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The European Commission's Energy and Climate Policy

A Climate for Expertise?

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This book is based on a PhD dissertation written at the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, submitted in July 2012 and defended in December 2012 at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities III, Humboldt University Berlin.

For my wife, a divine representation of love and trust

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Series Editor's Preface

Concerns about the potential environmental, social and economic impacts of climate change have led to a major international debate over what could and should be done to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. There is still a scientific debate over the likely scale of climate change, and the complex interactions between human activities and climate systems, but global average temperatures have risen and the cause is almost certainly the observed build-up of atmospheric greenhouse gases.

Whatever we now do, there will have to be a lot of social and economic adaptation to climate change – preparing for increased flooding and other climate-related problems. However, the more fundamental response is to try to reduce or avoid the human activities that are causing climate change. That means, primarily, trying to reduce or eliminate the emission of greenhouse gasses from the combustion of fossil fuels. Given that around 80 per cent of the energy used in the world at present comes from these sources, this will be a major technological, economic and political undertaking. It will involve reducing demand for energy (via lifestyle choice changes – and policies enabling such choices to be made), producing and using whatever energy we still need more efficiently (getting more from less), and supplying the reduced amount of energy from non-fossil sources (basically switching over to renewables and/or nuclear power).

Each of these options opens up a range of social, economic and environmental issues. Industrial society and modern consumer cultures have been based on the ever-expanding use of fossil fuels, so the changes required will inevitably be challenging. Perhaps, equally inevitable are disagreements and conflicts over the merits and demerits of the various options and in relation to strategies and policies for pursuing them. These conflicts and associated debates sometimes concern technical issues, but there are usually also underlying political and ideological commitments and agendas which shape, or at least color, the ostensibly technical debates. In particular, at times, technical assertions can be used to buttress specific policy frameworks in ways which subsequently prove to be flawed.

The aim of this series is to provide texts which lay out the technical, environmental and political issues relating to the various proposed

policies for responding to climate change. The focus is not primarily on the science of climate change, or on the technological detail, although there will be accounts of the state of the art to aid the assessment of the viability of the various options. However, the main focus is the policy conflicts over which strategy to pursue. The series adopts a critical approach and attempts to identify flaws in emerging policies, propositions and assertions. In particular, it seeks to illuminate counter-intuitive assessments, conclusions and new perspectives. The aim is not simply to map the debates but to explore their structure, their underlying assumptions and their limitations. The texts are incisive and authoritative sources of critical analysis and commentary, indicating clearly the divergent views that have emerged and also identifying the shortcomings of these views.

Conflicting views are certainly a common theme in the context of the policies and processes looked at in the present text. It explores the way in which the European Commission has made use of technical expertise to shape its climate and energy polices. The Commission combines unelected technocratic services with a highly politicized leadership structure, and there is plenty of room for disagreement about both the policies and the processes. This book focuses mainly on the latter, reviewing the way in which policies regarding emissions trading and renewable energy were developed, and looking at the role of experts and their specialist knowledge. As is argued in the text, in technocratic politics, knowledge is used strategically to justify positions in an allegedly depoliticized arena, but in practice there is also a strong bargaining element, with knowledge serving as an argumentative weapon that legitimizes the position, interest and preferences of political actors. Given that the Commission is part of, and linked to, the wider 'melting pot of national and supranational government systems', it is certainly helpful to try to disentangle and analyze the politics of knowledge within an institution that ultimately proposes policies in the European Union, and this book offers some fascinating political science insights into and analysis of the processes and their limitations.

Preface and Acknowledgments

Research is a collaborative venture, and some of the best insights develop in interactions with knowledgeable people. I am highly indebted to Prof. Michael Kreile (HU Berlin), Prof. Tanja Börzel (FU Berlin) and Prof. Adrienne Héritier (EUI Florence) for their patience, understanding, constructive criticism and companionship.

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Special thanks go to my interview partners. As Aberbach notes, elite interviews naturally take a lot of 'shoe leather, but they are immense fun. You'll meet some of the most interesting people in the country [. . .] If you like both politics and political science, it's one terrific way to spend your time' (Aberbach and Rockman 2002, p. 676). My interview partners offered me great insights and I am grateful for their cooperative

attitude, for the time they took to meet with me and for their willingness to share so openly.

This book reflects my academic thinking of recent years. Its pages do not show, however, those moments of joy and frustration that invariably accompany the research process. I was privileged to share these moments with an overwhelmingly supportive circle of friends and family. In particular, I would like to thank Chris, Thomas and Alex who were with me all the way. My family showed admirable, rock-solid support and absolute faith in my project – more than I ever had myself.

Finally, I would like to thank the woman who during the process of writing this book not only gave unwavering encouragement and created the environment for some of my most productive writing but also agreed to become my wife.

Abbreviations

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
ALTENER	Actions for greater penetration of renewable energy resources
ATU	Athens Technical University
BAM	border adjustment measures
BEPA	Bureau of European Policy Advisers
BP	Beyond Petroleum (originally British Petroleum)
CCAP	Center for Clean Air Policy
CCS	carbon capture and storage
CDM	clean development mechanism
CEFIC	European Chemical Industry Council
CHP	combined heat and power
CO_2	carbon dioxide
CO_2-eq, also: CO_2e	CO_2 equivalent; concentration of CO_2 equivalent to the radiative forcing of a given greenhouse gas
CO_2ReMoVe	Research project on CO_2 research, monitoring, verification
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives
DG	Directorate General
DG AGRI	Directorate General for Agriculture and Rural Development
DG COMP	DG for Competition
DG DEVCO	DG for Development and Cooperation
DG ECFIN	DG for Economic and Financial Affairs
DG EMPL	DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion
DG ENTR	DG for Enterprise and Industry
DG ENV	DG for the Environment
DG MARKT	DG for Internal Market and Services
DG RTD	Directorate-General for Research and Technological Development
DG TAXUD	DG for Taxation and Customs Union
DG TRADE	DG for Trade

DG TREN	DG for Transport and Energy
ECCP	European Climate Change Program
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECN	Energy Research Centre of the Netherlands
EEA	European Environmental Agency
EIA Directive	Directive 85/337/EC on Environmental Impact Assessments
EIB	European Investment Bank
Energy Services Directive	Directive 2006/32/EC on energy end-use efficiency and energy services
Environmental Liability Directive	Directive 2004/35/EC on liability for environmental damage
EP	European Parliament
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ERM	Environmental Resources Management
ETS	Emissions Trading Scheme
ETS	Directive Directive 2003/87/EC establishing an Emissions Trading System
ETS II Directive	Directive 2009/29/EC revising Directive 2003/87/EC
EU	European Union
EU-15	Bloc of EU Member States: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK
EU-27	Bloc of EU Member States: EU-15 plus Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia
EURELECTRIC	The Union of Electricity Industry
FIELD	Foundation for International Environmental Law and Development
GAINS	Greenhouse Gas and Air Pollution Interactions and Synergies model, developed by IIASA
GEC	green electricity certificates
GEOCAPACITY	Research project on assessing European capacity for geological storage of carbon dioxide EU
GETS	Greenhouse Gas & Energy Trading Simulations
GHG	greenhouse gas

GO	guarantees of origin
Gt	gigatonnes
H_2S	hydrogen sulfide
Hebdo	meeting meeting of the Heads of Cabinets
HLG	high-level group
IAB	Impact Assessment Board
IEA	International Energy Agency
IEE	Intelligent Energy Europe
IIASA	International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPPC	Integrated Pollution Prevention and Control
IPTS	Institute for Prospective Technological Studies
JRC	Joint Research Centre
Mt	megatonnes
NAP	National Allocation Plan
NGO	non-governmental organization
NO_x	nitrogen oxide air pollutants NO and NO_2
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPTRES	Assessment and optimization of renewable support schemes in the European electricity market
PRIMES	energy market equilibrium engineering-economic model (E^3M Lab)
RECS	Renewable Energy Certificate Systems
Renewables	Directive Directive 2009/28/EC on promoting renewable energies
RES	renewable energies (originally: renewable energy sources)
SAT	Sulphur Allowance Trading Scheme in the USA
SAVE	Program Specific Actions for Vigorous Energy Efficiency
SET	European Strategic Energy Technology Plan
SG	Secretariat General
SO_x	sulfur oxide air pollutants SO and SO_2
Special chef	meeting of the members of Cabinet responsible for a file
SRU	Sachverständigenrat für Umweltfragen
TGC	tradable green certificates

TNO	Nederlandse Organisatie voor Toegepast Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek (Dutch Organization for Applied Natural Science Research)
TREC	tradable renewable electricity certificates
UNICE	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe
VAT	Value Added Tax
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZEP	Zero Emissions Platform
ZEW	Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung