

Carleton University
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies
School of Public Policy and Administration

EURR 5106: Special Topics in European Integration Studies
PADM 5572: Policy Seminar (Sustainable Energy)
PADM 5672: Policy Seminar (Innovation, Science and Environment Concentration)
Sustainable Energy Policy in Europe
Tuesdays 14.35 – 17.25

Instructor: Francis McGowan
Office: 3315 RB
Office Hours: Monday 2-4pm
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext.6652
Email: francismcgowan@carleton.ca

Course Description

This course addresses the context to and prospects for sustainable energy policy in Europe (the focus is on developments within the European Union but developments in individual member states are also considered) Energy policy was a part of the debate on European integration since the earliest days but, until relatively recently, achievements for much of that history were modest. As sustainability became a more salient issue in European politics and policy-making, it became a significant component of European Union energy policy and the policy itself became more significant as a factor shaping the choices made by member state governments, the energy sector and energy users. However, most recently, the question of whether and how to pursue sustainable energy policy in Europe has become more contentious as concerns about energy security, competitiveness and affordability have re-emerged.

The course explores the nature of sustainable energy policy from the perspective of wider energy policy debates and examines how these debates have evolved within the European Union. It contextualizes the EU's energy policy dilemmas by examining the Union's diverse but dependent energy profile and its impact on the environment, particularly climate change (week two) Theoretically, it draws upon broader concepts of security and sustainability (weeks three and four) , relating these to questions over the nature of the EU as an international actor and as an economic and social model. It then examines in detail the development of EU energy and environmental-climate policy (weeks five and six) , the current status of energy-climate policies (week seven) and the way in which those "internal" policies are reflected in its external relations and diplomatic strategies (weeks eight and nine) The last part of the module (weeks ten, eleven and twelve) focuses on three case studies covering different energy resources which have been contentious in discussions over sustainable energy policy: renewables, nuclear power and shale gas. In each case we will examine the general debate on their contribution to sustainable energy policy, analyse comparatively the response of policy makers and stakeholders across the EU and assess how this has impacted upon the development of national and EU policies towards each of them. The final week of the course will also consider the future prospects for sustainable energy policy in Europe.

Given the multifaceted nature of the issue of sustainable energy policy and the need to cover the substance as well as the process of policy, the course will combine elements of energy market analysis with insights from economics, innovation studies and international relations as well as from political science, policy analysis and EU studies. The course, however, is grounded in concepts and debates from both Public Administration and European Studies: students with a background in only one of these may find it useful to familiarize themselves with the other. Please contact me if you need some guidance on suitable sources.

Course Requirements

The course will be organized as a seminar with detailed discussion of core readings. Those readings will comprise both theoretical and conceptual “academic” materials and policy documents. As far as possible these will be accessible on-line. Students should be fully prepared by completing the core readings, bringing copies to class, and being ready to share their thoughts on the insights and limitations. In addition, for the second and third parts of the course, students will be expected to identify a member state or a non governmental organization and to be able to provide a weekly perspective on the topic from that perspective. Participation will be graded on the basis of these contributions. Students will also be expected to give a presentation on an aspect of the topic being covered, whether as background information or a particular illustration of the topic under discussion.

Students will be expected to write two 2500 word essays (the first due at the class prior to the Fall Break, the second due at the final class of the term) An illustrative list of topics will be provided at the end of the handbook but students can choose to cover other topics subject to the tutor’s approval.

Evaluation

Participation – 20%.

Presentation – 20%.

First Essay – 30%.

Second Essay – 30%.

Course structure

- i. Introduction – overview of the course – and review of online resources relevant to the module
CONTEXTS TO EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICY
- ii. The energy/environment endowment – the EUs place in the world as a producer and user of energy and its impact on climate?
- iii. Contextualising energy policy – traditional debates – the EU as an international actor
- iv. Contextualising energy policy – sustainability and market debates – the EU model (liberal and regulatory)
ENERGY POLICY IN EUROPE – HOW SUSTAINABLE?
- v. Evolution of Energy policy in Europe
- vi. Evolution of Environmental and Climate Policy in Europe
- vii. Contemporary EU energy and climate policy
- viii. EU Energy diplomacy
- ix. EU Climate diplomacy
CASE STUDIES IN SUSTAINABLE EUROPEAN ENERGY POLICY
- x. Sustainable energy in Europe: renewable energy
- xi. Sustainable energy in Europe: nuclear power
- xii. Sustainable energy in Europe: shale gas

Class sessions

1. Introduction to the Course (Sept. 8, 2015)

This class is introductory as both an overview of the course, in terms of the content and the requirements, and as an opportunity to gauge students' knowledge of the different strands feeding into the course (energy and energy policy, policy analysis concepts, EU institutions and processes, etc). The class will also identify a variety of sources (organisations, data, media) available online.

2. Contextualising European Energy Policy: Europe's Energy and Environmental "Endowment" (Sept. 15, 2015)

This class outlines the evolution of Europe's position as a consumer of energy and a producer of emissions and places it in the context of global trends. We will look at the interaction between energy and the economy, the changing patterns of production and trade and the diversity of conditions within the region. The aim is to gain a better understanding of Europe's energy and environmental profile, both historically and geographically.

Reading – Data Sources

British Petroleum (2015) , *BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2015*, London: BP.

Department of Energy and Climate Change (2009) *Digest of UK energy statistics (DUKES) : 60th anniversary*, HMSO.

European Commission (2008) *Europe's current and future energy position Demand – resources – investments*, European Commission.

European Commission (2014) *EU Energy in Figures Statistical Pocketbook 2014*, Eurostat.

European Commission (2013) *EU energy, transport, and greenhouse gas emissions trends to 2050*, European Commission.

European Environment Agency (2008) *Energy and environment report 2008 EEA Report No 6/2008*.

European Environment Agency (2015) *European environment, state and outlook 2015, synthesis report*, EEA.

European Environment Agency *Greenhouse gas emission trends and projections in Europe 2009 EEA Report No 9/2009*.

International Energy Agency (1989) *Energy and the Environment - Policy Overview*, IEA.

International Energy Agency (2014) *Energy Policies of IEA Countries: European Union 2014 Review*, IEA.

International Energy Agency (2014) *Key World Energy Statistics 2014*, IEA.

International Energy Agency (2014) *World Energy Outlook 2014*, IEA.

International Energy Agency (various) *World Energy Outlook* various editions from 2009 and before.

Commentaries on energy trends

Fouquet, R. and P. Pearson (2006) 'Seven centuries of energy prices' *Energy Journal* 27(1)

Fouquet, Roger (2010) "The slow search for solutions: lessons from historical energy transitions by sector and service" *Energy Policy*, 38 (11) 6586-6596.

Mackay, D (2008) *Sustainable Energy Without the Hot Air*, Cambridge: UIT.

Smil, V (1994) *Energy in World History*, Westview Press (chapters 5 and 6)

Smil, V (2005) *Energy at the Crossroads*, MIT Press.

3. Contextualising European energy policy – traditional debates: energy security and the EU as an international actor (Sept. 22, 2015)

This class will explore what has traditionally been the central concern of energy policy – supply security. We will examine different dimensions and meanings of “security” in energy policy and relate this to broader debates about security and securitization, including the question of environmental security. To complement what has often been seen as an “externally” focused dimension of energy policy the class will also cover the debate around the EU’s role as an international actor.

Key Reading

Ciuta, F (2010) “Conceptual Notes on Energy Security: Total or Banal Security?” *Security Dialogue* 41(2).

Deudney, D (1990) "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security" *Millennium* 19(3).

Hill, C (1993) ‘The Capability–Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe’s International Role’. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(3).

Winzer, C (2012) “Conceptualizing Energy Security” *Energy Policy* Volume 46, July 2012, Pages 36–48.

Further Reading

Security and securitization

Buzan, B., O. Waever and J de Wilde (1997) *Security: a New Framework for Analysis* Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Collins, A (ed) (2010) *Contemporary Security Studies*, Oxford University Press.

Hough, P (2004) *Understanding Global Security*, Routledge.

Ullman, R (1983) “Redefining Security” *International Security* 8(1).

Waever, O (1995) "Securitization and Desecuritization" in R. Lipschutz (ed) *On Security* Columbia University Press.

Williams, M (2008) “(In) Security Studies, Reflexive Modernization and the Risk Society”, *Cooperation and Conflict* 43.

Energy Supply Security Debates

Buchan, D (2002) “The Threat Within: Deregulation and Energy Security” *Survival* 44(3).

Burrows, S. and G. Treverton (2007) "A Strategic View of Energy Futures" *Survival* 49(3).

Cherp, A and Jewell, J (2011) “The three perspectives on energy security: intellectual history, disciplinary roots and the potential for integration” *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 3.

Chester, L (2010) “Conceptualising energy security and making explicit its polysemic nature” *Energy Policy* 38(2).

Connelly, P. and R. Perlman (1975) *The Politics of Scarcity - Resource Conflicts in International Relations*, Oxford University Press.

Helm, D (2005) “The New Energy Paradigm” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 21(1).

Helm, D (2002) ‘Energy policy: security of supply, sustainability and competitiveness’ *Energy Policy* 30(3).

Luciani, G (2011) “Armed Conflicts and Security of Oil and Gas Supplies” *CEPS Working Document* 352.

- Luciani, G (2011) "Global Oil Supplies: The Impact of Resource Nationalism and Political Instability" *CEPS Working Document* 350.
- Luciani, G (2011) "Restrictions of Passage, Accidents and Oil Transportation Norms: Impact on Supply Security", *CEPS Working Document* 354.
- Luciani, G (2011) "The Functioning of the International Oil Markets and its Security Implications" *CEPS Working Document* 351.
- Luciani, G and Henry, F (2011) "Strategic Oil Stocks and Security of Supply" *CEPS Working Document* 353.
- Luft, G and Korin, A (2009) *Energy Security Challenges for the 21st Century* Oxford: Praeger Security International.
- Moran, D and Russell, J (2009) *Energy Security and Global Politics: The militarization of resource management* Oxford: Routledge.
- Mulligan, S (2011) "Energy and human ecology: a critical security approach" *Environmental Politics* 20(5).
- Watkins, C (2006) "Oil scarcity: what have the past three decades revealed?" *Energy Policy* 34:5.
- Yergin, D (1991) *The Prize* New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Yergin, D (2006) "Ensuring Energy Security" *Foreign Affairs* Vol 85 (2).
- Environmental and Climate Security Debates*
- Barnett, J (2003) "Security and Climate Change" *Global Environmental Change* 13.
- Barnett, J (2007) "Environmental Security" in Collins, A (ed) *Contemporary Security Studies*, OUP.
- Brauch, H (2008) *Globalization and environmental challenges: reconceptualizing security in the 21st century*, Springer.
- Bulkeley, H (2001) "Governing Climate Change: The Politics of Risk Society?" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 26, No. 4.
- Burgess, J.P (2007) "Non-military security challenges", in Craig A. Snyder, (ed) *Contemporary Security and Strategy*, Palgrave.
- Busby, J.W (2007) "Climate Change and National Security An Agenda for Action" *CSR 32*, Council on Foreign Relations (downloadable at www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/ClimateChange_CSR32.pdf)
- Campbell, K (2007) *The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change* CSIS http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071105_ageofconsequences.pdf.
- Chasek et al (2006) *Global Environmental Politics*, Westview.
- Compston, H (2010) "The Politics of Climate Policy: Strategic Options for National Governments" *The Political Quarterly*, 81.
- Dalby, S (2009) *Security and environmental change*, Polity.
- Dyer, H (2000) "Environmental Security: the New Agenda" in Jones, C and Kennedy-Pipe, C (eds) *International Security in a Global Age*, Cass.
- Floyd, R (2008) "The Environmental Security Debate and its Significance for Climate Change" *The International Spectator*, 43(3).

German Advisory Council on Global Change (2007) *World in Transition – Climate Change as a Security Risk* Earthscan (downloadable at http://www.wbgu.de/wbgu_jg2007_engl.pdf).

IEA (2007) *Energy Security and Climate Policy: Assessing Interactions*, Paris: IEA.

Mazo, J (2009) 'Climate conflict: how global warming threatens security & what to do about it', *Adelphi Paper* 49 (409).

Podesta, J and P. Ogden (2008) "The Security Implications of Climate Change" *The Washington Quarterly* 31:1 (downloadable at http://www.twq.com/08winter/docs/08winter_podesta.pdf).

Selby, J and Hoffmann, C (2014) "Rethinking Climate Change, Conflict and Security" *Geopolitics* 19(4).

Stang, G (2014) Climate change and EU security When and how they intersect *EUISS Brief*.

Toke, D and Vezirgiannidou, S (2013) "The relationship between climate change and energy security: key issues and conclusions", *Environmental Politics* 22(4).

Trombetta, M.J (2008) "Environmental security and climate change: analysing the discourse" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 21(4).

The EU as an International Actor

Bretherton, Charlotte & Vogler, John (2004) *The European Union As A Global Actor*, Routledge.

Hill, C. J. & Smith, M. (eds) (2005) *International Relations and the European Union*, OUP.

Joenniemi, P (2007) "Towards a European Union of Post-Security" *Cooperation and Conflict*, 42(1).

Manners, I (2002) "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40(2).

Orbie, J (2006) "Civilian Power Europe: Review of the Original and Current Debates" *Cooperation and Conflict* 41.

Youngs, R (2010) *Europe's Decline and Fall: the Struggle Against Global Irrelevance*, London: Profile.

Zielonka, J (1998) *Explaining Euro-paralysis: Why Europe Is Unable To Act In International Politics*, MacMillan.

4. Contextualising European Energy Policy – sustainability debates and the EU as a model of economic governance (Sept. 29, 2015)

In this class we focus on the way in which energy policy debates have evolved over recent decades. Our principal focus is on the rise of "sustainability" as a component of energy policy (and of the academic study of energy policy) with an emphasis on the concept of transitions to sustainability. However this period also saw another shift in energy policy, perhaps more related to the means than the ends, away from state intervention to market liberalisation. We therefore explore the reasons for this shift and its consequences. Since both of these strands have been particularly characteristic of EU policy making we also review the nature of the EU as a model of economic governance and consider it as a "regulatory state", using its legal powers both to liberalise markets and address market failures.

Key Reading

Scrase, I. and Smith, A. (2009) 'The (non-) politics of managing low carbon socio-technical transitions', *Environmental Politics* 18, 5, 707-726.

Verbong, G and Geels, F (2007) "The ongoing energy transition: lessons from a socio-technical, multilevel analysis of the Dutch electricity system (1960-2004) *Energy Policy*, 35 1025-1037.

Pollitt, M (2012) "The Role of Policy in Energy Transitions: Lessons from the Energy Liberalisation Era" *Energy Policy* 50 128-137.

McCann, D (2010) *Political Economy of the European Union*, Polity (chapter 2).

Further Reading

Transitions to Sustainability and the Role of Regulation

Aklin, M., & Urpelainen, J. (2013) Political competition, path dependence, and the strategy of sustainable energy transitions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(3) 643-658.

Ashford, N. and Hall, R. (2011) "The Importance of Regulation-Induced Innovation for Sustainable Development." *Sustainability*, 3(1) 270-292.

Berger, G., et al. (2001) "Ecological modernization as a basis for environmental policy: current environmental discourse and policy and the implications on environmental supply chain management" *Innovation*, 14 (1) 55–72.

Blind, K., (2012) The influence of regulations on innovation: A quantitative assessment for OECD countries. *Research Policy*, 41 (2) 391-400.

Christensen, C (1997) *The Innovator's Dilemma: When New technologies cause great firms to fail*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Christoff, P. (1996) "Ecological modernization, ecological modernities". *Environmental Politics*, 5 (3) 476–500.

Cox, R. H. and Béland, D. (2013) "Valence, Policy Ideas, and the Rise of Sustainability" *Governance*, 26: 307–328.

Danneels, E (2004) "Disruptive Technology Reconsidered: a Critique and research Agenda" *Journal of Product Innovation Management* 21, 246-258.

Fouquet, R. (2010) 'The slow search for solutions: Lessons from historical energy transitions by sector and service', *Energy Policy* 38, 6586-6596.

Geels, F (2002) "Technological transitions as evolutionary reconfiguration processes: a multi-level perspective and a case study" *Research Policy* 31, 1257-1274.

Hillebrand, R (2013) Climate protection, energy security, and Germany's policy of ecological modernisation, *Environmental Politics*, 22:4, 664-682.

Jaffe, A., Newell, R. and Stavins, R., (2002) "Environmental Policy and Technological Change" *Environmental and Resource Economics*, 22 (1-2) 41-70.

Jänicke, M. (2008) "Ecological modernisation: new perspectives" *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 16, 557–565.

Jasanoff, S., (1990) "American Exceptionalism and the Political Acknowledgement of Risk". *Daedalus*, 119(4) 61-81.

Jordan, A and Huitema, D (2014) "Innovation in climate policy: the politics of invention, diffusion and evaluation" *Environmental Politics* 23(5).

Kemp, R. (1994) 'Technology and the transition to environmental sustainability: the problem of technological regime shifts'. *Futures* 26, 1023–1046.

- Kemp, R. (1997) *Environmental Policy and Technical Change. A Comparison of the Technological Impact of Policy Instruments*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Kern, F. and Howlett, M. (2009) 'Implementing transition management as policy reforms: a case study of the Dutch energy sector' *Policy Sciences*, 42 (4) 391-408.
- Lockwood, M (2015) "The political dynamics of green transformations" in Scoones, I Leach, M and Newell, P (eds) *The Politics of Green Transformations*, Earthscan.
- Markand, Jochen; Raven, Rob; Truffer, Bernhard (2012) 'Sustainability transitions: An emerging field of research and its prospects', *Research Policy* 41, 955-967.
- Markand, J. and Truffer, B. (2006) 'Innovation processes in large technical systems: market liberalization as a driver for radical change?' *Research Policy* 35, 5: 609-25.
- Meadowcroft, J. (2005) 'Environmental political economy, technological transitions and the state' *New Political Economy* 10: 4, 479-98.
- Meadowcroft, J. (2009) 'What about the politics? Sustainable development, transition management and long term energy transitions' *Policy Sciences* 42: 323-340.
- Meadowcroft, James (2011) 'Engaging with the politics of sustainability transitions', *Environmental Innovations and Societal Transitions* 1 (2011) 70-75.
- Mikler, J. and Harrison, N. (2012) "Varieties of Capitalism and Technological Innovation for Climate Change Mitigation" *New Political Economy* 17 (2) 179-208.
- Moran, M. (2003) *The British Regulatory State: High Modernism and Hyper-Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Pearson, P. J., and Foxon, T. J. (2012) "A low carbon industrial revolution? Insights and challenges from past technological and economic transformations." *Energy Policy*, 50, 117-127.
- Porter, M. and van der Linde, C. (1995) "Toward a New Conception of the Environment Competitiveness Relationship". *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9(4) 97-118.
- Rutledge, I. and Wright, P. (eds) (2010) *UK Energy Policy and the End of Market Fundamentalism* Oxford: O.U.P.
- Seippel, Ø. (2000) "Ecological modernization as a theoretical device: strengths and weaknesses" *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 2, 287-302.
- Smith et al (2010) 'Innovation studies and sustainability transitions: The allure of the multi-level perspective and its challenges' *Research Policy* 39: 4, 435-448.
- Sorrell, S. and J. Skea (1999) *Pollution for Sale* Elgar.
- Toke, D. (2011) "Ecological modernization, social movements and renewable energy" *Environmental Politics*, 20 (1) 60-77.
- Vogel, D. (2012) *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety, and Environmental Risks in Europe and the United States*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vogel, D. (2003) "The Hare and the Tortoise Revisited: The New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe" *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(4) 557-80.
- Weale, A. (1992) *The New Politics of Pollution*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wiener, J. (2004) "The Regulation of Technology and the Technology of Regulation" *Technology in Society*, 26(2-3) 483-500.

- Wurzel, R.K.W. (2010) Environmental, climate and energy policies: path-dependent incrementalism or quantum leap? *German Politics*, 19 (3) 460–478.
- York, R. and Rosa, E.A., (2003) “Key challenges to ecological modernization theory”. *Organization & Environment*, 16 (3) 273–288.
- Zysman, J and Huberty, M (2012) “Religion and Reality in the Search for Green Growth” *Intereconomics*, 47(3).
The EU as a Model of Economic Governance and as a Regulatory State
- Cafruny, A and Ryner, M (2003) *A Ruined Fortress: Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*, Rowman and Littlefield.
- Gillingham, J (2003) *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* Cambridge UP.
- Jabko, N. (2006) *Playing the market: A political strategy for uniting Europe, 1985-2005*. Cornell University Press.
- Majone, G (1994) 'The Rise of the Regulatory State in Europe' *West European Politics*, Vol 17 No 2.
- Majone, G (2000) 'The Credibility Crisis of Community Regulation', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38 (2) 273-302.
- McGowan, F and Wallace, H (1996) 'Towards a European Regulatory State' *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol 3 No 4.
- Rhodes, M (1995) 'Subversive Liberalism: market integration, globalization and the European welfare state' in *Journal of European Public Policy* 2:3 385-407.
- Scharpf, F (1997) “Economic Integration, Democracy and the Welfare State” *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(1).
- Scharpf, F (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, V and Thatcher, M (2013) *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy*, Oxford University Press (chapter 6).

5. The Evolution of EU Energy Policy (Oct. 6, 2015)

In this class we look at the way in which European energy policy debates developed in the second half of the twentieth century, focusing on the period following the energy crises of the 1970s. At the start of this era, energy security was highly politicized in Europe and elsewhere (though primarily at the national level – attempts to coordinate policies in the then European Community were largely ineffective) However, by the late 1980s, supply security was no longer such a concern and policy makers, first in the UK and then elsewhere, began to rethink traditional models and priorities of energy policy by applying the principles of liberalization to the sector. This shift in policy coincided with the revival of European integration, and led to a more significant European Community dimension to energy policy-making.

Key Reading

- Eising, Reiner (2002) “Policy Learning in Embedded Negotiations: Explaining EU Electricity Liberalization” *International Organization*, Volume 56, Number 1, 85-120.
- McGowan, F (1990) “Conflicting Objectives in European Energy Policy” in Crouch, C and Marquand, D (eds) *The Politics of 1992* Blackwell.
- Turner, L (1975) "The European Community: Factors of Disintegration" *International Affairs* 51.

Further Reading

- Brondel, G and Morton, N (1977) "The European Community – an Energy Perspective" *Annual Review of Energy* 2.
- Correljé, A. and C. van der Linde (2006) "Energy Supply Security and Geopolitics: A European Perspective", *Energy Policy* 34/5.
- Davis, J (1976) "The Arab Use of Oil: October 1973 – July 1974" *Cooperation and Conflict* 11 (1).
- European Commission (1968) *First Guidelines for a Community Energy Policy. Memorandum presented by the Commission to the Council.* COM (68) 1040.
- European Commission (1972) *Necessary progress in community energy policy, Communication from the Commission to the Council forwarded on 13 October 1972,* COM (72) 1200.
- European Commission (1974) *Towards a new energy policy strategy for the Community.* European Commission, Brussels.
- European Commission, (1977) *Second report on the achievement of Community Energy Policy Objectives for 1985,* COM(77) 395final. European Commission, Brussels.
- European Commission (1988) *The Internal Energy Market* COM (88) 238.
- European Commission (1990) *Working Paper of the Commission on Security of Supply, the Internal Market and Energy Policy,* SEC (90) 1248.
- European Commission (1994) *Green Paper - For a European Union Energy Policy,* COM (94) 659.
- European Commission, (1995) *White Paper: An Energy Policy for the European Union.* COM (95) 682.
- European Commission (2000) *Towards a European Strategy for Energy Supply Security - Green Paper.* COM (2000) 769 final.
- Hager, W (1976) "Western Europe: the Politics of Muddling Through" in J. C. Hurewitz (ed) *Oil, the Arab Israeli Dispute and the Industrial World,* Boulder: Westview.
- Hughes, G (2008) "Britain, the TransAtlantic Alliance and the Arab Israeli War of 1973" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 10(2)
- Itayim, F (1975) "Strengths and Weaknesses of the Oil Weapon" *Adelphi Paper* 115.
- Jentleson, B (1986) *Pipeline Politics,* Cornell UP.
- Licklider, R (1982) "The Failure of the Arab Oil Weapon in 1973-1974" *Comparative Strategy* 3(4)
- Lieber, R (1976) "Oil and the Middle East War: Europe in the Energy Crisis" *Harvard Studies in International Affairs* 35.
- Lieber, R (1980) "Energy, Economics and Security in Alliance Perspective" *International Security,* 4(4)
- Lucas, N (1977) *Energy and the European Communities,* Europa Press.
- Lucas, N (1985) *Western European Energy Policies* Oxford: Clarendon.
- Macintosh, A (2010) "Security of Europe's Gas Supply: EU Vulnerability", *CEPS Policy Brief* 222.
- Matlary, J (1997) *Energy Policy in the European Union* Macmillan.
- Maull, H (1975) "Oil and Influence - the Oil Weapon Examined" *Adelphi Paper* 117.

- Padgett, S (1992) "The Single European Energy Market: The Politics of Realization" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 30: 53–76.
- Pearson, F and Nyden, M (1980) "Energy Crisis and Government Regulations: Swedish and Dutch responses in 1973" *West European Politics* 3(3).
- Peeters, S (2004) "Coercive Western Energy Security Strategies: 'Resource Wars' as a New Threat to Global Security" *Geopolitics* 9(1).
- Prodi, R and Clo, A (1975) "Europe" *Dadealus* 104.
- Simonet, H (1975) "Energy and the Future of Europe" *Foreign Affairs* 53(3).
- Stewart, C (1973) "Energy and the Balance of Payments" *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, 31(2).
- Walton, A (1976) "Atlantic Relations: Policy Coordination and Conflict – Atlantic Bargaining over Energy" *International Affairs* 52(2).

6. The Evolution of EU Environmental and Climate Policy (Oct. 13, 2015)

Parallel to the developments discussed in the last class was the growing salience of environmental issues in Europe. In this class we explore the rise of environmental policy at the national and European Community level and its impact on the energy sector. We also discuss the initial attempts within the European Community to craft a response to climate change.

Key Reading

- Damro, Chad, and Pilar Luaces Méndez (2003) "Emissions Trading at Kyoto: From EU Resistance to Union Innovation". *Environmental Politics* 12 (2).
- Majone, G (2002) "What Price Safety? The Precautionary Principle and its Policy Implications" *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol 40.
- Lenschow, A. and Zito, A. R. (1998) "Blurring or Shifting of Policy Frames?: Institutionalization of the Economic-Environmental Policy Linkage in the European Community" *Governance*, 11: 415–441.
- Vogel, D (2003) "The Hare and the Tortoise Revisited: The New Politics of Consumer and Environmental Regulation in Europe" *British Journal of Political Science* 33.

Further Reading

- Andersen, M and Liefferink, D (1997) *European Environmental Policy: the Pioneers*, Manchester University Press.
- Boehmer-Christiansen, S and Kea, J (1991) *Acid Politics* Belhaven.
- European Commission (1990) *Energy and the Environment*, COM (89) 369.
- European Commission (1992) *Towards Sustainability* COM (92) 23.
- European Commission (1992) *A Community Strategy to limit Carbon Dioxide Emissions and to Improve Energy Efficiency* COM (92) 246.
- European Commission (1997) *Climate Change: the EU Approach to Kyoto* COM (97) 481.
- European Commission (2000) *On the Precautionary Principle* COM (2000) 1.

- Golub, J (ed) (1998) *Global Competition and EU Environmental Policy*, Routledge.
- Hanf, K and Janssen, A (eds) (1998) *Governance and Environment in Western Europe*, Longmans.
- Jordan, Andrew, ed (2007) *Environmental Policy in the European Union: Actors Institutions and Processes*, London: Earthscan.
- Jordan, Andrew, Rüdiger Wurzel, Anthony R. Zito, and Lars Brückner (2003) "European Governance and the Transfer of 'New' Environmental Policy Instruments". *Public Administration* 8 (3)
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7. The EU's Energy-Climate Package and After (Oct. 20, 2015)

In this class we look at the origins and development of the EU's current climate and energy policy, focusing on the role of security considerations and the interaction of those with other policy objectives. We examine the roles of the European institutions and member states as well as other stakeholders in shaping that policy. We then consider the impact of the Package and the way in which policies have evolved particularly in the light of the economic and political problems which have faced the EU since it was launched.

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8. The EU's Energy Diplomacy (Nov. 3, 2015)

In this class we examine how the EU has developed its external relations with energy suppliers and consumers, placing its evolution in the broader context of the role of international institutions in the energy sector. We also consider how effective its energy diplomacy has been in improving the Union's energy security.

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9. The EU's Climate Diplomacy (Nov. 10, 2015)

In this class we examine the EU's role in the process of negotiating an international agreement on climate change and consider whether the EU can be considered as a leader in that process. We also assess the present status of the global negotiations.

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10. Sustainable energy in Europe: renewable energy (Nov. 17, 2015)

Many of those campaigning for a sustainable energy system would highlight renewable energy as the centrepiece of such a system (along with energy efficiency). However, many in the traditional energy supply industries as well as in energy policy making circles question whether renewables can play such a role, arguing that problems of cost and intermittency work against their full scale deployment. In this class we chart the evolution of renewable energy in Europe exploring the very different policy environments that have emerged in member states and examine how those diverging preferences have shaped policy at the EU level.

Key Reading

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11. Sustainable energy in Europe: nuclear power (Nov. 24, 2015)

After many years in the doldrums, nuclear power appeared to be on the verge of a significant revival in the new century, not least because of its potential contribution to reducing reliance on fossil fuels. Even some traditional opponents of the technology in the environmental movement embraced it as a necessary component of a sustainable energy market. Difficulties and delays in constructing new reactors, compounded by the Fukushima accident in 2011, have called this revival into question though some countries remain committed to new investments. In this class we chart the changing fortunes of nuclear power and explain the underlying factors behind the very different national responses in Europe (differences that have limited the role of EU policies in this area).

Key Reading

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Mex, L (2012) "Nuclear Energy – any solution for sustainability and climate protection?" *Energy Policy*: 56-63.

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12. Sustainable energy in Europe: shale gas (Dec. 1, 2015)

For its advocates, shale gas is a sustainable resource, low carbon by comparison with coal, displacing the latter and serving as a bridge to an energy economy which does not damage the climate while increasing supply security and lowering prices. For its critics, shale gas is at best a distraction from establishing a zero carbon energy system and at worst a threat which locks producers and consumers into fossil fuels for another generation of investments with a much bigger impact on global warming through methane emissions and a host environmental, health and safety problems of its own. In this class we look at the arguments for and against shale gas development and contrast the experience of development in (much of) North America with the limited progress, and considerable opposition, in Europe. In addition this class will provide a conclusion to the course with a discussion of the prospects for and problems facing European energy policy.

Key Readings

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McGowan, F (2014) "Regulating Innovation: European responses to shale gas development, *Environmental Politics*, 23:1, 41-58.

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Indicative Essay Topics

How has the EU's external role evolved over its history?

Is EU energy supply security best regarded as a geopolitical or a technical-economic challenge?

Should climate and environmental issues be seen as security issues?

Are models of transition to sustainability compatible with the priorities of European integration?

What is the relevance of the 1970s energy crises for the crises of the 21st century in Europe?

Why has the EU's influence over European energy policy increased? Can it be sustained?

What factors shape the EU's environmental and climate policies?

What have been the principal problems in implementing the EU's energy-climate package?

How have the economic problems facing Europe since 2008 affected EU energy climate policy?

Has EU energy diplomacy securitized or desecuritized its relations with energy producing companies?

How have the EU's internal negotiations on climate policy affected its capacity to play a leading role in global climate talks?

Can the challenges of energy and climate security be resolved by a reliance on market forces rather than government intervention?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of a purely "technical" approach to mitigating climate change?

This is not an exclusive list so please feel free to suggest alternative topics and titles if your interests lie elsewhere in what might constitute European Sustainable Energy Policy. However, you need to contact me to approve any title other than those listed above.

Academic Accommodations:

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism:

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in “substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of “F” for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside 3304 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.