

Canadian Climate Policy Inventory Methodology[†]

William A. Scott[‡]

Jennifer Winter[†]

Alaz Munzur^{*}

Katharina Koch[§]

August 8, 2024

Summary

Governments have implemented a variety of policies to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and mitigate the impacts of climate change. Canada's climate policy landscape is marked by variation in timing, effort, and approach, and driven by differences in economic structures, political ideologies, energy resources, and emissions among provinces and territories. To bridge this gap in understanding, the Canadian Climate Policy Partnership (C2P2) is developing a comprehensive and dynamic inventory of climate policies in Canada, which allows for direct comparisons and a better understanding of potential policy interactions and overlap. This methodology paper outlines the steps taken to establish an initial inventory of 327 emissions-mitigation policies in Canada, and the coding protocol used to assess policy design elements. By shedding light on the complex web of climate policies in Canada,

[†] This paper is an abridged version of Scott et al. (2024) which describes part of the activities of the Canadian Climate Policy Partnership (C2P2) led by Dr. Jennifer Winter at the University of Calgary. C2P2 brings together more than 20 climate policy scholars and 7 community partners to develop a comprehensive and dynamic inventory of climate policies in Canada and provide direct comparison of the stringency, coverage, and interactions of climate policy mixes. We are grateful for the contributions of Runa Das, Brett Dolter, Kathryn Harrison, Christina Hoicka, Amy Janzwood, Andrew Leach, Pat Lloyd-Smith, Nikita Lyssenko, Julie MacArthur, Geoff McCarney, Heather Millar, Rémi Morin Chassé, Nouri Najjar, Nancy Olewiler, Charles Séguin, and Patrick Withey. We thank Ignacio Aguilar, Chloé Boutron, Orland Clark, Shabnam (Zahra) Edalatnia, Josh Medicoff, Katherine Matos, Rafael Morales-Guzman, Edan Pounder, Dylan Rama, Grace Schaan, and Maya Willard-Stepan for excellent research assistance. We also appreciate the feedback received from Environment and Climate Change Canada, Statistics Canada, the Ministry of Environment and Climate Change Strategy (British Columbia), the Ministry of Environment (Saskatchewan), the Department of Environment and Climate Change (Manitoba), the Ministry of the Environment, Conservation and Parks (Ontario), le Bureau de la transition climatique et énergétique (BTCE) (Quebec), le Ministère de l'Économie, de l'Innovation et de l'Énergie (Quebec), the Department of Environment and Local Government (New Brunswick), the Department of Environment, Energy and Climate Action (Prince Edward Island), the Department of Environment and Climate Change (Newfoundland and Labrador), the Climate Change Secretariat (Yukon), and the Government of the Northwest Territories. This research is supported in part by funding from the Canadian Climate Institute, Mitacs (grant IT28956), the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (PDG 890-2022-0076), the Office of the Vice-President (Research) at the University of Calgary, the School of Public Policy at the University of Calgary, and the Government of Canada through the Environmental Damages Fund (grant EDF-CA-2022g009).

[‡] Stanford University, Doerr School of Sustainability, 473 Via Ortega, Stanford, CA, USA 94305

Simon Fraser University, School of Public Policy, 515 Hastings St, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6B 4N6

[†] University of Calgary, Department of Economics and School of Public Policy, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, AB, Canada T2N 1N4

Environment and Climate Change Canada, 351 Boulevard Saint-Joseph, Gatineau, QC, Canada J8Y 3Z5

^{*} University of Saskatchewan, Johnson-Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy, Diefenbaker Building, 141-101 Diefenbaker Place, Saskatoon, SK, Canada S7N 5B8

[§] University of Calgary, School of Public Policy, 2500 University Drive NW, Calgary, AB, Canada T2N 1N4

this inventory provides researchers, policymakers and businesses with a clear picture of the ongoing efforts to reduce GHG emissions.

1. Inventory Methodology

To limit the impacts of climate change, jurisdictions have implemented a wide range of policies and programs to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. These climate policy mixes have become increasingly complex and exhibit significant variation in terms of their instrument mix, design, coverage, and stringency. Tracking and evaluating the complex mix of climate policies is particularly challenging in federations like Canada where authority for regulating GHG emissions falls under both federal and provincial/territorial jurisdiction (Becklumb 2019).

This research begins to address that challenge by developing a comprehensive climate policy inventory of federal, provincial, and territorial climate mitigation policy in Canada. Our research question in developing this inventory is *what is the current universe of federal, provincial, and territorial climate-change-mitigation policy in Canada?*

The following sections explain the inventory methodology and coding protocol, describing inclusion criteria for policy, data sources, and the coding process and coding categories.

1.1. Scope: Inclusion criteria

As a first step, it was necessary to determine the scope for inclusion as a climate change mitigation policy in the inventory.¹ For this inventory, we define **a climate change mitigation policy as a policy instrument implemented by a federal, provincial, or territorial government with the primary purpose of reducing greenhouse gas emissions.**

The inclusion criteria stemming from this definition rest on two important dimensions determining the inventory enumeration:

- i) The unit of measurement that distinguishes an individual policy; and,
- ii) What constitutes a *climate change mitigation* policy.

What distinguishes an individual “policy”?

Jenkins (1978) defines public policy as “a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve”. This importantly emphasizes that a policy is composed of both goals and the means to achieve them (Howlett & Cashore 2020). Therefore, for this inventory, an individual policy is distinguished by the policy instrument being employed to achieve the goal of reducing GHG emissions (see below for additional detail).

¹ We intend to expand the database in the future to include additional types of policies, such as those that support adaptation to climate change.

In contrast, a program may comprise one or multiple policy instruments. For example, British Columbia’s Go Electric Program includes a variety of policy instruments intended to electrify personal, commercial, and public transportation and reduce GHG emissions. These include public funding of electric vehicle charging, household purchase rebates for EVs and home charging equipment, rebates for commercial EV purchases, and procurement of electric school buses. Multiple policies can (and often are) used to achieve the same objective.

What is a “climate change mitigation” policy?

The policies we include in this inventory are those defined by governments as climate mitigation policies, with the primary purpose of reducing greenhouse gas emissions. This notably excludes policies that may contribute to GHG mitigation but are not implemented specifically for that objective (for example gasoline excise taxes). Additionally, this excludes policies that directly contradict the goals of climate change mitigation but may nevertheless be implemented to achieve some other government objective.²

There are also a host of policies that could reasonably be considered part of the climate policy mix but are not explicitly designed to reduce GHG emissions. These may include policies intended to support the transition to a low-carbon economy. For example, the Government of Canada’s Sectoral Workforce Solutions program aids “workers and employers by supporting solutions to address current and emerging workforce needs” (ECCC 2022a), including through funding allocations to the clean energy sector³. Another example of a policy with an indirect effect on emissions output — and therefore excluded — is British Columbia’s Active Transportation Infrastructure grants. The primary goal of this grant is to develop protected multi-use paths, lighting, end-of-trip facilities, and way-finding systems; reducing emissions may be an additional outcome or co-benefit of the policy. While this may be an important component of the energy transition, the policy is not explicitly designed to mitigate GHG emissions and is therefore excluded from the current inventory. Future expansions of the inventory may create a framework to identify and consistently include such indirect policies.

Additionally, several jurisdictions have implemented various efficiency programs to support building retrofits and provide rebates for purchasing equipment such as heat pumps. To maintain consistency in the database, we have grouped these different types of rebates and grants under the broader energy efficiency programs that fund them, such as Saskatchewan’s Energy Efficiency Rebates. Future expansions of the database will enhance the granularity of these overarching programs by identifying and incorporating the related sub-programs and efficiency initiatives.

We also exclude adaptation policies, as their primary purpose is not to reduce emissions. Although governments label these as climate change policies, adaptation measures are designed to adjust to environmental impacts caused by climate change, such as disaster prevention, enhancing building resilience to forest fires, or adopting agricultural innovations to secure

² Future versions of the database may expand to include policies that counteract emissions mitigation goals.

³ The clean energy sector in Canada encompasses renewable resources to produce energy, including moving water, wind, biomass, solar, geothermal, and ocean energy (NRCAN 2024).

Canada's food supply. For some climate policies, governments have developed both adaptation and mitigation streams. In these cases, the inventory includes only those programs explicitly designed to reduce emissions.

Future work may seek to broaden the scope of the policy inventory with the potential inclusion of adaptation policies, industrial policies, and policies implemented by other orders of government including municipalities and Indigenous governments.

1.2. Sources

The database was initially populated primarily based on three major sources: Canada's biennial reporting to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (ECCC, 2019, 2022a), an inventory constructed by Navius Research in Autumn 2022 for the Canadian Climate Institute (Canadian Climate Institute n.d.)⁴, and earlier work by some of the project team on climate policy mixes in Canada (Scott et al. 2023). Additional policy initiatives and further policy details were identified following academic and government reviews, reviewing budget documents, through government websites, press releases, jurisdictional policy documents, and annual reports from Crown corporations.

1.3. Coding protocol

The coding guide was developed by the authors and validated by more than 20 academics and partner organization representatives that are part of the Canadian Climate Policy Partnership (C2P2). Initial coding based on the coding guide was completed by one of the authors. Coding for each jurisdiction was then reviewed for accuracy and completeness by two members of the broader academic team between November 2023 and February 2024. A core team of lead reviewers (the authors) then reviewed the feedback from jurisdictional reviewers between December 2023 and March 2024, accepting or flagging suggested changes (Figure 1). Any uncertainties in the suggested changes were discussed by the core team, and decisions to reject or accept the changes were by consensus.

Following the academic review process, we sent the inventory for a given jurisdiction to government representatives of that jurisdiction for review in April 2024, covering applicable ministries. For example, the database was sent to Environment and Climate Change Canada, Finance Canada, Natural Resources Canada, and Statistics Canada to review federal policies. The review package included the subset of the database for each jurisdiction and the coding protocol documentation. In addition to reviewing the coding of the policies in the database for accuracy and completeness, we also asked governments to identify any missing policies, including announced policies not captured in the draft version. The government review process took place between April 2024 and May 2024. The database reflects implemented, proposed, or announced policies across federal, provincial, and territorial jurisdictions up to and including

⁴ In 2022, the Canadian Climate Institute commissioned Navius Research to produce a list of federal, provincial, and territorial emissions reduction policies. The preliminary list of 309 policies was developed based on a review of key policy documents, including Navius' internal policy lists, the federal government's 2030 Emissions Reduction Plan, the 2020 Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, and provincial and territorial climate strategies.

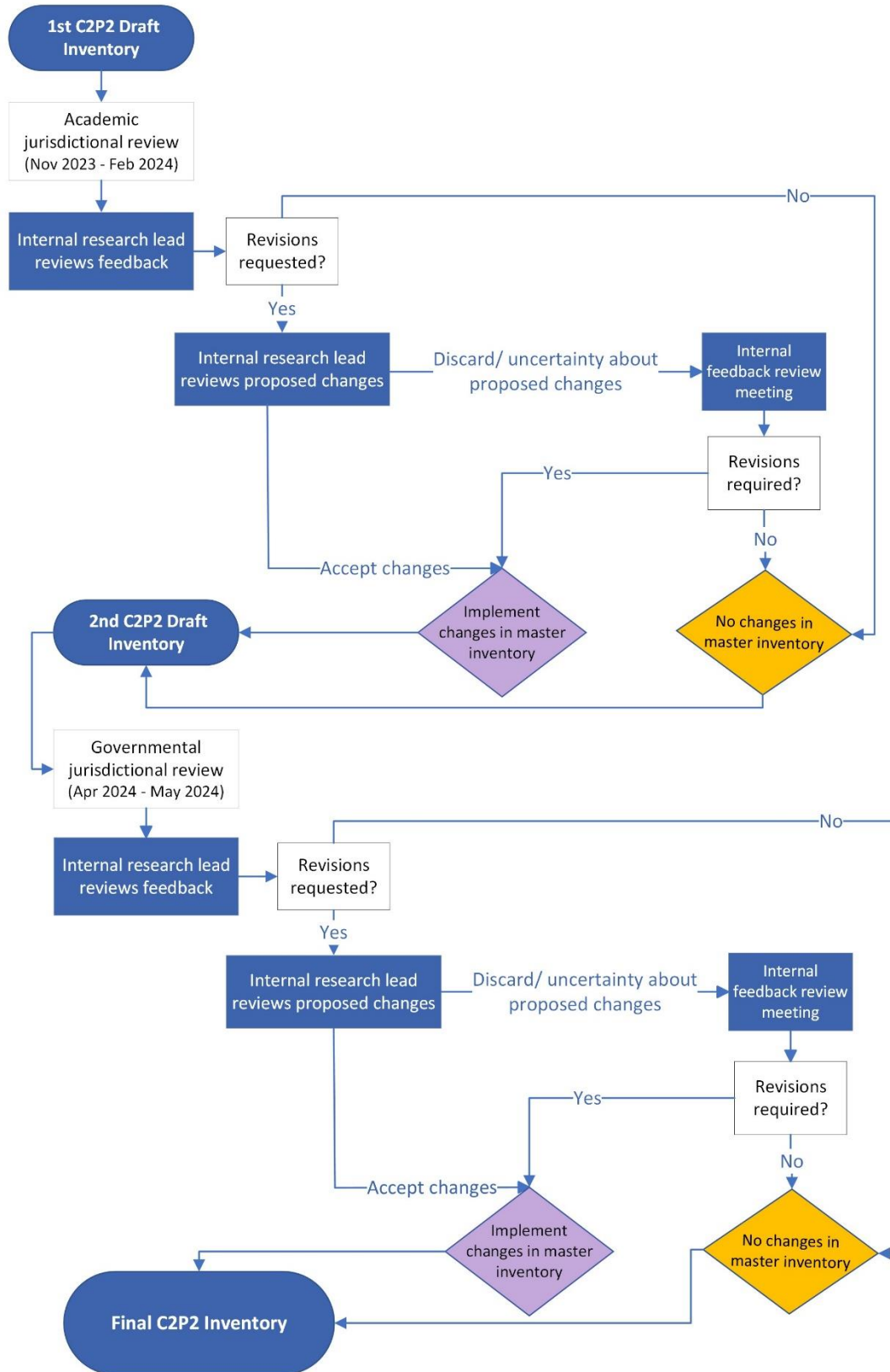
April 30, 2024. We received feedback from Canada, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, Yukon and Northwest Territories. No changes were requested by Alberta and Nunavut.

Some jurisdictions gave their feedback after April 30, 2024. The current database version (version 1.0) incorporates feedback from Canada, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, Yukon and Northwest Territories. Ontario gave its feedback after the submission deadline and this not incorporated in version 1.0. However, it will be reflected in the next iteration of the database, expected to be public in late July 2024.

The feedback from governments was reviewed by one of the authors between April 2024 and June 2024, accepting or flagging suggested changes for the core team to discuss. Similar to the academic review, any uncertainties in the suggested changes were discussed by the core team, and decisions to reject or accept the changes were by consensus (Figure 1).

The final version of the C2P2 inventory as of June 10, 2024 reflects comprehensive feedback from 30 academic research team members and research assistants, and feedback from the governments of Canada, British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador, Yukon and Northwest Territories.

Figure 1. Policy Inventory Academic and Government Review Process



1.4. Coding categories

We coded the policies to create a searchable database of relevant policy characteristics. Details of the relevant categories and definitions applied are described in the following sub-sections. Descriptive information such as jurisdiction, policy name, and a brief policy description were taken directly from government sources, where available.

1.4.1. Sector

We coded policies according to the economic sector in which they seek to reduce GHG emissions. This classification follows the economic sector definitions used in Canada’s National Inventory Report (NIR) to attribute GHG emissions (ECCC 2022b) with the addition of a “multiple sector” classification for policies targeting emissions reductions in more than one sector, such as the federal fuel charge.

We made three modifications to consolidate our sectoral categorizations from the NIR definitions. We include the NIR sector ‘Coal Production’ category with the ‘Oil and Gas’ category to group all fossil fuel production activities. Second, we disaggregated the NIR sector of ‘Light Manufacturing, Construction and Forest Resources’. Policies that target construction emissions were grouped with the buildings sector. Policies that target forestry emissions were grouped with agriculture to form the agriculture, forestry, and land-use sector. Light manufacturing⁵ is not solely targeted by any policy and is therefore only included under multi-sector policies.

Table 1 provides an overview of the sector classification; further disaggregation and detailed definitions of Canada’s economic sectors are available in Canada’s [National Inventory Report 2023 Part 3](#) (ECCC, 2022b, pg. 10). This classification was chosen based on its intuitive nature — distinguishing major sectoral sources of emissions in Canada at a level that corresponds with policy implementation. Categorizing policies based on the economic sector that they regulate allows for a clear understanding of the distribution of climate-policy effort across industries. Continued development of the inventory will include categorizing policies by North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes to allow for broader comparison.

⁵ Light manufacturing is defined as “all other manufacturing industries not included in the Heavy Industry category” (ECCC 2022b).

Table 1: Policy sector overview

NIR Economic Sector	Definition
Agriculture and land-use	Emissions resulting from on-farm fuel use, crop production, and animal production. Crop production includes application of biosolids and inorganic nitrogen fertilizers, decomposition of crop residues, loss of soil organic carbon, cultivation of organic soils, indirect emissions from leaching and volatilization, field burning of agricultural residues, liming, and urea application. Animal production includes animal housing, manure storage, manure deposited by grazing animals, and application of manure to managed soils.
Buildings	Energy use or emissions in commercial, residential, or public buildings. This includes stationary combustion and process emissions (i.e., air conditioning) as well as post-meter, unintentional leaks from natural gas appliances, and construction.
Electricity	Combustion and process emissions from utility electricity generation, steam production (for sale) and transmission. Excludes utility owned cogeneration at industrial sites.
Heavy Industry	Emissions from stationary combustion, on-site transportation, electricity and steam production, and process emissions from mining, smelting and refining, pulp and paper, iron and steel, cement, lime and gypsum, and chemicals and fertilizer industries.
Oil and gas	Emissions from stationary combustion, on-site transportation, electricity and steam production, fugitive and process emissions from natural gas, coal, and oil production and processing, petroleum refining, and local distribution of natural gas.
Transportation	Mobile related emissions including all fossil fuels and non-CO ₂ emission from biofuels. Includes passenger and freight transport, aviation and marine fuels, and recreational fuel use, and portable engines.
Waste	Non-CO ₂ emissions resulting from solid waste, wastewater, and waste incineration including landfills.
Multi-sector	Emissions from more than one of the above-listed economic sectors.

Source: Authors' compilation from ECCC (2022b).

1.4.2. Timing

The climate policy landscape is constantly changing with new policies, programs, and targets being announced regularly. In addition, governments sometimes repeal the policies of their predecessors. To track past, current, and forthcoming policies and programs we code policies based on their implementation status. Future policies (proposed and announced) are coded based on the extent of detail available. Table 2 provides definitions for the timing coding categories.

Policies that have been cancelled, expired, completed or superseded are not included in this initial inventory, since the currently compiled list of past policies is far from exhaustive. This represents an important gap and an area for future development of the policy inventory to be able to track changes in policy mix through time.

Table 2: Policy Status

Status	Definition
Implemented	Compliance with the policy is currently required or support from the policy is currently available.
Proposed	Policy details have been released, design is clear, but compliance is not yet required, or support is not yet available.
Announced	A policy has been announced but timelines or design elements are unclear.

Additionally, we code policies according to their implementation and end dates, where available. We define the implementation date as the year during which the policy first enters into force. This may be the first year that regulated entities must comply with the requirements of the policy or the first year that funding may be applied for or allocated. End year refers to the prescribed conclusion of a policy (if there is one) or the last known date that funding has been allocated for a policy, where information is available.

1.4.3. Instrument

The most widely used classification for climate-change-mitigation policy instruments was developed by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and is often used by countries in their biennial reporting to the UNFCCC (Somanathan et al. 2014). The IPCC categorization includes five instrument types:

- (i) *Economic*: refers to “market-based” instruments including forms of carbon pricing and subsidies, but not tradeable performance standards.
- (ii) *Regulatory*: includes performance standards, technology mandates, and product standards.
- (iii) *Information*: helps to inform consumption and production decisions (e.g., eco-labelling).
- (iv) *Government procurement and provision*: refers to the provision of public goods and services by governments to address GHG emissions, such as public transit and R&D funding.
- (v) *Voluntary*: accounts for actions taken by non-government entities (firms, NGOs, or other actors).

However, this approach fails to distinguish policy instruments in a comparable way. Therefore, we have developed a tiered categorization of policy instruments that expands the IPCC categorization approach for greater specificity and to facilitate further analysis of comparable policy types. At the broadest level, we classify policies as an “instrument type” based on the approach through which they seek to reduce GHG emissions. We then classify policies as one of

11 individual policy instruments. We display a crosswalk from the IPCC categorization to our tiered approach in Table 3.

Table 3. Crosswalk between instrument categorization from this study and the IPCC categorization

Instrument Type	Instrument	IPCC Category
Mandatory	Regulation	Regulatory
	Tradeable performance standard	
	Emissions price	Economic
Consumer subsidy		
Producer subsidy		
Infrastructure subsidy		
Financing	Government provision and procurement	
Research and development funding		
Public Procurement		
Indirect	Enabling legislation	Information
	Information	
(out of scope)		Voluntary

Instrument Type

In this initial inventory, we focus on three main instrument types: mandatory instruments, abatement support instruments, and indirect instruments. A convenient heuristic distinction between the first two instrument types is that mandatory policies can be thought of as policy “sticks” and abatement support policies as “carrots”.

Mandatory instruments are policies which impose a compulsory requirement on regulated parties. For example, mandatory policies may impose an emissions price on the purchase of fossil fuels, phase out the use of coal-fired electricity generation, require a certain proportion of electricity to be generated by renewable electricity, or require a reduction in the emissions intensity of the transportation fuel supply.

Abatement support instruments are policies that seek to incentivize the voluntary adoption, production, or development of lower emissions processes and products. These instruments generally provide a subsidy for desirable actions.

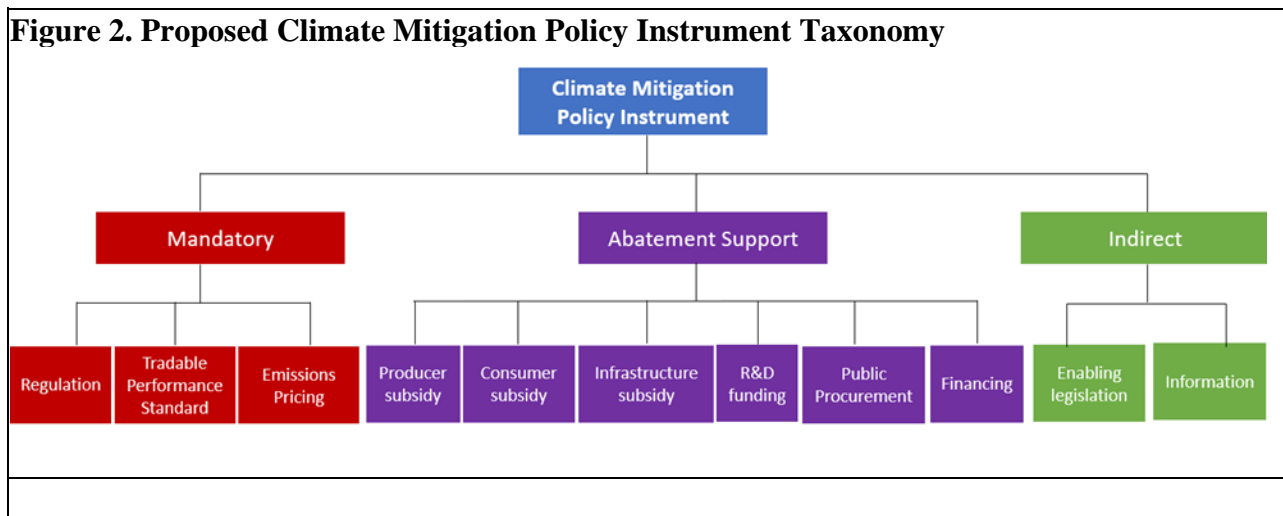
Indirect instruments are policies that do not require or do not directly incentivize abatement, but may nevertheless contribute to emissions abatement. These include enabling legislation that allows for new or additional abatement activities such as blending higher quantities of low-carbon fuel. They also include information measures that help inform choices for decarbonization but do not directly require or incentivize emissions reductions (i.e., home energy labelling).

Notably excluded from this categorization are policy frameworks, strategies, and targets. We deliberately omit these since they do not directly contribute to reducing GHG emissions in and of

themselves. The specific policy instruments found within strategies or frameworks have been included and categorized based on their instrument type.⁶

Instrument

Within each of the instrument types, we add further granularity and classify policies by policy instrument. We classify climate policies as one of 11 instruments defined below and illustrated in Figure 2.



We adapt these categories from the IPCC (Somanathan et al. 2014), with several modifications. For instance, we distinguish between emissions pricing (including both carbon taxes and cap-and-trade) and subsidies as economic support instruments that are applied as “sticks” and “carrots”. We also seek to provide greater specificity to the policy instruments providing economic support to emissions abatement by delineating the range of approaches applied by governments that fall under the IPCC categorization of “economic instrument”. We distinguish enabling legislation from other types of government procurement since it does not require any abatement to occur but rather clears a path for voluntary actions. We also distinguish the category of tradeable performance standards from other mandatory regulations to reflect the hybrid instrument design of flexible regulations that incorporate market-based elements through tradeable compliance credits (Rhodes et al. 2021). For some announced policies, the instrument has not yet been defined. Such cases are marked with “TBD” in the database.

Mandatory:

1. **Regulation:** mandates a specific outcome that must be achieved or technology to be adopted.
2. **Tradeable performance standard:** sets a performance requirement but allows flexibility for how it can be achieved in aggregate through a compliance credit market.

⁶ Future iterations of the database may include initiatives of this type.

3. **Emissions price:** explicit pricing of emissions in the form of a carbon tax/levy or cap-and-trade program.

Abatement Support

4. **Producer subsidy:** transfers from government to organizations conditional on some emissions-reducing activity.
5. **Consumer subsidy:** transfers from government to individuals conditional on the adoption of an emissions-reducing technology or service.
6. **Infrastructure subsidy:** transfers from government to support public and community infrastructure.
7. **Research and development (R&D) funding:** financial support for (public or private) research and development of emissions-reducing technologies.
8. **Public Procurement:** the use of government purchasing of low-carbon alternatives to reduce GHG emissions.
9. **Financing:** provides subsidized loan financing to enable emissions abatement activities (i.e., property-assessed clean energy programs).

Indirect

10. **Enabling legislation:** enabling legislation or regulation to reduce barriers to emissions-reducing alternatives (i.e., legislation that reduces regulatory barriers to distributed renewable generation).
11. **Information:** provides information that may contribute to reducing emissions (i.e., home energy labelling requirement).

1.4.4. Abatement channel

We also categorize policies by the abatement channel they target to reduce emissions (Table 4). Abatement channel refers to where in the energy system policies seek to drive abatement and are based loosely on the approach of the Kaya decomposition. The Kaya decomposition breaks down total GHG emissions as a product of factors that contribute. The original Kaya identity demonstrates that global GHG emissions are a product of population, GDP per capita, energy intensity of GDP, and the emissions intensity of energy (Kaya 1997). The modified version presented in Figure 3 allows us to illustrate the potential abatement channels through which policies may seek to reduce emissions. For example, policies may target the decarbonization of energy production, the efficiency with which energy or emissions are used in production, or total output produced. Additionally, policies may seek to switch end-uses from a high-emission to a low-emission fuel source. In practice, many policies target more than one abatement channel.

Figure 3. Abatement channel decomposition

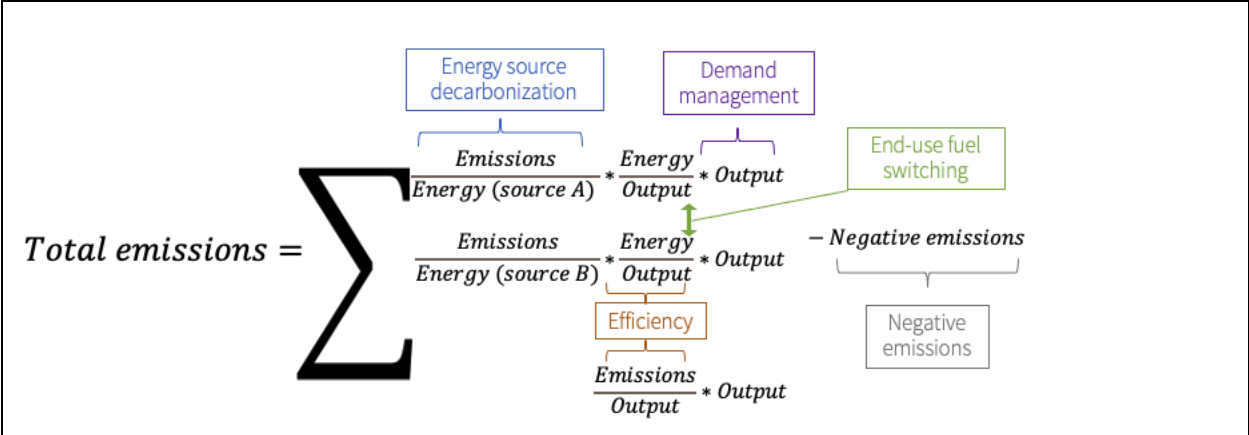


Table 4: Abatement channel coding

Abatement channel	Definition
Demand management	Reduces absolute energy consumption
Efficiency	Reduces the emissions or energy input required to achieve a certain outcome, including industrial process emissions.
End-use fuel switching	Switching from a high-emitting energy carrier to a lower-emitting energy carrier to achieve the desired end-use (e.g., switching from heating oil to an electric heat pump or a gasoline to an electric vehicle).
Energy source decarbonization	Reduction emissions from the production of an energy carrier (e.g., encouraging renewable electricity generation, reducing methane leaks from oil and gas production)
Negative emissions	Reduction in GHG emissions by sequestering carbon from the atmosphere (e.g., tree planting initiatives, installing carbon capture and sequestration technology)

1.4.5. Policy scope

Climate mitigation policies are applied at different levels of coverage, from broad-based policies that apply across multiple sectors of the economy to narrow programs that provide support on an individual project basis. Building on the approach used by Scott et al. (2023), we classify policies as one of five levels of scope defined in Table 5, listed from broadest to narrowest.

Table 5: Policy scope categories

Scope	Definition
Multi-sector	Policy applies across multiple economic sectors (e.g., Quebec cap and trade).
Sector	Policy applies to a single economic sector (e.g., low carbon fuel standard in transportation).
Class	Policy applies to a class of technologies or emissions (e.g., support for the adoption of a range of technologies to reduce methane emissions).
Technology	Policy targets or covers a specific technology type (e.g., technology-specific energy efficiency standards for appliances).
Project	Policy applies to a specific project or selection occurs on individual project application basis (e.g., funding for the Boundary Dam Carbon Capture and Storage facility).

References

- Becklumb, P. (2019). Federal and Provincial Jurisdiction to Regulate Environmental Issues. Library of Parliament Background Paper, Publication No. 2013-86-E (Originally published 24 September 2013 revised 29 Oct 2019), 16.
- Canadian Climate Institute. (n.d.) Carbon Reduction Policy Tracker. <https://440megatonnes.ca/policy-tracker/>
- Environment and Climate Change Canada (ECCC) (2019) Canada's Fourth Biennial Report on Climate Change, ISSN: 2371-6924. <https://unfccc.int/documents/209928>
- Environment and Climate Change Canada (ECCC) (2022a) Canada's 8th National Communication and 5th Biennial Report, ISSN: 2371-6924. <https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/Canada%20NC8%20BR5%20EN.pdf>
- Environment and Climate Change Canada (2022b) National Inventory Report 1990–2020: Greenhouse Gas Sources And Sinks In Canada, Canada's Submission To The United Nations Framework Convention On Climate Change publications. https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2022/eccc/En81-4-2020-1-eng.pdf
- Fox, J., Axsen, J., & Jaccard, M. (2017). Picking Winners: Modelling the Costs of Technology-specific Climate Policy in the U.S. Passenger Vehicle Sector. *Ecological Economics*, 137(C), 133–147.
- Howlett, Michael, and Benjamin Cashore. 2020. "Public Policy: Definitions and Approaches." In *A Modern Guide to Public Policy*, 10–21. Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://www.elgaronline.com/display/edcoll/9781789904970/9781789904970.00007.xml>.
- IPCC (2019). Refinement to the 2006 IPCC Guidelines for National Greenhouse gas Inventories. [Buendia, E.C., S. Guendehou, B. Limmeechokchai, R. Pipatti, Y. Rojas, R. Sturgiss, K. Tanabe, and T. Wirth (eds.)]. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Geneva, Switzerland.
- Jenkins, W. I. 1978. *Policy Analysis: A Political and Organizational Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kaya, Yoichi; Yokoburi, Keiichi (1997). *Environment, energy, and economy: strategies for sustainability*. Tokyo [u.a.]: United Nations Univ. Press. ISBN 9280809113.
- Kozluk, T. & G. Garsous (2016) How stringent are environmental policies? OECD Policy Perspectives. <https://www.oecd.org/economy/greeneco/How-stringent-are-environmental-policies.pdf>
- Long, Z., Axsen, J., & Kitt, S. (2020). Public support for supply-focused transport policies: Vehicle emissions, low-carbon fuels, and ZEV sales standards in Canada and California. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 141, 98–115. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2020.08.008>
- Natural Resources Canada (NRCAN) (2024). About renewable energy in Canada. <https://natural-resources.canada.ca/our-natural-resources/energy-sources-distribution/renewable-energy/about-renewable-energy-canada/7295>
- Scott, W. A., Rhodes, E., & Hoicka, C. (2023). Multi-level climate governance: Examining impacts and interactions between national and sub-national emissions mitigation policy mixes in Canada. *Climate Policy*, 0(0), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2023.2185586>
- Scott, W., Winter, J., Munzur, A., & Koch, K. (2024). Developing a Climate Change Mitigation Policy Inventory for Canada. Available at SSRN: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4920154

Somanathan, E., Sterner, T., Sugiyama, T., Chimanikire, D., Dubash, N. K., Essandoh-Yeddu, J., Fifita, S., Goulder, L. H., Jaffe, A., Labandeira, X., Managi, S., Mitchell, C., Montero, J. P., Teng, F., & Zyllicz, T. (2014). National and Sub-national Policies and Institutions. In *Climate Change 2014 Mitigation of Climate Change: Working Group III Contribution to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge University Press.