Understanding European Union Climate Change Governance through Political Parties Euromanifesto

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ABSTRACT

This study offers a novelty specifying climate change as the legislation results in the European Parliament (EP) as an indicator of the consistency of political groups in realising their Euromanifestos. The article aims to investigate precisely the prospects and future of climate change policies in the EU post the 2019 general election. This study adopted qualitative legal research methods by studying the Euromanifestos of political groups in the European Union that competed in the 2019 European elections. Environmental issues, particularly climate change, were a significant focus in the study of these manifestos. Based on data from Euromanifesto, this study selected five EU Regulations as indicators of realising such political promises. In addition, the record of legislation and the results of voting during the establishment of the regulation was also applied as a data source in this study. In general, the cohesion between political groups in the EP is excellent. Based on a manifesto study, there are three essential findings; namely, most political groups in the EP make environmental issues, especially climate change, a politicised issue in elections. The second finding is that there are specific intersections between political groups, so it has implications for making the issue of climate change a common interest, and the results of the vote showed that a majority of Member of European Parliament members supported the establishment of the regulation. Finally, the solidarity of the EP political group cohesion in establishing regulations related to climate change is the last finding in this research.

***Keywords:** Euromanifesto, European Parliament, Climate Change, Political Consistency*

INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) elections in 2019 resulted in a different configuration of the European Parliament (EP) from four decades ago. Reif and Schmitt categorise European elections as second-order elections; however, participation in 2019 increased to 50.7% compared to 2014 by 42.6%.[1] As a result, the European People's Party Alliance (EPP) and Social & Democratic Alliance (S&D) lost majority seats in the EP, the liberal (Renew), right-wing populist parties (Identity and Democracy), and green parties (European

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[1] Karlrheinz Reif and Hermann Schmitt, 'Nine Second-Order National Elections-a Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results', *European Journal of Political Research* 8, no. 1 (1980): 3–44, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1980.tb00737.x; Daniela Braun and Constantin Schäfer, 'Issues That Mobilize Europe. The Role of Key Policy Issues for Voter Turnout in the 2019 European Parliament Election', *European Union Politics* I, no. 21 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165211040337.

Green Parties-EGP) gained significant gains in seats.[2] This change raises questions about the future of policies, including climate change, that played a significant role in the 2019 EP elections and became a political agenda and campaign.[3] As a result, political parties competing in the 2019 EU Elections include environmental issues such as climate change, sustainability, and electric vehicles in their manifesto and campaign materials.

This article aims to investigate precisely the prospects and future of climate change policies in the EU post the 2019 general election. The EP is one of the bodies in the EU structure that has a significant role in formulating and adopting a law implemented in the region.[4] With the number of political parties that carry environmental issues, especially climate change, it seems that the 2019-2024 EP will oversee the EU meet ambitious climate change policy targets in 2030. This paper raised the following research question: how is the consistency of the EP political group in promoting environmental issues and climate change? Furthermore, what factors cause the consistency of the EP political group in carrying out ecological issues and climate change? This study is critical because the EU as the world leader on climate change, needs consistency of these policies, both supranationally and for each member country.

This study argues that the EU's climate change policy will be more progressive and gain strong legitimacy due to the support from political groups that made the issue of climate change a manifesto and campaign material in the 2019 elections. This research will investigate policy initiatives related to climate change carried out by the EP during 2019-2021. The explanation starts with the types and differences in the manifestos and campaign materials narrated by political parties in the 2019 European Elections, then discusses the track record of these political parties in environmental issues in the 2014 European Elections. Finally, this article will review policy initiatives related to climate change carried out by EP for 2019-2021. In conclusion, this article will explain the connection between the manifesto of political parties, their consistencies, and EP's position on environmental and climate change issues.

METHOD

The study adopted qualitative legal research methods by studied the Euromanifestos of political groups in the European Union that competed in the 2019 European elections. Environmental issues, particularly climate change, were a significant focus of the study. Therefore, the next step is to classify and compare climate change issues in the various manifestos and look for sub-issues that become intersections between political groups.

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[2] Oliver Treib, 'Euroscepticism Is Here to Stay: What Cleavage Theory Can Teach Us about the 2019 European Parliament Elections', *Journal of European Public Policy* (Routledge, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1737881; Mitya Pearson and Wolfgang Rüdig, 'The Greens in the 2019 European Elections', *Environmental Politics* (Routledge, 23 February 2020), https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2019.1709252.

[3] Pearson and Rüdig, 'The Greens in the 2019 European Elections'; Braun and Schäfer, 'Issues That Mobilize Europe. The Role of Key Policy Issues for Voter Turnout in the 2019 European Parliament Election'.

[4] John McCormick, *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Diane Fromage, 'The European Parliament in the Post-Crisis Era: An Institution Empowered on Paper Only?', *Journal of European Integration* 40, no. 3 (2018): 281–94, https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1450405; Amie Kreppel and Michael Webb, 'European Parliament Resolutions—Effective Agenda Setting or Whistling into the Wind?', *Journal of European Integration* 41, no. 3 (2019): 383–404, https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2019.1599880.

Finally, the sub-issue of climate change, which mostly becomes an intersection between family parties, becomes the keyword used to find legal instruments in EU regulations initiated and adopted.

Table 1. Political group's manifesto lists

No	Party Group	Ideology
1.	European People's Party (EPP)	Christian Democrats
2.	Social & Democratic Alliance (S&D)	Socialist
3.	Renew Europe	Liberals
4.	European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)	Conservative
5.	European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL)	Socialist
6.	European Green Party/European Free Alliance (EGP/EFA)	Green
7.	Identity and Democract Group (ID)	Far Right

Source: https://www.europarl.europa.eu (2021)

The next stage is to find MEP members who become vital players (rapporteur) in each EU Regulation discussion process while recording the time needed to make the regulation ranging from first Reading to being passed into regulation. A rapporteur is an MEP assigned by a particular political group to compile an official report on proposed regulations and ensure them through the established legislation stages.[5] Therefore, making the rapporteur's position as a form of contribution of political groups in the legislative process is considered entirely appropriate. Therefore, the indicators of the contribution of each political group in initiating the formation of regulations related to the issue of climate change use political groups from MEPs who become vital players leaders in every step of the EU Regulation. Furthermore, the study results will be used to answer research questions and prove hypotheses rised.

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[5] Frank M. Häge and Nils Ringe, 'Rapporteur-Shadow Rapporteur Networks in the European Parliament: The Strength of Small Numbers', *European Journal of Political Research* 58, no. 1 (2019): 209–35, https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12277; Frank M. Häge and Nils Ringe, 'Top-down or Bottom-up? The Selection of Shadow Rapporteurs in the European Parliament', *European Union Politics* 21, no. 4 (2020): 706–27, https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116520934865; David Coen and Alexander Katsaitis, 'Legislative Efficiency and Political Inclusiveness: The Effect of Procedures on Interest Group Mobilization in the European Parliament', *Journal of Legislative Studies* 25, no. 2 (2019): 278–94, https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2019.1603251.

DISCUSSION

Euromanifesto and Climate Change Issues in 2019 European Election

Some scholars studied Euromanifesto as an object, including Popa & Dumitrescu,[6] Braun & Popa,[7] Braun et al.,[8] Ershova & Popa.[9] Research conducted by Popa & Dumitrescu analysed the appearance of EU flag symbols in political parties Euromanifesto that follow European elections. While the research by Braun & Popa is a study about the *Spitzenkandidaten* issue at the Euromanifesto in the 2019 European election, the study examined the issue salience was in campaign debates. Braun et al. conducted the subsequent study using Euromanifesto Project data between 2009 and 2014 to test the adaptation of the party's manifesto to the crisis that strikes EU member states. Finally, Ershova & Popa conducted a study focused on the interrelationship between intra-parliamentary dynamics and delegation dynamics in EPs.

This study differs from previous research that looks at Euromanifesto from the perspective of political promises and legislative products as the realisation of these promises. The specific issue is about the EU's climate change policy and making the EP a locus in testing the consistency of realising these political promises. The study also reviewed Euromanifesto but only focused on keywords related to the environment, particularly climate change. The novelty offered in this study also uses documents that record the passage of legislation of a particular regulation in the EP to compliment the Euromanifesto study. Political party manifestos in general elections are prerogatives that external parties cannot interfere with; an issue that is considered necessary will be part of the campaign manifesto.[10] Furthermore, manifesto documents are vital to understanding the attitudes and positions of political parties on a particular issue; no other document is most authoritative than a manifesto.[11]

Manifesto documents are used by national political parties and at the supranational level in Europe. Thus, the euromanifesto is the document that best explains the position and attitude of supranational political groups on specific issues.[12] Various factors

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[6] Sebastian Adrian Popa and Delia Dumitrescu, 'National but European? Visual Manifestations of Europe in National Parties' Euromanifestos since 1979', *Party Politics* 23, no. 5 (2017): 526–37, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068815610963.

[7] Daniela Braun and Sebastian A. Popa, 'This Time It Was Different? The Salience of the Spitzenkandidaten System among European Parties', *West European Politics* 41, no. 5 (2018): 1125–45, https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2017.1419003.

[8] Daniela Braun, Sebastian Adrian Popa, and Hermann Schmitt, 'Responding to the Crisis: Eurosceptic Parties of the Left and Right and Their Changing Position towards the European Union', *European Journal of Political Research* 58, no. 3 (2019): 797–819, https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12321.

[9] Anastasia Ershova and Sebastian Adrian Popa, 'When Parties Collide: The Impact of Intra-EP Dynamics on the Delegation Patterns in the EU', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 9 (2021): 1474–93, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1767178.

[10] Nicholas Allen and Judith Bara, 'Clear Blue Water? The 2019 Party Manifestos', *Political Quarterly* 92, no. 3 (2021), https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.13009.

[11] Zoe Lefkofridi and Sylvia Kritzinger, 'Battles Fought in the EP Arena: Developments in National Parties' Euromanifestos', *Osterreichische Zeitschrift Fur Politikwissenschaft* 37, no. 3 (2008): 273–96, https://doi.org/10.15203/ozp.722.vol37iss3; Tobias Schwarzbözl, Matthias Fatke, and Swen Hutter, 'How Party–issue Linkages Vary between Election Manifestos and Media Debates', *West European Politics* 43, no. 4 (2020): 795–818, https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1609292.

[12] Popa and Dumitrescu, 'National but European? Visual Manifestations of Europe in National Parties' Euromanifestos since 1979'.

influence the existence of political group manifestos in the European Elections. According to a study conducted by Spoon, these factors are voter preferences, activities of parties or other parties in the party system, and economic conditions.[13] Manifestos that are officially published by political parties, in general, can also be used by voters to determine the party's ideological position and, in particular, are sources that contain the attitude of the party elite on specific issues.[14] One of the issues that became the manifesto of political parties in the 2019 European Elections was the environment, particularly climate change.[15]

Euromanifesto can also describe the ideology of a European political group traditionally divided between socialists, Christian democrats/conservatives, liberals, and greens.[16] Nonetheless, this study does not fully follow the party's ideological division; according to McElroy & Benoit, the political groups in the EP constantly change from time to time.[17] However, an euromanifesto is a document that reflects the ideological position of a political group that continues to change and has always been fulfilled as a political pledge.[18] Although changes in the configuration of the 2019 European elections EP raise questions about political consistency. The study will examine political consistency between the 2019 Manifestos European elections campaign and the performance of legislation in the EP from 2019 to 2021.

The climate change issue is one of the promised agendas called 'A European Green Deal' by Ursula von der Leyen, the candidate for President of the European Commission and later elected. Thus, climate change is one of the policies promoted and advocated by the EU through several international agreements, such as the Paris Agreement. Furthermore, the EU has established eight laws, the "Clean Energy for All Europeans" package.[19] Therefore, the EU provides a new standard for the world to fight against climate change, mainly by providing clean energy and environmentally friendly public transport.[20]

One of the EU steps is to stipulate several laws, including Directive 2014/94/EU of The European Parliament and of The Council of 22 October 2014 on the deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure in 2014, A European Strategy for Low-Emission Mobility in 2016. Furthermore, in 2018 also established the 2018/1999 Regulation (EU) of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 December 2018 on the Governance of the

[13] Jae Jae Spoon, 'How Salient Is Europe? An Analysis of European Election Manifestos, 1979-2004', *European Union Politics* 13, no. 4 (December 2012): 558–79, https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116512448123.

[14] Matthew Gabel and Simon Hix, 'Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999', *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 8 (October 2002): 934–64, https://doi.org/10.1177/001041402236309.

[15] Braun and Schäfer, 'Issues That Mobilize Europe. The Role of Key Policy Issues for Voter Turnout in the 2019 European Parliament Election'.

[16] Gabel and Hix, 'Defining the EU Political Space: An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos, 1979-1999'.

[17] Gail Mcelroy and Kenneth Benoit, 'Party Policy and Group Affiliation in the European Parliament', *British Journal of Political Science* 40, no. 2 (2010): 377–98, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123409990469.

[18] Popa and Dumitrescu, 'National but European? Visual Manifestations of Europe in National Parties' Euromanifestos since 1979'.

[19] Heather Grabbe and Stefan Lehne, 'Climate Politics in a Fragmented Europe', 2019.

[20] Tom Delreux and Frauke Ohler, 'Climate Policy in European Union Politics', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, no. March 2019 (2019): 1–19, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1097.

Energy Union and Climate Action and the Directive (EU) 2018/2001 of The European Parliament and of The Council of 11 December 2018 on the promotion of the use of energy from renewable sources.[21]

Studies on the environment, especially climate change in the EU elections, have been conducted by several academics, including Wendler, Petri & Biedenkopf, and Buzogány & Ćetković. In his study, Wendler examined climate change policymaking in the EP viewed from the perspective of actors and arenas and influences obtained from external and internal parties, including inter-influence relationships between political groups.[22] Polarisation in climate policy in the EP is also the focus of Petri &Biedenkopf's research and a study on the impact of such polarisation.[23] Buzogány & Ćetković also conducted an interesting study that examined voting behaviour and coalition fundraising in the EP regarding climate change policy in the EU.[24] Nonetheless, the study conducted by scholars looked at climate change as an issue or policy in general. This study offers a novelty specifying climate change as the legislation results in the EP as an indicator of the consistency of political groups in realising their manifestos. Therefore, this article will focus on EU regulations unanimously agreed upon by most political factions in the EP.

In addition, the study also focused on the type of legal instrument in the form of regulation, which is one type of regulatory nomenclature known in the hierarchy of legal norms in the EU. Regulation has the binding powers of member states to implement such laws immediately.[25] In addition, regulation is one of the main legislative instruments used by the EU besides directives.[26] Therefore, it is very appropriate to use regulation as an indicator to realise the political promises contained in the euromanifesto.

According to Wurzel and Conelly, since 2005, EU policy on the environment has been at the stage of selective activism, which initiates policies on climate change that become a role model for the world, especially in carbon trading.[27] Nevertheless, the particular activism phase in the EU environmental policies mainly related to climate change is not

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[21] Maria Niestadt and Amalie Bjørnåvold, 'Electric Road Vehicles in the European Union Trends , Impacts and Policies', *European Parliamentary Research Service PE 637.895*, 2019.

[22] Frank Wendler, 'The European Parliament as an Arena and Agent in the Politics of Climate Change: Comparing the External and Internal Dimension', *Politics and Governance* 7, no. 3 (2019): 327–38, https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v7i3.2156.

[23] Franziska Petri and Katja Biedenkopf, 'Weathering Growing Polarization? The European Parliament and EU Foreign Climate Policy Ambitions', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 1057–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918216.

[24] Aron Buzogány and Stefan Ćetković, 'Fractionalized but Ambitious? Voting on Energy and Climate Policy in the European Parliament', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 1038–56, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918220.

[25] Koen Lenaerts and Marlies Desomer, 'Towards a Hierarchy of Legal Acts in the European Union? Simplification of Legal Instruments and Procedures', *European Law Journal* 11, no. 6 (2005): 744–65, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0386.2005.00285.x.

[26] Bruno de Witte, 'Legal Instruments and Law-Making in the Lisbon Treaty', in *The Lisbon Treaty: EU Constitutionalism without a Constitutional Treaty?*, ed. Stefan Griller and J. Ziller (Vienna: Springer Wien New York, 2008).

[27] Rüdiger K.W. Wurzel and James Connelly, *The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics*, *The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics*, 2010, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203839959.

impossible. There is a deficiency or, in other terms, the unique character of its implementation.[28] The constellation of EU environmental policies since 1980 has made it more mature, making the EU a political leader in mainstreaming climate change issues.[29] Nevertheless, some critics of the EU leadership position in climate change policy. The EU's climate change policy is becoming more technocratic and politically unsustainable, especially when the regulations set by the EU are not in line with the national politics of member countries which technically makes it challenging to implement.[30]

Environmental issues, including climate change as cross-regional phenomenon, require collaboration and cooperation from all EU member states and other countries outside the region. Therefore, the best solution is to make this issue a common interest and resolve it together. The 2019 European elections are one of the momentums to take the environmental problems back into account. Almost every political party uses ecological themes such as climate change and low-emission vehicles as campaign materials. This phenomenon is interesting because it is closely related to the future of EU environmental policies, especially regarding the ambitious climate change target in 2030.

The Dynamics of Climate Change Issues in European Political Group Manifestos

The strengthening of environmental issues in the supranational political agenda presents 'green waves' that affect groups of political parties participating in the 2019 European elections, making the issue part of the manifesto.[31] As EP's most prominent political group, EPP explicitly stated in its manifesto that fighting climate change will affect the economy and ensure the earth's sustainability for future generations.[32] Furthermore, ideologically EPP is based on Christian Democrats who tend to be in the middle of the political spectrum, are flexible in accepting factual conditions, and are open to solutions that can solve problems.[33] Therefore, it is natural for this political group to bring up environmental issues such as climate change in their political manifesto.

The S&D manifesto also conveys a similar narrative, which carries the jargon 'a sustainable Europe that protects our Planet'. S&D's version of fighting climate change also involves reducing CO2 emissions and low-emission vehicles. However, S&D also offers other solutions, such as agricultural policy reform, increasing climate change targets, and transition funds.[34] Liberal groups in the Renew group also use climate change as a narrative in their political manifesto. Some of the programs offered are

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[28] Andrew Jordan and Viviane Gravey, 'Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes', *Environmental Policy in the EU: Actors, Institutions and Processes* 3 (2021): 1–379, https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429402333.

[29] Wurzel and Connelly, *The European Union as a Leader in International Climate Change Politics*.

[30] Grabbe and Lehne, 'Climate Politics in a Fragmented Europe'.

[31] Pearson and Rüdig, 'The Greens in the 2019 European Elections'.

[32] EPP, 'EPP Manifesto "Lets Open the next Chapter for Europe Together"' (Brussels, Belgium, 2019).

[33] Thomas Jansen, 'The European People's Party: Origins and Development', *Choice Reviews Online* 36, no. 02 (1998): 36-1216-36–1216, https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.36-1216.

[34] S&D, 'A New Social Contract for Europe: Party of European Socialists 2019 Manifesto', *Finance and Development*, vol. 55 (Brussels, Belgium, 2019), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315133195-8.

increasing the target of climate change regulations with effective legal instruments. Furthermore, commitments to guard against climate change by ensuring international policies and agreements do not conflict with the Paris Agreement, increasing the use of renewable energy and electric vehicles also become a political manifesto. Lastly, financing climate change through the transformation of the European Investment Bank to become Climate Bank is also a manifesto carried by the Renew group.[35]

The environment and climate change issue does not interest the Identity and Democracy (IDE) group. The Statute of the political group does not mention the environment and climate change in the priorities for the 2019-2024 period. Instead, the group focuses on the issue of limiting the role of the EU, illegal immigrants and strengthening European identity.[36] According to studies by several scholars, right-wing political parties that tend to be populist are not interested in environmental issues or climate change. The study conducted by Huber et al. reveals that populist politics hinders the ambitious targets set by the EU.[37]

In contrast to IDE, EGP is a political group that has brought up environmental issues in its campaigns.[38] In the manifesto for the 2019 European Elections, the issue of climate change is the main focus. The solution is to use 100% renewable energy and eliminate fossil and nuclear power. The EGP also emphasises that climate change is a real challenge the European community must face together.[39] The manifesto published by EGP is comprehensive enough to explain the addressed areas and the steps to take. Still, this document has a drawback: no concrete proposals for sustainable consumption exists.[40] The political group that also carries environmental issues as a campaign manifesto is the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR). The campaign focuses on reducing emissions, keeping the air clean, protecting wildlife and wildlife, and protecting fishers and the marine sector. ECR also focuses on energy security issues that support nuclear energy as an alternative energy source. Furthermore, it assumes that renewable energy, such as windmills and solar panels, must sacrifice extensive land use.

The leftist groups in the GUE/NGL political group progressively carry environmental issues in their campaigns. In particular, this group has a 'Climate Emergency Manifesto' with six focus issues.[41] The legal basis for climate justice becomes the focus of the first issue. Furthermore, with the cessation of the use of fossil energy, and rejection of the constant growth model, the EU must direct the transition and not leave to the market,

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[35] Renew Europe, 'Priorities 2019-2024 Our Vision to Renew Europe: From Reflection to Action', 2019, https://www.reneweuropegroup.eu/priorities.

[36] Identity and Democracy group, 'Statutes of the Identity and Democracy (ID) Group in the European Parliament' (2019).

[37] Robert A. Huber et al., 'Is Populism a Challenge to European Energy and Climate Policy? Empirical Evidence across Varieties of Populism', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 998–1017, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918214.

[38] Pearson and Rüdig, 'The Greens in the 2019 European Elections'.

[39] EGP, 'EGP Prioritoes for 2019: What European Greens Fight For' (Berlin, 2019).

[40] IEEP, 'European Greens Party (EGP) Manifesto Analysis' (Brussels and London, 2019), https://ieep.eu/news/ieep-manifesto-analysis-european-greens-party-egp.
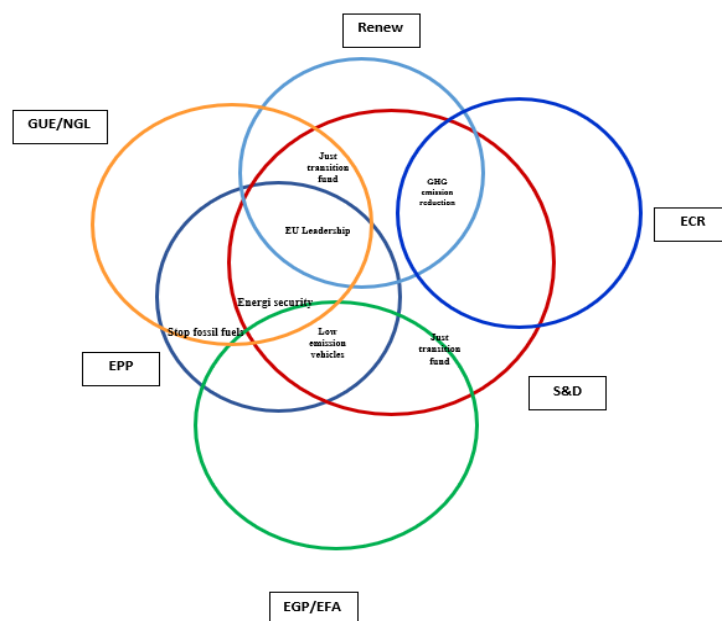
[41] GUE/NGL, 'Climate Emergency Manifesto: We Only Have One Planet. Let's Save It. Now!' (Brussels, Belgium, 2019).

carry out public investment and put the responsibility on regulators, not individuals. The last focus is taking global action related to climate change on a massive scale.

Six of the seven political groups in the EP brought environmental issues, especially climate change, in the political manifesto in the 2019 European Elections. This euromanifesto shows how climate change is a common problem and must be resolved by collaboration with many parties. The ideological differences of the political groups in the EP also do not show a significant difference in responding to the issue of climate change. However, the right-wing populism political group does not place environmental problems and climate change as a campaign manifesto. This phenomenon is in line with a study conducted by Lockwood that the ideology of right-wing populism tends to be climate scepticism because the issue of climate change is naturally unacceptable.[42] This narrative of rejection of climate change is also in line with the globalisation and immigration issues.[43]

Based on the results of the manifesto review, several program keywords that became intersections between political groups include EU Leadership, energy security, low-emission vehicles, greenhouse gas reduction, and the cessation of the use of fossil fuels. Thus, S&D becomes the political group with the program with the most intersection with other groups, and the second rank is GUE/NGL, followed by EPP and EGP / EFA, Renew Europe, and lastly, ECR. The intersection issue or program is described in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1. Political group manifesto major intersections in the 2019 European Elections

Sources: Summarised from European Political Group Manifestos (2019).

[42] Matthew Lockwood, 'Right-Wing Populism and the Climate Change Agenda: Exploring the Linkages', *Environmental Politics* 27, no. 4 (4 July 2018): 712–32, https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2018.1458411.

[43] David J. Hess and Madison Renner, 'Conservative Political Parties and Energy Transitions in Europe: Opposition to Climate Mitigation Policies', *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* (Elsevier Ltd, 1 April 2019), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2019.01.019.

Based on keywords or programs that are the intersection of political group manifestos, five EU Regulations are obtained, namely:

1. Regulation (EU) 2021/240 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 February 2021 establishing a Technical Support Instrument;
2. Regulation (EU) 2021/241 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 12 February 2021 establishing the Recovery and Resilience Facility;
3. Regulation (EU) 2021/523 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 March 2021 establishing the InvestEU Programme and amending Regulation (EU) 2015/1017;
4. Regulation (EU) 2021/1056 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 June 2021 establishing the Just Transition Fund; and
5. Regulation (EU) 2021/1119 Of The European Parliament and of The Council of 30 June 2021 establishing the framework for achieving climate neutrality and amending Regulations (EC) No 401/2009 and (EU) 2018/1999 ('European Climate Law').

These five regulations were initiated in 2020 and had varying formation process times. Table 2 below will explain the length of time it takes for an EP to form each regulation:

Table 2. Period of regulation formation in EP

No	Regulation	Rapporteur	1st Reading	Final Act	Total Time (Months)
1.	Technical Support Instrument Regulation	EPP, Renew Europe, EGP/EFA	17 June 2020	18 February 2021	8
2.	Recovery and Resilience Facility Regulation	EPP, S&D, Renew Europe	17 June 2020	18 February 2021	8
3.	InvestEU Regulation	EPP, S&D	17 June 2020	26 March 2021	9
4.	Just Transition Fund Regulation	EPP	29 January 2020	30 June 2021	17
5.	European Climate Law	S&D	11 March 2020	09 July 2021	15

Sources: EP Legislative Observatory [44]

Based on the table above, the time required to establish one regulation varies from 8 months to 17 months, and all initiations begin in 2020. MEPs who act as rapporteurs also come from various political groups, but EPP and S&D dominate as rapporteurs of the five regulations. Rapporteurs in the EP have autonomy and crucial responsibility to

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[44] Legislative Observatory European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics- 2020/0006 (COD) | A9-0135/2020', vol. 0006, 2021, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/sda.do?id=53325&l=en; Legislative Observatory European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0036 (COD) | A9-0162/2020', vol. 0036, 2020, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/printsda.pdf?id=53734&l=en; Legislative Observatory European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0103 (COD) | A9-0173/2020', vol. 0103, 2021, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/sda.do?id=53755&l=en; Legislative Observatory European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0104 (COD) | A9-0214/2020', vol. 0104, 2021, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/sda.do?id=54386&l=en; Legislative Observatory European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0108 (COD) | A9-0203/2020', vol. 0108, 2021, https://oeil.secure.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/sda.do?id=54184&l=en.

draw up agendas and ensure legislative initiatives will be passed.[45] In addition, the rapporteurs must also balance the substance, procedures, and negotiation process in the legislative process.[46]

This study used voting results as indicators to measure the cohesion of political groups in the five-regulation legislative process. MEP's behaviour in voting can be used as an indicator because, in essence, the political parties (including political groups on the EP) will try to realise their political promises through a vote by their lawmakers in the legislative.[47] The study used data provided by the EP Legislative Observatory that was publicly accessible. The table below describes the voting configuration of five climate change-related regulations in the EP:

Table 3. Voting results of five regulations

No	Regulation	Voting date	Voting Results			Final Results
			For	**Against**	**Abstentions**	
1.	Technical Support Instrument Regulation	19 January 2021	540	75	77	Adopted
2.	Recovery and Resilience Facility Regulation	09 February 2021	582	40	69	Adopted
3.	InvestEU Regulation	09 March 2021	Data not provided			Adopted
4.	Just Transition Fund Regulation	18 May 2021	615	35	46	Adopted
5.	European Climate Law	07 October 2020	442	203	51	Adopted

Sources: EP Legislative Observatory [48]

In general, the cohesion between political groups in the EP is excellent. For example, as evidence from the vote, the table above shows that the majority agreed to adopt every draft regulation related to climate change. Furthermore, MEP members' voting

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[45] Stefan Thierse, 'Policy Entrepreneurship in the European Parliament: Reconsidering the Influence of Rapporteurs', *Journal of European Public Policy* 26, no. 2 (2019): 267–85, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1409794.

[46] Damien Pennetreau and Thomas Laloux, 'Talkin' "Bout a Negotiation: (UN)Transparent Rapporteurs" Speeches in the European Parliament', *Politics and Governance* 9, no. 1 (2021): 248–60, https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i1.3823.

[47] Heike Klüver and Jae Jae Spoon, 'Bringing Salience Back in: Explaining Voting Defection in the European Parliament', *Party Politics* 21, no. 4 (19 July 2015): 553–64, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068813487114.

[48] European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics- 2020/0006 (COD) | A9-0135/2020'; European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0036 (COD) | A9-0162/2020'; European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0103 (COD) | A9-0173/2020'; European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0104 (COD) | A9-0214/2020'; European Parliament, 'Results of Vote in Parliament Statistics - 2020/0108 (COD) | A9-0203/2020'.

behaviour may indicate cohesion between existing political groups in the EP.[49] Therefore, the table above can be interpreted as solid cohesion between political groups in legislation to form regulations related to climate change. The above voting results have the limitation of not displaying the configuration of each political group in detail. However, as explained above, the results can illustrate the solid cohesion between political groups in the EP on the issue of climate change.

The Dynamics of Climate Change Issue in European Parliament Legislation

All countries and regions, including the EU, face climate change as a global challenge.[50] Furthermore, the EU has gradually adopted progressive steps to fight climate change with various policies and legal frameworks, including the European Green Deal (EGD) in 2019 by the European Commission.[51] In general, EGD targets climate-neutral in all member states by 2050, while there is also an ambitious target to reduce GHG emissions significantly by 2030.[52] This ambitious target is likely to be achieved if it gets the support of all political groups on the EP.

The complexity of the regime in the EU requires the support of many parties to ensure that a policy can run continuously and sustainably.[53] This support includes the EP, which gained a significant role after the 2009 Lisbon Treaty.[54] The existence of the EP also affirms the principle of separation of powers in the EU government and becomes the centre of direct representation of the EU people. Furthermore, the EP's full support of environmental and climate change policies initiated by the European Commission will undoubtedly impact the legitimacy and implementation of policies in member states.

The phenomenon of politicising climate change in European elections and being part of the manifesto of political groups did not happen in 2019. By comparison, in 2014, the issue of climate change was also a political promise at the Euromanifesto, although, in that year, the most potent issue was about Euroscepticism politicised by populism political parties. Political groups such as EPP, S&D, EGP/EFA, ECR, and GUE/NGL made the issue of climate change at European elections in both 2014 and 2019. Judging from this perspective, the political group is politically consistent. Traditionally, the EGP is a

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[49] Buzogány and Ćetković, 'Fractionalized but Ambitious? Voting on Energy and Climate Policy in the European Parliament'; Ariadna Ripoll Servent and Christilla Roederer-Rynning, *The European Parliament : A Normal Parliament in a Polity of a Different Kind The European Parliament : A Normal Parliament in a Polity of a Different Kind The EP as a Paradoxical Organ of Democratic Representation*, 2018, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.152.

[50] Veronika Zapletalová and Magda Komínková, 'Who Is Fighting against the EU's Energy and Climate Policy in the European Parliament? The Contribution of the Visegrad Group', *Energy Policy* 139, no. May 2019 (2020), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2020.111326; Petri and Biedenkopf, 'Weathering Growing Polarization? The European Parliament and EU Foreign Climate Policy Ambitions'.

[51] Rosa Fernandez et al., 'Europe's Transition to Sustainability: Actors, Approaches and Policies', *International Spectator* 56, no. 3 (2021): 1–6, https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2021.1966188; Ingmar von Homeyer, Sebastian Oberthür, and Andrew J. Jordan, 'EU Climate and Energy Governance in Times of Crisis: Towards a New Agenda', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 959–79, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918221.

[52] Gregor Erbach, *EU Climate Action Policy, Responding to the Global Emergency*, 2021.

[53] Lunyka Adelina Pertiwi, 'Kompleksitas Rezim Di Uni Eropa: Upaya Penanganan Pengungsi Dan Pencari Suaka', *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 19, no. 3 (2016): 218–33.

[54] Sergio Fabbrini, 'Between Power and Influence: The European Parliament in a Dual Constitutional Regime', *Journal of European Integration* 41, no. 3 (2019): 417–28, https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2019.1599370; Kreppel and Webb, 'European Parliament Resolutions—Effective Agenda Setting or Whistling into the Wind?'

political party at the European level that consistently makes environmental issues, especially climate change, the substance of the manifesto. For example, in the 2014 general election, the EGP manifesto carried the big theme 'Europe needs Green New Deal', which attracted enough media attention but could not match the issue of immigration and the rise of right-wing and eurosceptic populist parties.[55]

Based on a manifesto study, there are three essential findings; namely, most political groups in the EP make environmental issues, especially climate change, a politicised issue in elections. The second finding is that there are specific intersections between political groups, so it has implications for making the issue of climate change a common interest, and the results of the vote showed that a majority of MEP members supported the establishment of the regulation. Finally, the third finding in this research is the solidarity of EP political group cohesion in establishing regulations related to climate change.

Furthermore, the question arises: Why is the political group consistently bringing environmental issues, especially climate change? The study results mentioned that the issue of climate change had become a common problem that must be resolved together; one of the indicators is the establishment of regulations at the EU level. This fact also proves the first hypothesis that the study proposes is that based on the study results, there is a discussion of programs related to climate change in the manifesto of European political groups. The similarity of climate change-related programs implies the same perspective in formulating appropriate policies to mitigate climate change-related problems. The EU has international responsibility for the issue of climate change, and this is accepted and recognised by MEPs and political groups, which is also the main reason the EU has high standards in climate ambitions.

To borrow the term Buzogány & Ćetković, the spectrum that divides political groups in climate change is Pro European Integration and vice versa. The political group that made climate change one of the issues in its manifesto was predominantly anti-Euroscepticism. In contrast, the political group that expressly did not make the issue of climate change part of its manifesto supported Euroscepticism. This political group can ideologically be categorised as far-right or populism adherents who structurally assume climate change policies will bring more severe economic suffering after globalisation and modernisation.[56]

The contribution of populism or far-right parties is confirmed based on Table 2, namely the absence of rapporteurs from the political group. Instead, the dominating alliance comes from EU pro-integration political groups such as the EPP and S&D. This study argues that the s group's solidity is also an attempt to stem the influence of counter-populism on EU integration. Therefore, the ideology of populism or far-right can be an external factor that makes political groups that advocate the issue of climate change in Euromanifesto solid in the legislative process. This fact partially confirms the answer to the second research question related to the factors that make the EU pro-integration political group consistent with realising its manifesto. Thus, populist and far-right parties

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[55] Wolfgang Rüdig, 'The Greens in the 2014 European Elections', *Environmental Politics* 24, no. 1 (2015): 156–62, https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2019.1709252.

[56] Lockwood, 'Right-Wing Populism and the Climate Change Agenda: Exploring the Linkages'.

become catalysts in making climate change a common issue under the EU regulation.[57] Nevertheless, it is undeniable that other factors that cause the issue of climate change to be negatively or positively politicised are part of practical action in the interests of the electorate.[58]

The study also confirmed that political groups with populism ideology tend not to care about the issue of climate change. This condition follows a study by Jahn that in EU member states controlled by populism ideology, parties tend to contribute negatively to GHG emission reduction efforts.[59] Nevertheless, the solidarity of political groups that contained the issue of climate change in its manifesto made the legislative process in the EP work well, and in the end, the regulation got a majority vote. This fact proves the second hypothesis in this study, namely that solid cohesion between political groups that raise the issue of climate change will have implications for the success of the legislative process in the EP. This implication is captured from the configuration of the voting results listed in Table 3.

In response to the first research question, political groups that bring climate change material to their manifesto consistently champion it on the EP. However, it is worth noting other factors that affect the solidarity between political groups and consistency in fighting climate change issue. These factors can be identified in two, namely, within the EU's structure and external parties. An internal factor in this regard was the existence of EGD, which became one of the mainstay programs of EC under the leadership of Ursula von der Leyen. However, this argument is in line with Bailer's opinion, which states that the EC can be categorised as an institution that actively plays a role in influencing EU integration policies; this is done at the same time to assert its existence.[60] EC is interested in realising its work program with various strategies through legislative instruments.[61]

The relationship between the EC's interest in realising the EGD and the solid cohesion between political groups that raise the issue of climate change in its manifesto resulted in a positive relationship in the legislative process to pass regulations on climate change. This fact also confirms the third hypothesis that solid cohesion between political groups in the EP will make a harmonious relationship with the EC that affects the legislation process related to climate change. Therefore, EGD and Euromanifesto (related to climate change) can be the catalysts that create a positive, harmonious relationship

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[57] Julian Bergmann, Christine Hackenesch, and Daniel Stockemer, 'Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe: What Impact Do They Have on Development Policy?', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59, no. 1 (2021): 37–52, https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13143.

[58] Kai Schulze, 'Policy Characteristics, Electoral Cycles, and the Partisan Politics of Climate Change', *Global Environmental Politics* 21, no. 2 (2021): 44–72, https://doi.org/10.1162/glep_a_00593.
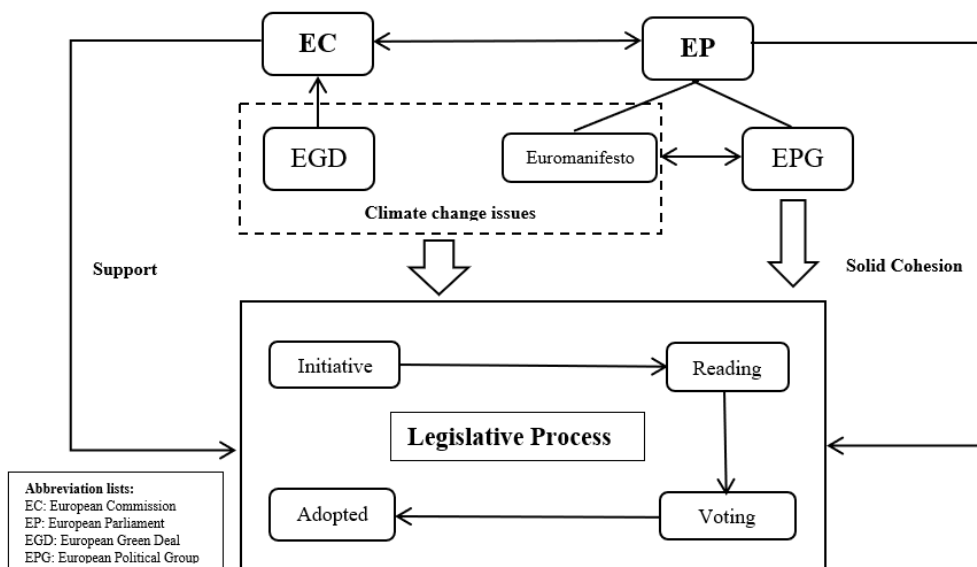
[59] Detlef Jahn, 'Quick and Dirty: How Populist Parties in Government Affect Greenhouse Gas Emissions in EU Member States', *Journal of European Public Policy* 28, no. 7 (2021): 980–97, https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1918215.

[60] Stefanie Bailer, 'An Agent Dependent on the EU Member States? The Determinants of the European Commission's Legislative Success in the European Union', *Journal of European Integration* 36, no. 1 (2014): 37–53, https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2013.809342.

[61] Jens Blom-Hansen and Roman Senninger, 'The Commission in EU Policy Preparation', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 59, no. 3 (2021): 625–42, https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13123.

between the two EU institutions. The relationship can be described through the figure below:
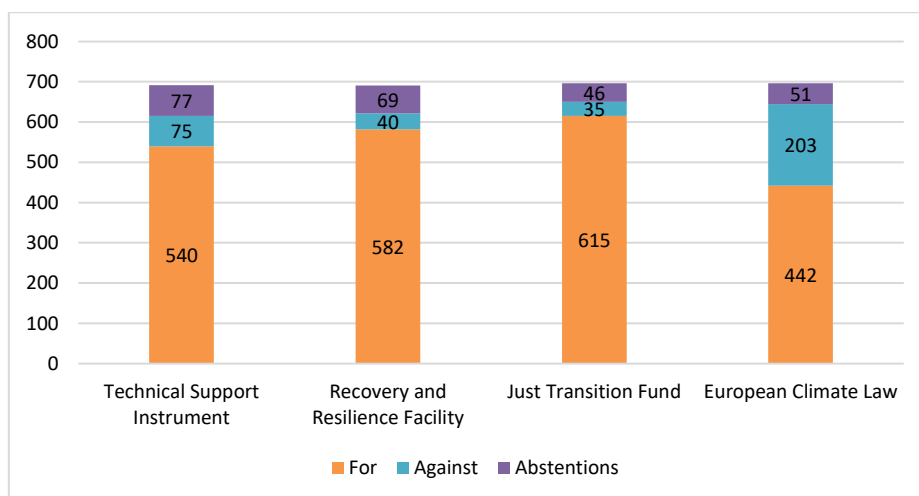
Figure 3. Solid cohesion of EC and EP in climate change-related legislation process

Source: Author Analysis (2021)

However, it should be acknowledged that the cohesion of political groups that raise the issue of climate change in their manifestos is not always decisive. Based on data from Table 3, it is known that the voting results are very volatile; even the 'European Climate Law', which is also part of the promise of EGD realisation, actually gets a considerable rejection vote. Thus the political process in the EP is very dynamic because not every political group can maintain the votes of MEPs. Nevertheless, from time to time, EP has built mechanisms and behaviours that make each MEP quickly able to adapt to policy issues and ultimately decide their political stance independently. The graphic below illustrates the dynamics of such voting fluctuations:
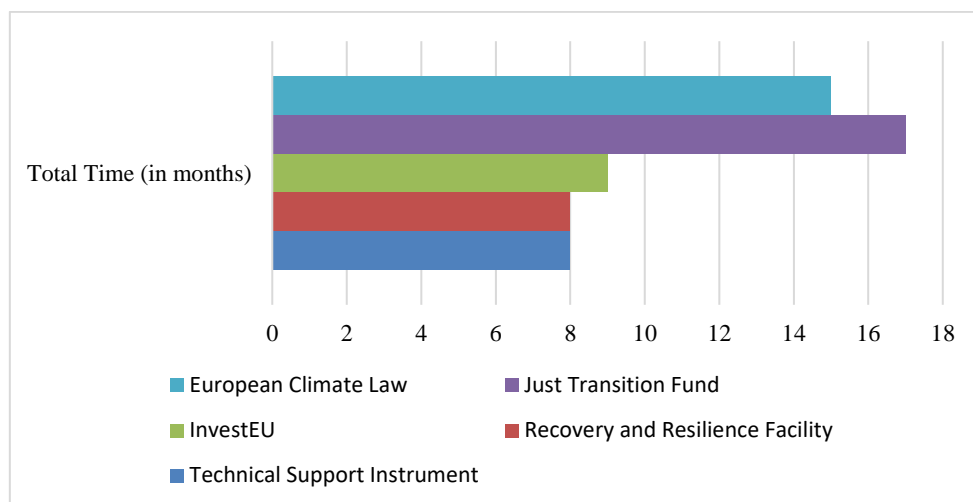
Figure 4. Voting results fluctuations

Sources: EP Legislative Observatory, analysed (2020)

Meanwhile, regarding the harmonious relationship between EC and EP in the context of the legislative process of these five regulations, it can indirectly be illustrated by the time needed in making a regulation. Although based on Table 2, the length of time required by each regulation is different, of the five regulations, two take eight months, namely regulations on Technical Support Instruments and Recovery and Resilience Facility. In comparison, the regulation that takes the longest is Just Transition Funds. Therefore, the average time to make one regulation is about eleven months. However, the exciting thing is that the time it takes for the 'European Climate Law' to become a regulation reaches fifteen months, exceeding the target set by the EC, which is March 2020.[62]

Figure 5. Total time required in the legislative process

Sources: EP Legislative Observatory, analysed (2020)

The adoption of 'The European Climate Law' was delayed due to the influence of four factors: organisation, environment, policy, and scalar.[63] This condition again shows how complex the system in the EU is that to pass a legislative initiative needs to be agreed upon by many parties. The consistency of political groups in the EP to control the process of regulatory legislation related to climate change significantly affects the accuracy of its settlement. Nevertheless, the passage of this regulation is a progressive step to affirm the EU's leadership on the issue of climate change globally. It is also part of the EGD carried by the von der Leyen Commission.

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[62] European Commission, 'Communication from the Comission to the Euroepan Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions', Pub. L. No. COM(2019) 640, The European Green Deal (2019), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004.

[63] Mary Dobbs, Viviane Gravey, and Ludivine Petetin, 'Driving the European Green Deal in Turbulent Times', *Politics and Governance* 9, no. 3 (2021): 316–26, https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i3.4321.

CONCLUSION

Environmental issues, particularly climate change, remain politicised for political gain in European elections. The results of this study show that political groups that make the issue of climate change a political promise in the Euromanifesto in the 2019 European elections tend to be consistent with fighting for it in the legislature. Solid cohesion in the EP was created between political groups, thus influencing the legislative process as reflected by a majority vote favouring the adoption of climate change-related regulations. A harmonious relationship with the EC, which is interested in realising EGD into a legal instrument, contributes to this condition. This study argues that by 2024, EU climate change policies will remain progressive and gain strong legitimacy from the EP. Although our Euromanifesto study was limited to manifesto documents published through the official channels of European political groups, we realised that another Eurosmanifesto published by national political parties affiliated with supranational political groups also exist. Therefore, the study requires a follow-up study involving Euromanifesto published by a national political party. This follow-up study included the volatility of voting on the EP related to climate change legislation initiatives.

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