for greening conditions SN2.3.2 Transforming the allocation of aid per hectare into aid for agricultural assets
The CAP as a tool for change at the national level	SN2.4.1 Establish a mechanism to monitor and assess achievement of climate performance under the National Strategic Plan (NSP) SN2.4.2 Make the National Strategic Plan compatible with the National Low-Carbon Strategy, the National Biodiversity Strategy, the National Plan for Health and Environment, and the National Strategy to Combat Imported Deforestation SN2.4.3 Integrate the provisions concerning the development of agroecology into the National Strategic Plan
Encouraging the development of low-emissions fishing	SN3.1.1 Improve knowledge of fish stocks to better define quotas and eliminate overfishing SN3.1.2 Continue efforts to limit fishing in fragile areas and for fragile stocks, and strengthen controls on the ban on deep-sea fishing SN3.1.3 Develop rational and environmentally friendly aquaculture farms SN3.1.4 Protecting the oceans' capacity to store carbon SN3.1.5 Reduce greenhouse gas emissions from fishing and shipping by continuing the modernisation of the ship fleet
Reflecting on a model of trade policy to encourage healthy food and agriculture with low greenhouse gas emissions	SN4.1.1 Renegotiate the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) at the European level to incorporate the climate objectives of the Paris Agreement SN4.1.2 Ask the French Government to defend a certain of European trade policy: include the precautionary principle in trade agreements, make compliance with the commitments of the Paris Agreement binding objectives SN4.1.3 Ask the French Government to defend certain positions at the WTO: take the Paris Agreement into consideration in trade negotiations, put in place sanctions for recalcitrant states, include environmental clauses in trade agreement negotiations
Making it compulsory to inform and train (future) citizens on food Better information for consumers	SN5.2.1 Better inform consumers by strengthening communication around the National Nutrition and Health Plan (PNNS) and reforming the PNNS into the PNNSC (National Nutrition, Health and Climate Plan) SN5.2.2 Prohibit advertising of products banned by the PNNS SN5.2.3 Design a national food solidarity system to enable low-income households to have access to sustainable food
Reforming the functioning of labels	SN5.3.1 Reform labels by removing private labels and introducing a label for products derived from agro-ecological agriculture
Making ethics central to our food: regulating the production, importation and use of processing aids and food additives	SN6.1.1 Inform consumers about the degree of product processing, in particular through compulsory labelling and the introduction of an agri-food ethical charter. Providing rapid and compulsory information on food accidents SN6.1.2 Prohibit the importation of products that use processing aids banned by the European Union SN6.1.3 Phase out the use of processing aids and food additives within 5 years SN6.1.4 Tax ultra-processed products with a high carbon footprint and low nutritional value SN6.1.5 Set up food vouchers for the poorest to be used in associations supporting small farming or for organic products.
Safeguarding ecosystems by legislating on the crime of ecocide	SN7.1 Adopt a law that penalises the crime of ecocide to safeguard ecosystems

CONSTITUTION

Objectives	Proposals
Revise the Constitution	Add a new second paragraph to the preamble of the Constitution: ⁶⁴ "The alignment of rights, freedoms and the resulting principles must not compromise the protection of the environment, the common heritage of humankind". Add a new third paragraph to Article 1: "The Republic guarantees the protection of biodiversity, the environment and the fight against climate change".

⁶⁴ The French President Emmanuel Macron used one of his jokers on this measure in his speech of 29 June, noting that "this wording for the preamble risks putting environmental protection above civil liberties, and even above our democratic rules".

The Citizens' Climate Convention: 149 measures for a new vision of the transition

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The Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations (IDDRI) is an independent think tank that facilitates the transition towards sustainable development. It was founded in 2001. To achieve this, IDDRI identifies the conditions and proposes the tools for integrating sustainable development into policies. It takes action at different levels, from international cooperation to that of national and sub-national governments and private companies, with each level informing the other. As a research institute and a dialogue platform, IDDRI creates the conditions for a shared analysis and expertise between stakeholders. It connects them in a transparent, collaborative manner, based on leading interdisciplinary research. IDDRI then makes its analyses and proposals available to all. Four issues are central to the institute's activities: climate, biodiversity and ecosystems, oceans, and sustainable development governance.

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