

The European Union's Quest for International Climate Change Leadership

*A Chronological Analysis of the Role of the EU in
International Climate Change Politics*

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By

Lene Brommann

Supervisor: Søren Dosenrode

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Abstract:

This thesis sets out to investigate the role of the European Union in international climate change politics over a period of two decades, more specifically from 1990 to the end of 2008.

Studying the EU in relation to climate change is considered highly relevant, as it is a policy issue of overall importance in today's world politics. Further to this, the European Union is considered to have been and still is an important and pivotal player in international climate change politics. Thus investigating the role played by the European Union in this sphere is certainly relevant.

The focus in this thesis is the role of the EU seen from the perspective of leadership, as this is a denomination often connected to the EU, when speaking of climate change. A long-term perspective in the analysis is applied, in order to fully capture and understand the EU's engagement over time.

The overall aim is to bring forward an explanation as to why EU leadership has been somewhat inconsistent and fluctuating in the period under investigation, when it from the outset seems to have had a clear ambition of leadership in this sphere. The guiding question is sought answered by assessing the EU's engagement in international climate change politics through the glasses of a role-theoretical framework, emphasising the analytical variables of role-conception and role-performance. Through a theoretical understanding of leadership, the two aspects of role are held against this background in order to measure the degree of leadership projected and exerted.

Through the analytical distinction between role-conception and role-performance, several important and interesting findings are generated, which provides a basis for understanding and explaining EU fluctuating leadership. The main findings of the two analytical chapters are applied and held against each other identifying a conception-performance gap at points in the period analysed. Taking a closer look at the variables surrounding this gap a possible understanding and explanation of EU fluctuating behaviour emerges.

Three main explanatory variables are identified and assessed through the use of the underlying perspectives on role as represented in the role-theoretical framework and overall assist to put forward an overall explanation and understanding of EU fluctuating leadership as a result of a range of internal and external determinants.

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Annex 1: Role conception analysis: Review of EC speeches and press releases

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List of abbreviations:

AGBM	Ad Hoc Group on the Berlin Mandate
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Countries
COP	Conference of the Parties
DG	Directorate General
EC	European Community
ECCP	European Climate Change Programme
ET	Emissions Trading
ETS	Emission Trading System
EU	European Union
FCCC	Framework Convention on Climate Change
GHG	Green House Gas
INC	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IR	International Relations
JUSCANZ	Japan, US, Canada, Australia, Norway and New Zealand (around COP1 – it should be noted that the constituents of the Group varies over time, and later it comes to be known as the Umbrella group including among others parties such as Russia and Ukraine)
KP	Kyoto Protocol
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAMS	Policies and Measures
REIO	Regional Economic Integration Organisation
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States

**Timeline of international negotiations in the realm of the UN and main
 Milestones**

UN Climate Process	Year	Main Milestones
INC	1990	INC for a FCCC established by the UN General Assembly
INC	1991	
"Earth Summit" in Rio	1992	UNFCCC Signed
-	1993	
-	1994	UNFCCC enters into force
COP1 (Berlin)	1995	Berlin-Mandate
COP2 (Geneva)	1996	Geneva-Declaration
COP3 (Kyoto)	1997	Kyoto Protocol agreed
COP4 (Buenos Aires)	1998	Buenos Aires Plan of Action
COP5 (Bonn)	1999	
COP6 (The Hague)	2000	Breakdown of negotiations
COP6bis (Bonn) COP7 (Marrakech)	2001	US withdraws from the Kyoto Protocol
COP8 (Delhi)	2002	
COP9 (Milan)	2003	
COP10 (Buenos Aires)	2004	
COP11 (Montreal)	2005	Kyoto Protocol enters into force
COP12 (Nairobi)	2006	
COP13 (Bali)	2007	Bali Action Plan
COP14 (Poznan)	2008	
COP15 (Copenhagen)	2009	?

Part 1: Introduction, problem, and methodology:

1 Initial considerations

1.1 Introduction and problem formulation:

Global climate change is currently a much debated issue, and has been for some time now. It entered the international political agenda in the early 90s, after the attention and warnings put forward by the scientific community was noticed by diplomats. By 1992, the international community had agreed on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Harris 2007a:11). Today, almost two decades later, the climate change issue seems to have become one of high politics, in that it is a regularly debated topic among world leaders at G20 summits, in the United Nations (UN) Security Council, and the UN General Assembly to mention a few (Oberthür & Roche Kelly 2008: 35; Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 106).

Since the signing of the UNFCCC in 1992, a protocol with binding rules and targets have been produced and agreed upon, although without the participation of the world's developing countries, nor the world's largest emitter of CO₂ the United States(US). The Kyoto Protocol (KP), which sets binding reduction targets for its signatories, began its commitment period in 2008 and will expire in 2012 (Harris 2007a:15). Currently, international efforts are focused on coming to an agreement on the future design of the climate regime post-2012. The deadline for reaching a new agreement is set to December 2009, where the 15th Conference of the Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC will be held in Copenhagen.

There is a general agreement among scholars that throughout the development of the climate change regime, the European Union (EU) has been a pivotal player and has provided important momentum at critical stages (See for example Oberthür & Roche Kelly 2008; Gupta & Grubb 2000; Harris 2007; Schreurs & Tiberghien 2007; Gupta & Ringius 2001; Ott & Oberthür 1999). In the current negotiations the EU is still considered an all important player in leading the way towards a final agreement (Euractiv 2009).

From the time when the climate change issue started to gain way in the political debate, the EU clearly projected an ambition of playing an important role internationally. As early as 1988, the European Council mentioned the ambition of the Community and its member states *“to play a leading role in the action needed to protect the world's environment [...] particularly to such*

global problems as [...] the greenhouse effect" (European Council 1988). In 1990, a joint Energy- and Environment Council decision of a European stabilisation target was agreed, which by scholars explicitly have been considered to be a clear sign of EU aspirations for leading the way in the establishment of an international climate regime (Sjøstedt 1998:230; Ringius 1999:8).

However, despite a rather clear ambition of leadership put forward by the EU early on, scholarly assessment of the degree of leadership provided by the European Union in this area shows a more inconsistent picture of EU leadership over the last two decades (Harris 2007b:378; Oberthür & Roche Kelly 2008: 35-36; Vogler & Bretherton 2006: 19). Sebastian Oberthür and Claire Roche Kelly for instance point out how leadership has been more a characteristic trait of EU performance in the new millennium, although with glimpses of leadership in the 90s (Oberthür & Roche Kelly 2008: 35-36). The above reflects just a few of the scholars who have dealt with the EU in relation to climate change, but there is a clear indication that performance in terms of EU leadership over time has been inconsistent and somewhat fluctuating, despite a clearly defined ambition of such role by the EU from the outset.

On the grounds of such evaluations, an analysis of the role of the EU in relation to international climate change politics seems to be in place, in an attempt to establish why the role of the EU has been inconsistent in this sphere.

The research question guiding this thesis thus becomes:

"Why has EU leadership in international climate change politics been fluctuating over time, when in fact the Union seems to have had a clear ambition of taking on a leadership role from the beginning of the regime formation in the early 90s?"

1.2 Relevance and aim:

The answer to the question posed in this thesis is relevant for a number of reasons.

First of all, it is relevant for policy-makers as well as researchers concerned with the EU as an actor internationally, in that such investigation may provide important insight as to how the EU acts in relation to the outside world, and by what variables such actions are determined.

For policy-makers this can be valuable insight, as the EU is an actor that is increasingly involved in a number of international issues, and will therefore serve as a point of reference in the formulation of policies. For the academic community, the EU as an international actor is often a subject of

interest and looking at the Union from different theoretical angles may provide new and valuable insight, which can be of great interest to the scholarly community.

Studying the EU in relation to climate change as a policy area is indeed relevant, as it is an issue of overall importance in world politics, and with the current focus on the future design of the climate change regime, understanding the role played by the Union is clearly relevant. As mentioned, the EU is considered to have been and still is a pivotal player in international climate change politics, thus understanding variables concerning past behaviour of the EU may give ground for assumptions about future behaviour. Furthermore, it is specifically interesting to obtain greater knowledge on how an actor such as the EU, complex as it is, deals with a complex issue such as climate change.

Thus, the overall aim of this project is twofold. It seeks to contribute to the scholarly debate on the European Union as an international actor by making an analysis of the role played by the EU in international climate change politics.

Furthermore, by addressing past behaviour and performance by the EU in this issue-area, and seeking to investigate the underlying reasons for such behaviour, this project may be useful in assessing and understanding the behaviour of the EU in current negotiations

1.3 Limitations:

As indicated above, both the EU and the issue of climate change are considered complex objects, and thus call for a delimitation of this thesis before moving ahead with this paper.

First of all, when dealing with climate change politics, both internationally and within the EU, many aspects are highly central. As will become clear later, to deal with climate change and find common solutions to such problems is highly complex as it involves many facets, and is about weighing economic costs with ethics and moral responsibility. However by no means is it possible to touch upon such broad range of problems within the limits of this thesis. This thesis does not intend to touch upon the many issues and problems of climate change nor does it seek to evaluate on the international negotiations and their outcome. Rather the intention is to put a focus on the role played by the EU in relation to international climate change politics and why such role is played out the way it is.

Secondly it should be noted that when investigating the role of the EU in international climate change politics several starting points could be relevant in that the EU as an actor in this sphere is somewhat complex due to its institutional set-up (see section 3.2). It could for instance be interesting to investigate the influence of the Council Presidency, as it plays an important role for

the external representation of the EU or take a closer look at the role played by some of the EU member states as a contribution to the EU as a leading actor. However in this thesis such angles will not be investigated further albeit they are acknowledged as possible important influential variables. This thesis will treat the EU in its collective capacity as an actor providing leadership. Further limitations in this regard will be provided throughout the next section on methodological considerations, as well as throughout the paper when considered necessary.

1.4 Methodological considerations:

1.4.1 Clarification of underlying assumptions:

Before introducing the methodological considerations concerning the theoretical and analytical approaches, some clarification concerning the question asked is needed.

The guiding question of this thesis is concerned with EU leadership in international climate change politics. First of all, it should be stated that in this thesis, international climate change politics refers primarily to the process of dealing with climate change taking place in the realm of the United Nations (UN), but it also involves an understanding of the actions and policies developed within the different countries of the world in relations to climate change. Thus, when referring to leadership in international climate change politics it is in terms of the specific position and actions by the EU at the negotiations in the realm of the UN, but also in terms of the "domestic" actions by the European Union that will support it in its quest for international leadership in climate change. As pointed out by Gunnar Sjøstedt, the internal and external dimension of climate policy is highly connected (Sjøstedt: 1998:251).

A second issue which needs to be clarified is that of the EU being referred to in leadership terms. As Vogler and Stephan mention any question that deals with the EU pursuing a leadership role in international climate change negotiations presupposes an assumption about the status of the EU as an actor in international relations (Vogler & Stephan 2007: 392). Due to space considerations, this thesis will not be able to enter into a more detailed discussion of the EU as an actor in international relations, but based on the fact that the EU, as mentioned in the introduction is considered a pivotal player, its importance as an actor in this sphere cannot be neglected.

Thus, this thesis is build upon an underlying assumption about the status of the EU as an actor. Such assumption is based on a branch of literature that has emerged since the late 70s in which theoretical approaches have been developed in order to assess EU as an actor (Sjøstedt 1977; Allen & Smith 1990; Hill 1993; Bretherton & Vogler 2006). This branch of literature has developed on

the basis of an acknowledgement that the EU increasingly is an acting unit in the international system, whose actions do impinge upon the world, and thus a theoretical framing that could provide an understanding for this was perceived necessary (Sjøstedt 1977:5; Bretherton & Vogler 2006:1). As the investigation of Bretherton and Vogler for instance shows, having applied their actorness framework, the EU is an actor to be reckoned with in international relations, albeit the degree of actorness varies between issues (Bretherton & Vogler 2006). Thus, it is with this branch of literature in mind that the assumption of the EU as an actor is made providing the underlying foundation for an investigation of the EU's quest for leadership in international climate change politics.

1.4.2 Explanation and discussion of appropriate theoretical and analytical approaches:

1.4.2.1 Approaching the problem: what theoretical starting point?

When studying social science phenomena, theory is a necessary starting point in that it serves to help the observer make sense of what is observed. Without theory it is simply impossible to make structured observations about any social science phenomena. The idea of a theoretical starting point is thus to have a more structured understanding or perception about the observations which we might get from the empirical evidence (Rosamond 2000:4).

Broadly speaking the question in this thesis is concerned with the EU in international relations, and in this context focus is specifically on international climate change politics. Thus, International Relations (IR) theories seem to be a logical starting point in finding relevant explanatory theories applicable to the problem at hand. For instance, taking a look at the realist-liberalist debate could perhaps be an interesting starting point.

A realist approach can however quickly be discarded as relevant for the purpose of this thesis. Its focus on military power, hard security and states as primary actors (Evans & Newnham 1998:361), does not seem to be able to give much insight to an area of international relations where the European Union – a non-state actor – plays an important role in international climate change politics. Furthermore such policy-area seems irrelevant for realism due to its very narrow focus on international relations.

A liberalist approach would be a more relevant starting point, as it for starters does not discard an actor such as the EU to take part in international relations as states are not considered the only relevant actors. Furthermore, it renders the possibility of cooperation between actors in the

international system far more likely, in that it considers "low politics" important for international relations, and cooperation in such areas is considered far more possible (Andreatta 2005:24).

Neoliberal institutionalism, perhaps the most influential branch within the liberalist view on international relations, specifically focuses on the possibility of cooperation between states. International cooperation is seen to stem from the desire of states to promote their interest in any issue area for example environmental protection. Due to these interests rational actors will cooperate to achieve joint gains (Barkdull & Harris 2002:67). Thus, such perspective could be useful in a study on the cooperation on climate change between the EU and other participating state actors in the realm of the UN, and could perhaps as well be applied as a perspective in terms of explaining intra-European cooperation. However, as such it does not provide much inside to the EU as an acting unit within the negotiations, and the purposive nature of its policy behaviour that has been indicated in the introductory chapter, stating that the Union as such has had ambitions of leadership. As Robert Keohane himself has stated, his original approach to neoliberal institutionalism does not open up the black box of domestic politics to understand why states act the way they do, which he acknowledges is a shortcoming of this theory (Keohane 2005:xiii). Thus, a neo-liberal approach as such is primarily concerned with the interaction between states, and not so much with the political process within states. Thus an approach which captures such dual perspective is in this thesis considered useful.

For this purpose, Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) is a useful departure, in that such an approach combines the dual perspective of politics between and within states (Aggestam 2004:10).

Foreign policy is considered a boundary activity, in which foreign policy-makers straddle between both the domestic environment and the external/global environment. FPA is thus an approach in which focus is on the interaction between these two spheres (Evans & Newnham 1998:179-180). Barkdull & Harris suggest that a foreign policy approach can be a valuable source of insight in the study of international environmental cooperation and focus on what they call environmental foreign policy (EFP) (Barkdull & Harris 2002:63). In 2007, Paul G. Harris applied this perspective in the study of Europe in relation to global climate change in attempt to understand and explain why the EU and its member states have responded the way it has to the global climate change (Harris 2007a:21). Thus, applying such an approach seems to be a useful departure for the study of EU leadership in international climate change politics, as it allows the involvement of both the domestic and the external environment of climate change politics.

As such FPA refers to the discipline of focusing on the crossover and interaction between the domestic and international processes in the formation of policy, and thus a number of more concrete theoretical approaches can be applied in such study¹. In this specific thesis attention is given to an approach in which the concept of role is understood as an important and influential variable and the theoretical starting point will thus depart in the literature on role-theory as developed in relations to FPA.

Ole Elgstrøm and Michael Smith, provide the inspiration for applying role theory as a theoretical starting point in the investigation of EU leadership role in international climate change politics. In the book, "*The European Union's Roles in International Politics*" from 2006, role theory, as developed in relation to FPA, is introduced as a constructive way to approach the EU in international relations (Elgstrøm & Smith 2006:1).

The choice of this particular perspective on FPA shall be seen in relation to the introductory remarks made to this thesis in which it is stated that the EU from the outset seems to have formulated a role of leadership as a guiding vision for its position in international climate change politics. Thus, an approach which focuses on the relationship between how an actor conceives of itself in relation to its external environment, and how it actually acts is considered a useful and interesting starting point.

Role-theory has been criticized of not being an actual theory which put forward explanations of why and when a phenomenon occurs, but more like a conceptual research framework (Searing 1991: 1243-1244). Elgstrøm and Smith highlight the same understanding in that the contributions in their book are approached from different ontological and epistemological angles (Elgstrøm and Smith 2006:7). Taking into account that role theoretical concepts necessarily must be accompanied by an underlying meta-theoretical understanding, has led Lisbeth Aggestam, one of the contributors to the abovementioned book of inspiration, to develop a framework in which role-theory is accompanied by such meta-theoretical underpinning (Aggestam 2006:11). Thus, the framework developed by Lisbeth Aggestam will be presented as the overall guiding theoretical framing of this thesis.

The specific framework developed by Aggestam is considered useful for the investigation at hand, in that it is argued that through a focus on three explanatory perspectives on roles (institutional, interactional, and intentional), it is possible to explain how roles are constructed, sustained and

¹ See Barkdull and Harris 2002 for an informative overview

changed. This is considered highly useful when the aim of this thesis is to explain fluctuations in the role played by the Union. The exact content of the framework by Aggestam, and the more historical oriented developments of the use of role-theory in FPA are presented in chapter 2.

Having briefly explained the choice of theory to underpin this thesis, a second theoretical issue needs attention before continuing on to the more analytical and empirically oriented considerations.

As reflected in the introduction, the role of the EU has specifically been connected to that of leadership in the realm of international climate change politics, and it is thus necessary to take a closer look at what such role denomination implies. Therefore, a conceptualisation of what makes leadership is needed in order to have a theoretical toolbox from which actions taken by the EU can be assessed.

The leadership conceptualisation applied in this thesis is one elaborated by Joyeeta Gupta and Michael Grubb (2000), who have developed a typology based on previous contributions to leadership-theory made by Oran Young (1991), Arild Underdal (1992/1994) and Raino Malnes (1995). The choice of applying this typology shall be seen in the light that it is based on a thorough investigation of the contents of each of the other typologies, and their ability to capture the circumstances of negotiations in an issue such as climate change (Grubb & Gupta 2000b: 18). As pointed out by Gupta and Grubb, any typology of leadership must necessarily be adapted to the specific issue at hand (Grubb & Gupta 2000b: 19). Furthermore, Gupta and Grubb have also taken into consideration the need for an approach to be able to accommodate an actor such as the EU in climate change, which for this study is highly relevant (Gupta & Grubb 2000b:18-21).

Having provided an overview of the more theoretically oriented considerations underpinning this thesis, a number of analytical considerations must be addressed as well.

1.4.2.2 Analytical considerations:

Through the chosen focus on role-theory in FPA as the theoretical starting point, an analytical strategy is needed in order to come closer to an answer to the question asked in this thesis.

For this purpose, an in-depth case-study of important events such as the agreement on the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 could be an informative approach in terms of gaining insight to EU as an actor in this sphere, and the degree to which the role of leadership at this moment in time was a characteristic of EU behaviour. However, such in-depth analysis of one particular event will bring forth a rather static picture of the Union. A specific role played by an actor is sensitive to situational

context and time (Aggestam 2006:23), and an in-depth analysis of only one particular event will tell us little about EU leadership fluctuating over time.

Thus, in this thesis it is preferred to make a chronological analysis in which the role of the EU is assessed through a long-term perspective, in that this can capture any fluctuations in the role played by the EU. The disadvantage of applying such an approach is that an analysis based on a long-term perspective is bound to only touch upon the surface, and when such analysis is to be carried out within a space limit important details may be left out. However, it is considered to be the most useful approach, when focus is on capturing and explaining a long-term development of EU's role in international climate change politics.

The guiding question of this thesis emphasizes specifically the variables related to the EU's own ambitions of the role to be played, as well as a reference to the actual role played in international climate change politics. Based on the theoretical framing, the analysis will place particular emphasis on the variables of role conception and role performance. It is interesting to take a further look at these two variables in that role conception does not necessarily translate into a similar performance (Aggestam 2006: 20) (see chapter 2).

The objective with the analysis of these two variables is two-fold. Firstly, the aim is to gain an understanding of how the EU envisions itself in relations to the international climate change politics providing a guiding vision for the EU. By looking into the role conception held by the EU over time, this thesis seeks to establish how such conception has developed, while also aiming to provide insight into the objective, principles and norms attached to that specific role.

Secondly, the analysis also aims to provide an overview and insight to the development of EU's actual role performance over time, i.e. actions and policies taken by the EU in relation to climate change, as well as actual behaviour at the UN negotiations.

It should be noted that as such, the intention is not to explain whether or not EU behaviour has been fluctuating, in that it is an underlying presumption of the thesis based on other scholars' assessments. However, it is a necessary step in the overall analysis to pinpoint the actual behaviour and where fluctuations seem to occur, in order to be able put forward possible explanations for such fluctuation. The analysis of role performance should thus help to answer the questions as to when EU leadership seem to be exerted, and what type of leadership that is, and thus help pinpoint fluctuations in the role played by the EU.

The analytical investigation of role conception and role performance should generate a number of findings, which through the assistance of the theoretical framework will form the basis for an assessment of why EU leadership has been fluctuating.

1.5 Method:

As mentioned, the analysis will centre on the two concepts of role conceptualisation and role performance, and below some considerations on the method applied for each analysis will be presented.

1.5.1 Considerations for role conception analysis:

In order to obtain knowledge and insight to how the EU subjectively views its role, this thesis will look into speeches and other EU documents representing the views of the Union, as such documents provide the intentions and motives of EU action in relations to climate change. This has by others been considered a useful method when wanting to gain insight to role conceptions held by a specific actor (Aggestam 1999:2; Le Prestre 1997:11-12). As quoted by Phillippe Le Prestre, Abba Eban emphasizes that *“What statesmen and diplomats say is often as vital as what they do. It would not be far-fetched to go further and declare that speech is an incisive form of action”* (Abba Eban as quoted by Le Prestre 1997:14), and as Le Prestre asserts in addition, speeches are shaped by role conceptions (Le Prestre 1997:14). Thus, by taking a look at EU documents expressing the view and intentions of the Union, it will be possible to gain insights into the EU's own conception of its role in international climate change politics.

It can be argued that speeches held by the Council Presidency, the main representative of the collective view of the EU at international negotiations (see section 3.2), would be the most appropriate empirical source from which EU role conception would derive. However, due to a limited accessibility to and availability of such speeches, this thesis will instead make an analysis of speeches and press releases held by the different Commissioners for the Environment, as well as an analysis of Presidency Conclusions from the European Council. This is done in order to have representation of both the EU member states and European Community constituting the collective view of the EU (see section 3.2). Furthermore, this choice is considered legitimate in that the European Council and the European Commission are important representatives of the common institutions of the EU, and thus represents a collective view on the role of the EU.

In relation to the view held by the EC, two speeches and/or press releases by EU Commissioners for the environment will be analysed per year. All documents have been chosen from the point of view that they treat climate change as a subject. At least one of the documents analysed will have to have been held or issued at the different COPs held in the realm of the UNFCCC. The other may have been held at Conferences or other events related to climate change. Prior to 1995, the availability of speeches specifically related to the international process on the development of a climate change regime held by the Commissioner for the Environment is limited. Thus speeches held in other international settings are chosen instead, provided that climate change as a subject is included. If this is not possible, speeches from different conferences concerned with climate change will be applied.

A review of 2-3 Presidency Conclusions from European Councils per year will be made and will constitute the source from which the collective view of the member states on the role of the EU in relation to climate change will derive. Presidency Conclusions from June and December for each year is analysed, and from 2000 onwards, the March European Council is included as well.²

Presidency Conclusions from the European Council is chosen over an analysis of Conclusions from various Environmental Councils, in that an analysis of the European Council Conclusions first of all would give an insight as to the degree to which climate change is developing into an issue of high politics at a European level. Also, the European Council is considered to be the body that gives the general guidance of the future direction of the EU (George & Bache 2001:250), and thus an analysis of the presence of climate change on the Council agenda and the way in which it is spoken of, will provide an important insight as to how climate change, and potentially the role of leadership, is embedded in the collective mind of the highest political authority in the Union.

It should be noted that all empirical material related to the analysis of EU role conceptions are derived from the EU Commissions RAPID database, which contains press releases and speeches from the Commission, as well documents stemming from other European institutions, particularly the European Council of the Union (see note at beginning of the Bibliography).

In the analysis of these empirical sources focus will be on the degree to which climate change is linked with an EU role of leadership, if so in what terms leadership is conceptualised, applying the theoretical leadership typology as a point of reference. Furthermore focus will be in identifying what types of norms, principles and objectives that seems to be guiding EU leadership.

² The European Council meets at least once every six months. Traditionally this has been in June and December. From 2000 onwards, a March Council has been included, addressing economic, social and environmental issues (European Communities 1995-2009)

1.5.2 Considerations for role performance analysis:

A number of scholars have dealt with EU involvement in international climate change politics, as well as the question of EU leadership in this setting, thus in the analysis of role performance, the empirical sources will primarily draw upon this type of scholarly work. Some scholars have dealt with specific negotiations rounds in the establishment of the climate change regime, providing valuable insight into the strength and weaknesses of different actors. Others have dealt with the evolution over time of the EU in relation to international climate politics, or the development of EU climate policy. Thus, a broad base of accumulated knowledge is available providing valuable insights for the analysis at hand. It could be argued that by drawing upon the work put forward by other scholars, the empirical evidence could be biased towards a certain understanding of EU behaviour, however as the base upon which information is drawn is quite wide, it is possible to weigh the different arguments and perceptions against each other and put the information in the perspective of the leadership-typology proposed relevant for this thesis. Thus the evidence put forward will not be a simple reproduction of previous scholars' work.

It could be argued that newspaper articles and interviews concerning the negotiation process could be a more relevant starting point for an investigation of EU behaviour and role performance, however, due to the length of the analytical time frame (see section 1.6), drawing on the work by other scholars seems to be the most appropriate way forward considering the limits of time and space surrounding this thesis.

1.6 Choice of time frame:

For the purpose of this thesis it has been argued to be appropriate to apply a long-term perspective (1990-2008) in the analysis of EU leadership in international climate change politics.

The year 1990 is chosen to be a suitable analytical starting point, in that the development of the climate regime is considered to have started to take form from around 1990 with the establishment of an Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee (INC) for the establishment of a Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) (Harris 2007a: 11). Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, the announcement of a stabilisation target by the EU in 1990 is considered to be the overall starting point for EU leadership (Sjøstedt 1998:230; Ringius 1999:8). The analysis is extended to include the year 2008 in that this will then include the latest held COP (COP14 in Poznan in December 2008). By including COP14, a clearer picture of how the EU has developed as

a leader up until now emerges, which can be useful in order to understand the turf from which the EU will be acting towards reaching an agreement at COP15 in December in Copenhagen. 2008 is furthermore a highly relevant year, in that an important step for the internal climate policy development in the EU was taken with the agreement by the European Council on the climate and energy package at the summit on the 11-12th of December 2008 (Euractiv 2008).

For the purpose of analytical clarity, the actual analysis will be divided into smaller time frames. The parameters from which the period is divided into smaller sections are based on the development of the international climate regime, and what in the literature is considered to be the major achievements and turning points in the development of the international climate change regime.

1.6.1 First period: 1990-1994

As mentioned above, 1990 represents the year where the international climate regime began to take form. This process led to the adoption of the UNFCCC in 1992 at the Rio "Earth Summit" which called on the industrialised countries to reduce their emissions of green house gasses (GHG) to 1990 levels by 2000. The Convention entered into force in 1994 (Harris 2007a:11). The period from 1990 to the end of 1994, represents the initial efforts by the international community to find a response to the growing concern with climate change problems. As Harris explains, the adoption of the UNFCCC constitutes the basis from which subsequent protocols with more binding agreements on how to deal with climate change would emerge (Harris 2007a:11). In 1995, the INC was replaced by the Conference of the Parties (COP), which since then became the overriding authority of the FCCC (Harris 2007a:11). The subsequent period thus takes its starting point in 1995.

1.6.2 Second Period: 1995-1997

1995 constitutes the year of the first COP held in Berlin (COP1), which represented an important starting point for the future development of the regime, as the parties came to an agreement to establish the so-called Berlin-Mandate (Grubb & Gupta 2000a:7). The Ad Hoc Group on the Berlin Mandate (AGBM) was established with the intention to produce a protocol with more binding provisions to be adopted at COP3 in Kyoto (Yamin 2000:50). In 1997, the Kyoto Protocol (KP) was adopted in Japan, and thus constitutes an important event in the development of the climate change regime, as the Protocol represents, as Ringius puts it "*an important qualitative shift*" from the achievements of the FCCC (Ringius 1999: 13). Thus, the Kyoto Protocol constitutes an important point in the development of the climate change regime, and is a natural separator for the next sub-period.

1.6.3 Third period: 1998-2000

In 1998, at COP4, the Buenos Aires Plan of Action was adopted in which COP6 in The Hague was set as a deadline for the finalisation of the implementation details of KP (Harris 2007a:12). COP6 broke down on the final night of negotiations with no result, and thus a decision was made to resume talks approximately six months later in Bonn – the so-called COP6bis (Ott 2001:284). The breakdown is chosen as the dividing point for the next period under analysis, in that it represents the last point in which the United States was still considered to be part of the multilateral process, as explained below.

1.6.4 Fourth period: 2001-2004:

The beginning of this period is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty about the future of the international process, in that the United States (US) in early 2001 decided to withdraw from the process putting the regime in serious danger of breaking down³ (Hovi et al 2003:18). The period is defined by significant efforts to secure the ratification and entering into force of the Kyoto Protocol. The two most important COPs during this time are the COP6bis, and the COP7 producing the Marrakech Accords, as the majority of the issues dividing the parties were agreed upon at these COPs (Harris 2007a:13). 2004 constitutes the final year under investigation in that Russia finally ratified the Protocol allowing it to enter into force in early 2005 (Ott et al 2005:84).

1.6.5 Fifth period: 2005-2008:

The last period begins with Kyoto Protocol entering into force in 2005. The main focus in this period is on how to proceed after the expiration of the Kyoto-protocol commitment period in 2012 (Wittneben et al.2006:90). COP13 in Bali in 2007 represents an important point in the development towards post-Kyoto commitments, in that the parties agreed on the so-called Bali-roadmap, which set the scene for negotiations toward COP15 in Copenhagen 2009 (Ott et al 2008: 92). As mentioned in the beginning of this section, the year 2008 is included, as it is believed to be important to extend the analysis to include the last major conference that has taken place before COP15.

³ In order for the Kyoto Protocol to enter into force, the Protocol would have to be ratified by 55 countries including Annex 1 countries responsible for at least 55% of the 1990 CO₂ emissions from these countries. The withdrawal of the US meant that the Protocol at least would have to be ratified by the EU, Japan, and Russia. (Hovi et al 2003:1-2).

1.7 Project structure:

Having provided some of the underlying considerations of theoretical, analytical and empirical nature, *chapter 2* will introduce in more detail the theoretical foundation of this thesis. As described above, focus will be on the theoretical framework of role theory as developed by Lisbeth Aggestam. Further to this, the theoretical section will also introduce a theoretical conceptualisation of leadership as put forward by Joyeeta Gupta and Michael Grubb, which will serve as an important tool-box for the further investigation of the role of the EU.

Chapter 3 will provide a necessary knowledge foundation making a small introduction to some of the aspects of the EU as an actor in the area of climate change. Firstly, an introduction to climate change as a political issue seems useful, as it will provide a picture of the complexity of this issue area. Secondly, an introduction to the formal institutional set-up of the EU in relation to climate change is necessary, and issues such as competence-delegation, external representation and other relevant features will be presented. The complexity of climate change as an issue area, combined with the institutional complexity of the EU as an actor provides for a rather intricate combination, and it is important to be acquainted with these aspects, as they are considered necessary and useful background information

The subsequent chapters constitute the analytical part of this thesis, which will be separated into two parts, *chapter 4* will take a closer look at the role conception of the EU in relation to climate change, and *chapter 5* will take a look at actual role performance. The abovementioned chronological structure will be followed in both analytical chapters.

Chapter 6 will identify and summarize the results of the analysis and will seek to bring forward possible explanations for any of the fluctuations observed. The theoretical framework will be drawn upon in an evaluation of the findings and serve as a help to provide a structured explanation of why EU behaviour has been fluctuating.

Finally, *chapter 7* will provide some concluding remarks on the main findings and briefly evaluate on the method used to achieve the results, as well as connect some of the findings of this thesis to the current climate negotiations.

Part 2: Theoretical framework and knowledge foundation

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Role-theory in Foreign Policy Analysis

Originally the role concept has mainly been developed within disciplines of sociology and social psychology using the concept of role to denote an actor's characteristic pattern of behaviour given a certain position (Aggestam 2004:63). Specifically in sociology, role theory focuses on the relationship between agency and social structure (Ibid:57) and a basic idea in role-theory is that roles provide meaning of the world from the individuals ability to place himself into its context (Ibid:14).

In 1970 K.J. Holsti introduced sociological inspired role-theory to the study of national foreign policy, which since then has come to be considered an important and influential contribution to the literature (Le Prestre 1997:4; Walker 1987:1). Holsti argued that the systematic use of the concept of role in political science at this point in time was limited and thus directed his attention to this concept as an analytical approach to foreign policy (Holsti 1970:237). As Aggestam writes "*the way in which Holsti sought to develop the role concept opened it up considerably to the idea of an active agency, capable of selecting and interpreting different roles in foreign policy*" (Aggestam 2004:63). Holsti's approach to roles, as a product of a nation's socialisation process and how it was influenced by socio-cultural elements, was a new take on the role concept as applied in IR-theory in that at this point in time, the realist tradition was predominant, and roles were primarily considered to be systemic and a product of material factors (Aggestam 2006:13). The work by Holsti has thus been considered an important contribution to the field of FPA in that he concluded that foreign policy-makers expressed different and numerous roles, thus going against the general notion applied in IR by academics at that point stipulating only one general role to be available (Ibid:13). As referenced by Aggestam, after some time of a lack of interest in the combination of role theory and FPA, the work by Holsti combining the two gained in momentum in the 1980s and in the 1990s as part of the renewed interest in sociological approaches to the study of international relations (Aggestam 2004:13).⁴

As stated earlier, this thesis will take its theoretical starting point in the literature on role-theory as developed in relation to FPA, and more specifically the role theoretical framework developed by

⁴ Some of these include the work by Wish (1980), Walker (1987), Barnett (1993), Chafetz 1996-97), Le Prestre (1997), Searing (1991).

Lisbeth Aggestam will constitute the overall guiding theoretical framing of this thesis and is presented below.

2.2 Role-theoretical framework by Lisbeth Aggestam:

Lisbeth Aggestam has elaborated a role-theoretical framework based on the sociological understanding of role-theory as developed in FPA (Aggestam 2004:11).

The framework developed by Aggestam seeks to provide a possibility for explaining how roles are constructed, sustained and changed by underpinning the framework with a meta-theoretical approach of structuration as developed by Anthony Giddens (Aggestam 2006:11+14). Thus, the framework reflects how foreign policy both is considered to be purposeful and shaped by institutional contexts in a process of structuration (Ibid:14).

A brief note should be made on the meta-theoretical underpinning before moving on.

Structuration-theory is a dialectical approach (McNulla 2002: 278) which, despite a number of criticisms⁵, has been considered an important theoretical development in the debate on structure and agency. This theory tries to transcend the dualism of the two concepts, arguing that the concepts in fact are mutually dependent and internally related (Hay 1995:199; McNulla 2002: 278). Giddens proposed to think of the structure-agency debate in terms duality, rather than dualism, meaning that structure and agency are considered to be two sides of the same coin, rather than competing camps (Hay 1995: 197). Structuration theory emphasizes that structure only exists through agency and agents have "rules and resources" between them which will facilitate or constrain their action, which in turn may lead to a reconstitution of structure (McNulla 2002: 278-279).

More concretely, the framework by Aggestam is build upon three perspectives on roles, which allows for both structure and agency to be taken into account. The three perspectives – institutional, interactional and intentional – provide the basic building blocks for the framework, and shall be seen as a way of making "*structuration-theory applicable to empirical analysis*" (Aggestam 2006: 14). The incorporation of the perspectives will provide a more nuanced understanding of roles, in that the perspectives have different explanatory foci (Ibid: 15), as will become clear below.

⁵ For review of critique view Hay 1995; McNulla 2002

2.2.1 A few comments on the model:

The main features of the framework by Aggestam are illustrated in fig. 1 below.

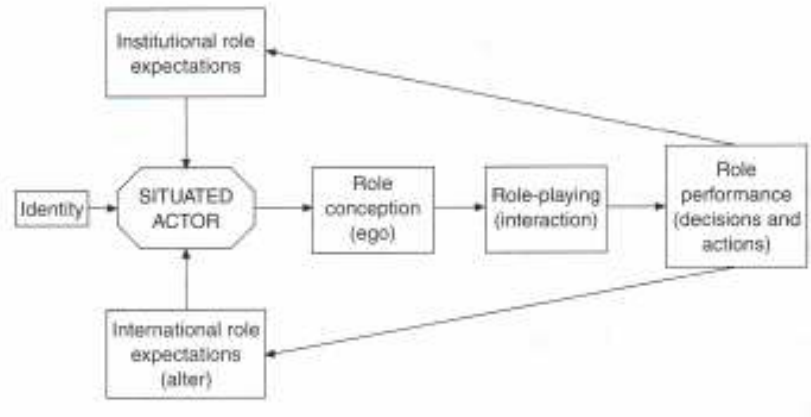


Fig 1: Analytical framework for role analysis (Source: Aggestam 2006: 26)

Agency in this framework rests upon an assumption that an actor's mindset is theory-driven, meaning that an actor has a need to organize perceptions into a meaningful guide for behaviour. Such assumption is captured by the sociological understanding of role-theory, which view role as a cognitive construct that simplifies, provides guidance and predisposes an actor towards one purposive behaviour over another (Aggestam 2006:13). As can be seen above, the centre of attention in the framework is the "situated actor". Colin Hay explains the concept of situated actor, as an actor, conceived of as an intentional agent, located in a structured social context, which defines the range of potential actions (Hay 1995: 190). Through this an understanding of an actor, whose behaviour is both guided by rules and by reason should emerge, following the assertion made by March and Olsen that political actors are constituted by both their interests from which they evaluate expected consequence and by rules embedded in their identity and political institutions (Aggestam 2006:14), the so-called "logic of expected consequences" and "logic of appropriateness" (March and Olsen 1998). It should be kept in mind that due to the structurationist underpinning of the framework, the situated actor is understood as being both involved in the construction of social structures, but also being influenced by them (Aggestam 2004:36).

Aggestam argues that this framework is suitable for an investigation of the EU in relations to foreign policy (Aggestam 2006:11), and the EU is in this framework therefore considered to be the embodiment of the abovementioned *situated actor*.

A small note to this should be made. It is necessary to keep in mind that the EU as an actor is comprised by the EU member states and the EC (Vogler & Stephan 2007:394), and as such thus is considered to be an aggregated actor which should be acknowledged in that this can have important influence on how the EU acts. To Bretherton & Vogler who as mentioned earlier has developed an actorness framework this especially becomes an issue when it comes to the capability of the EU to be able to exploit opportunity and capitalize on presence (Bretherton & Vogler 2006:218)⁶.

Thus, the analytical framework will need to take into account such understanding, adding an extra component to the illustration, in order to clarify the constituent parts of the *situated actor* meaning both the Member States and the EC.

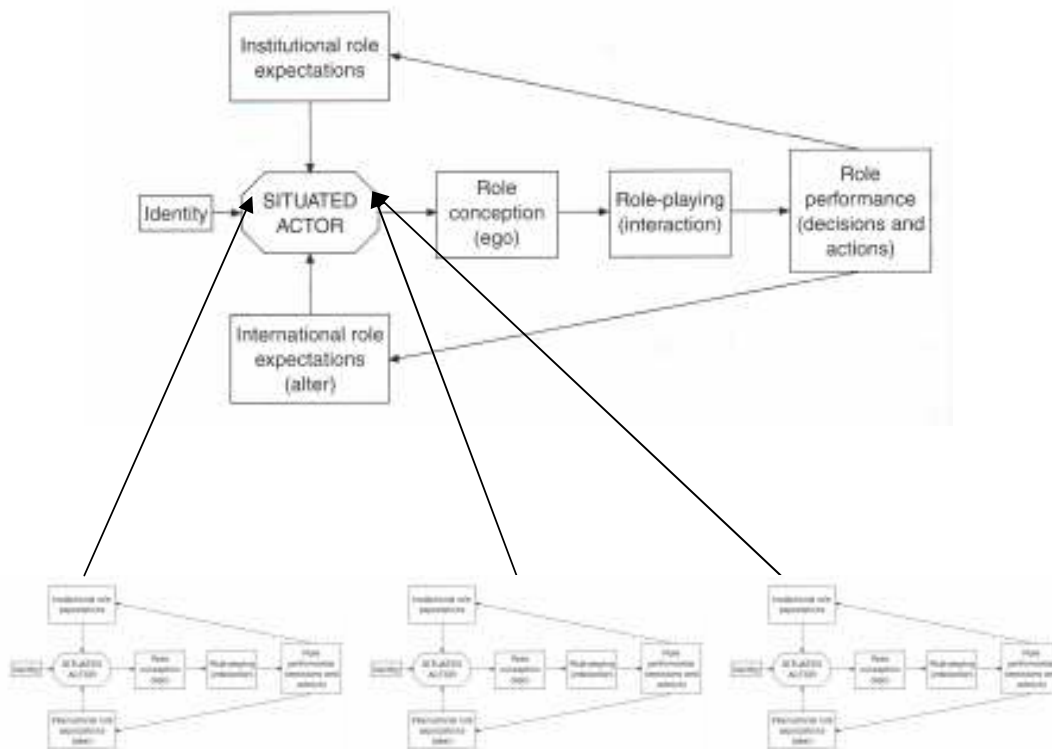


Fig 2: Analytical framework with dimension recognizing constituent parts of the EU as a situated and aggregated actor.

Thus, as can be seen in the above illustration presented in fig. 2, it is necessary to acknowledge that the European Union as a situated actor has a number of constituents which all undergo similar processes in terms of role development, which in turn take part in the definition of the overall role

⁶ Bretherton & Vogler considers actorness to be dependent on the interconnection between three facets of actorness, presence, opportunity and capability (Bretherton & Vogler 2006:24)

for the EU. However, it should be mentioned that role development within each member state will not be subject to analysis due to space considerations, and the primary attention is given to the EU as an aggregated actor.

A last brief comment to the framework must be made.

As illustrated in fig. 1 and 2 it is suggested that identity is an important variable as well in that Aggestam considers there to be a close interconnection between identity and role. Identity, Aggestam states "*is an important socio-cultural source for the ways in which roles are conceived*" (Aggestam 2006:12) and is considered an important variable if one wishes to understand how roles are conceived (Ibid: 22). To this it should be noted that her focus on ideational structures does not mean however, that she rejects the influence of material structures in the development of a particular role. On the contrary, she emphasizes that material attributes and capabilities are important variables as well in explaining how roles are chosen and a certain type of foreign policy is conceived. To this it must be added, that the material reality is crucially related to how material factors are perceived and mediated by actors themselves (Ibid:22). Unfortunately, due to space considerations, further elaboration on the subject of identity is not possible, nor will it be an element that will receive much attention further on. Nonetheless, it is an element that is acknowledged to be an influential element for the development of a particular role.⁷

Below, a more thorough introduction to some of the other elements constituting the framework is made.

2.2.2 The three building blocks: the institutional-, interactional- and intentional perspective

As explained above, Aggestam develops her framework around three perspectives highlighting different features explaining roles, which makes it possible to bring forward a more nuanced explanation due to their different explanatory foci. The perspectives are reflected in the construction of the above framework, and due to the structurationist underpinning, they are not to be considered as separate explanatory perspectives. However, for the sake of clarity they are presented separately below.

⁷ For an interesting discussion on EU identity see chapter 2 in Bretherton & Vogler (2006)

2.2.2.1 *The institutional perspective*

An institutional perspective focuses on how structures are seen as the overall determinants for particular role behaviour in that roles are considered to be firmly embedded in the institutional structure providing the range of roles available as well as a guide as to how they should be played (Aggestam 2006:15). Aggestam explains that the normative constraints of society are represented in a system of roles, within which the individual is socialized, and actors are thus expected to perform certain roles given a particular social order (Ibid:15).

An institutional perspective on role conceptualises how intersubjective beliefs, understood as the shared understanding of norms and expectations, and political culture influence the formation of foreign policy as well as how different international institutions generate expectations of certain role behaviour (Ibid:15). This perspective adheres to what can be called “the logic of appropriateness”, which stresses how political action, including policy making is driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behaviour, organised into institutions (March & Olsen 2004:3). As March and Olsen explain, “*Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices and expectations of its institutions. Embedded in a social collectivity, they do what they see appropriate for themselves in a specific type of situation*” (Ibid: 3). The institutional perspective thus serves to highlight how roles as a set of norms and expectations constrain behaviour. As Aggestam argues, it is exactly on the basis of such expectations and intersubjectivity that stable social relationships are possible (Aggestam 2006:15).

An analysis based solely on an institutional perspective however, runs the risk of making it static and deterministic, as agency as a variable is taken out of the equation, thus not providing the possibility of interpretation and innovation that agency brings (Ibid: 15). As Aggestam mentions, relying solely on such institutional perspective does not take into account the argument of structuration that structures are mediated through agency, nor does it allow for the fact that the degree of intersubjectivity and consensus about a particular role can vary greatly, which is why this perspective needs to be supplemented in order to live up such demands (Ibid: 16).

Thus, Aggestam argues that other perspectives need to be integrated in order to allow for role-playing which indicates a process of reflection and interpretation taking place in relations to a particular role. Role-playing provides the possibility of a role being more unstable and unpredictable as to what is forecasted by a more institutional perspective on roles, and thus allows for change to occur (Ibid: 16).

2.2.2.2 The interactional perspective

The second perspective on role is that of interaction, which brings to the framework a focus on agency and the possibility for an actor to contribute to the definition of its own role i.e. role playing. The interactional perspective brings dynamism and process into the equation, allowing for the possibility of new roles emerging or change in old roles, in that focus is on how roles are learned, socialized and given meaning in an interaction process. This allows for an explanation of how change in a role may occur, as well as how roles can have many variations (Aggestam 2006: 16). Such interactional perspective, Aggestam emphasizes, reflects a constructivist understanding of international relations with its focus on how meaning is created through the process of interaction (Ibid: 16).

In relation to the EU, an interactional perspective seems to be particularly relevant in that EU member states are involved in a learning process involving negotiations and socialisation of policy-makers within the EU institutions in the endeavour of formulating a common policy (Ibid: 16-17). Overall, this perspective allows for a greater degree of role-playing, as it brings into the equation how a role is defined and understood through an interactional process. However, as Aggestam mentions, neither of the two perspectives so far has included an understanding of intentionality and rationality, which by Aggestam is considered to be just as important when speaking of roles (Ibid:17).

2.2.2.3 The intentional perspective:

The intentional perspective brings forward the intentionality and rationality of an actor, which is needed in order to understand how interests and objectives are variables that as well determine the content of role. As Aggestam mentions, such perspective takes into account how actors themselves are involved in defining and constructing their roles based both on intellectual as well as cultural sources, and that these roles can contain both objectives and norms (Ibid:17). Thus, this perspective's focus is on agency, and how interpretation and choice by an actor is an essential part of the construction and definition of a role as well. However, as she further mentions, she does not consider purposeful roles to be just like "a hat that you can take on and off", instead it must be understood that an intentional role is the result of a dynamic interaction between institutional constraints and the preferences of an actor (Ibid: 18).

The intentional perspective is particularly important in an attempt to capture and explain change, due to the process of self-monitoring, interpretation of information and reassessment of goals and roles (Aggestam 2004: 61-62).

What should become clear from the above run-through of the three perspectives on role, is that rather than focusing only on one perspective adhering to one specific side of the structure-agency debate, the incorporation of the three perspectives allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how a role is constructed, sustained and changed, as the three perspectives provides different possible avenues for explanation. It should be noted though that since the framework is informed by the theory on structuration, it is not a matter of weighing which perspectives matters most in the present investigation, in that actors and structures cannot be separated, but are “two sides of the same coin” (Aggestam 2006: 14; McNulla 2002: 279), and are thus considered to be co-constitutive.

2.2.3 Role – what to make of it:

Aggestam distinguishes between different notions of the concept of role, which are considered interlinked as seen in the illustration in figure 1. However the concepts do represent different phenomena and processes in a foreign policy analysis (Aggestam 2006: 18), and are thus analytically distinct. In the framework, Aggestam works with the concepts of: role expectations, role conception, role performance, and role set, which below will be introduced in more detail.

2.2.3.1 Role expectations:

Role expectations encompass the notion of role which others (alter) prescribe and expect the role beholder to enact. In the framework a distinction is made between institutional role expectations and international role expectations. As put forward by Aggestam, and as introduced earlier in this chapter, institutional structures can generate expectations of certain role behaviour. Referencing Biddle's assertion from 1979, “*roles as induced through the sharing of expectations for role behaviour...those who exhibit the role are stimulated do so because they learn what behaviours are expected of them*” (Biddle 1979 as quoted in Aggestam 2006: 18). Such understanding of roles corresponds to the aforementioned logic of appropriate behaviour, with its focus on how behaviour is constituted for example by rules embedded in their identity and political institutions. International role expectations are more concretely understood as the way in which other international actors perceive an appropriate behaviour by a specific role actor to be. These expectations can be generated by for example declarations stemming from the actor in question, which in turn can be

viewed as specific role prescriptions inducing expectations of a specific behaviour in the minds of others (Aggestam 2006: 19).

2.2.3.2 *Role conception:*

Role conception is considered to be the subjective dimension of foreign policy in that it deals with the normative expectations of a specific type of role behaviour an actor expresses towards it self. Role conceptions should be viewed as an expression of the intention and motives of an actor's foreign policy, and "*refers to images that foreign policy-makers hold concerning the general long-term function and performance*" (Aggestam 2006: 19). It should be kept in mind however that an actor can embody a multitude of roles, which can vary in overall importance and according to situation and institutional context (Ibid: 20). In relation to the EU, this can both be in relations to other collectively held roles by the EU, as well as the roles held by the constituting member states (see section 2.2.3.4).

Even though role conceptions are understood as being subjective, as illustrated in fig. 1, role conceptions are considered to be more or less intersubjective as a convergence of an actors own expectations and expectations met from the structural environment are considered to be the constitutive bases of roles, and hence intersubjective (Ibid: 20). A last point to be made is that the greater the extent to which policy-makers become socialized into and internalize these role conceptions, the more stable a role will be (Ibid: 20), which is particularly important when keeping in mind the notion of the EU as an aggregated actor.

2.2.3.3 *Role performance:*

Role performance denotes the actual behaviour of an actor represented by characteristic patterns of decisions and actions undertaken in specific situational contexts (Ibid: 20).

The relationship between role conception and role performance is not necessarily direct in that, as mentioned above, an actor conceives of multiple roles, and therefore it can be hard to predict which role will be followed in different situations. As Aggestam mentions, the choice of role is dependent on which particular interests and objectives that are attached to it (Ibid: 20). As can be seen in fig. 1, the illustration shows that an element of role playing is accounted for, leaving scope for interpretation. As Aggestam mentions, the degree to which role conception correlates completely with role performance depends on the degree to which it has become institutionalized with a specific guide to action (Ibid: 21). In relations to this it should be added that Elgström and Smith emphasize that once a role has become institutionalized, it can become a constraint for action by the role-beholder, but also an instrument of empowerment (Elgström & Smith 2006:6).

2.2.3.4 *Role set:*

The concept of role-set indicates that an actor may occupy a number of roles, generated from different institutional contexts, international as well as domestic (Aggestam 2006:23). At the international level for example, the EU is involved in a number of different contexts, in which it plays a variety of different roles. Bretherton and Vogler provide a good overview of and insight to the large variety of roles that the EU plays, and how these roles can at times be contradictory (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 58). It should also be noted that the EU as such also inhabits a number of roles that are more inward looking with a focus on for example protecting and securing the economic welfare of the European citizens (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 57), a notion that may clash with some of the roles played externally. In relation to our understanding of the EU as an aggregated actor it must also be taken into account that in addition to a "common" European role-set, each member state can also be considered to have a distinct set of roles, which may be compatible or contradictory to that of the EU.

Overall the European Union as an actor disposes of a large variety of roles, and the role-set is thus a comprehensive term that serves to capture the understanding that the EU as an actor commands and juggles between several roles.

A role set, as applied by Aggestam, is to be understood as the overall predominant school of thought in an actor's foreign policy resulting from the given number of roles played by this actor (Aggestam 2006:21). Here it is important to note, that as this study is not concerned with the overall, general role played by the EU in international relations, but rather focuses explicitly on one of those more specific roles played by the EU in a specific issue-area of its external relations, the concern in terms of role-set is not how the role played in climate policy aligns with the rest of the roles in the overall role-set and thus what contribution it makes to the general role of the EU. In this case it is rather a matter of how these other roles played by the EU (and as well the roles inhabited by each individual member state) are coherent with that one specific role played in international climate change politics.

Having provided clarification on some of the key concepts of the framework, a further look into some of the conditions for change and instability is useful, in that this can provide a necessary foundation for the investigations at hand of EU fluctuating behaviour

2.2.4 Role conflict and change:

The framework, as mentioned earlier, is developed in such a way that it takes into account both variables explaining continuity, as well as change, based on the incorporation of the three perspectives of institution, interaction and intention. In general a role is inherently characterized as stable, as it is defined as "*patterned behaviour*". As Aggestam points out, if role conceptions constantly are fluctuating and changing, they do not provide an actor with the consistency needed, and its foreign policy behaviour will become inconsistent. However, as she further points out, roles are sensitive to situational context and time and the potential of a role-conflict erupting is thus always present (Aggestam 2006:22). Aggestam focuses to a large extent on change in the dominant role conception as a possible explanation for change of behaviour in foreign policy. However she does acknowledge that such change can also be explained by other variables, as roles have multiple sources and are sensitive to situational context and time (Ibid:23).

Below, some of the scenarios causing instability and change as put forward by Aggestam are presented.

A change in role conceptions can be spurred by the eruption of a role-conflict within the role-set due to incompatibility or contradiction between the role conceptions (Ibid:22). Role-conflicts may emerge because roles within a role-set can be generated within different institutional contexts and can accordingly be subject to different institutional role-expectations. Thus, a conflict may arise in cases where these expectations collide, which in turn may result in behavioural change in that an actor will need to resolve the ambiguities presented and seek compromises to overcome the problems of role conflict given the inherent desire for consistency and cognitive stability. Role conflicts may also emerge due to changes of the conditions and contexts in which role conceptions originally were formulated, or when another role-player within this context exerts unexpected behaviour (Ibid:23).

Inspired by Goldmann's study *Change and Stability in Foreign Policy* from 1988, Aggestam puts forward, that a way to explore potential role conflict and foreign policy change is by focusing on the extent to which cognitive beliefs are central, inconsistent and testable, which are considered to determine the degree of policy (in)stability (Goldmann 1988 as interpreted by Aggestam 2006:23).

Firstly, centrality and compatibility of a role conception with other roles within a role-set reveals the degree of stability, which is dependent on the degree to which conception is broadly shared by policy-makers. Referencing Rosenau, Aggestam puts forward that "*integrated and consensual role scenarios are the glue that holds collectivities together; just as discrepant and competitive*

scenarios are the acid that paralyse or tear them apart" (Rosenau 1987:59-60 as referenced by Aggestam 2006:23). A role conception will be far more resistant to change the closer the interconnection between identity and role is, as an actor, which in this case is the EU, will develop myths and institutions to protect these roles (Aggestam 2006:24).

A second source of instability is when the content of a role in terms of norms and objectives are inconsistent, which may arise if there is a lack of consensus about the meaning of a particular role. Aggestam suggests that such lack of consensus may be linked to a situation in which the identity of an actor increasingly is being contested generating conflicting normative ideas about appropriate foreign policy behaviour (Ibid:24). Since it is assumed that an actor's mind is theory-driven, there is an aspiration to maintain consistency, and thus will either lead to information being manipulated to avoid inconsistency or, to increasingly contradictory foreign policy behaviour (Ibid: 24).

A last proposition put forward, is that of testability. The more testable and questioned a role is, the more unstable it may become. A high degree of intersubjectivity has a tendency of suppressing dissident voices and result in attitudinal conformity. However, such consensus and conformity may be challenged if major changes in the environment take place, which in turn may lead to "cognitive dissonance", meaning disagreement about the role. Thus, as Aggestam explains it, competing discourses that so far has been latent may become more pervasive, and the search for normative ideas to express a new role may legitimize such dissident and debate beyond what has previously been acceptable (Ibid:24).

Lastly Aggestam concludes that a role may vary in terms of the degree to which it has been socialized and provides normative guidance, which in turn results in a considerable scope for interpretation of how such a role is played out. Furthermore, discretion in terms of interpreting a role seems to be necessary if an actor is to accommodate potentially conflicting roles deriving from different institutional contexts. In cases where there does not seem to be any accepted means of overcoming such role-conflicts, this may lead to a learning process in which new definitions and understandings of a particular role may take place (Ibid: 25).

2.3 Sum up

With the presentation of the role-theoretical framework, a toolbox for investigating the fluctuating leadership role is given, in that it provides an important understanding of how roles are sustained and changed, and some of the causes of instability and inconsistency. As mentioned earlier, the guiding question of this thesis particularly singles out the variable of role conception and role

performance, and these will thus be the main variables subject to analysis, however, the variables of role expectation and role-set will be drawn upon when considered necessary for the explanation. Before proceeding with the analysis of these variables, a conceptualisation of leadership will be made.

2.4 Leadership-theory: a conceptual toolbox:

As this thesis is concerned with the specific role played by the EU in international climate change politics, which in the introduction has been identified as one of leadership – or aspiring leadership, it is necessary with a conceptualisation of this concept as this will provide this thesis with an important toolbox against which the role of the EU can be measured. For reasons mentioned in the methodological section, the leadership conceptualisation by Joyeeta Gupta and Michael Grubb has been chosen to constitute the theoretical foundation from which EU leadership will be measured (Gupta & Grubb 2000). However some nuances based on the observations of other scholars in relations to leadership will be emphasized when found useful and adding to the understanding of the conceptualisation of leadership in multilateral negotiations.

2.4.1 Leadership modes:

Gupta and Grubb operate with a typology that consists of the leadership modes: structural-, instrumental- and directional leadership and will be presented below in more detail. Further to this a fourth distinction will be added.

2.4.1.1 Structural leadership:

Structural leadership is defined as “*the exercise of power derived from political strength in the global order, and the weight of an actor with respect to the problem at hand*” (Grubb & Gupta 2000b: 19). In relations to an issue area of climate change, structural leadership is expected to relate also to the size of both present and future emissions, as well as the economic resources that an actor is willing to bear on the global regime (Ibid: 19).

Norichika Kanie, referencing the leadership-typology developed by Gupta and Grubb, asserts that structural power is a fundamental determinant for overall leadership, in that it is indispensable in making one's voice heard (Kanie 2005: 11). However, there are limits to such structural leadership and in the end, the actual influence of an actor depends on the degree to which it is able to apply its structural power, which in turn, if done well, can enhance the other modes of leadership. As put forward by Gupta & Grubb, this speaks for a leadership role by the EU in that in relation to the

amount of emissions, the EU as a collective is responsible for a significant amount of emissions in the atmosphere (Grubb & Gupta 2000b: 19).

Thus, the structural weight of an actor is important in that it increases its chance of influence in relation to providing leadership, however as emphasized by the two scholars, in the long run, it must be applied in relations to the other leadership modes.

2.4.1.2 *Instrumental leadership:*

Instrumental leadership relates to negotiation skills and the ability to secure an instrumental design of a regime, which can encompass the variety of needs of the different parties (Grubb & Gupta 2000b: 19). In climate change, instrumental leadership specifically needs to take into account longer-term considerations and strategic assessments in relation to the interests of varied parties. Developing countries for example may have certain needs that will need to be met in order to be able to participate (Ibid:20). Also coalition-building is important when speaking of instrumental leadership, referring to how diplomatic skills combined with structural influence can be applied in order to “*foster winning coalitions*” and “*prevent the formation of blocking coalition*” (Ibid: 20). Instrumental leadership also includes a notion of a more entrepreneurial style of leadership, focusing on the ability to take ‘*quick initiatives in the course of tactical negotiations*’. However, as they mention this is not a particular strong-suit of the EU, due to its institutional set-up (Ibid:20), (See section 3.2).

2.4.1.3 *Directional leadership:*

Directional leadership refers to how an actor can lead through the effects of domestic actions, but also involves the development of ideas as to how a problem should be solved (Ibid: 21). The goal of directional leadership is to influence and alter the perceptions of others towards the desired ends, through both external and internal initiatives and is seen as consisting of two components: one which is concerned with the actual development of conceptions and solutions, and one which is concerned with the dissemination of these internationally (Ibid: 20).

The first component emphasises what is known as “leadership by example” in which an actor leads through the effects of domestic action taken to solve an issue. The second component refers more to the active pursuit of disseminating the perceptions and solutions. This should take place through mediation by international regimes; thus, the perceptions may be promoted and solutions can come to be perceived as a possible model for the international society to adopt (Ibid: 21).

Gupta and Grubb consider directional leadership particularly important in relation to climate change, as it is an issue-area characterized by great uncertainty about how climate change will

affect the world, and perceptions in terms of the right type of problem solving are rather uncertain. Thus, having someone lead the way by showing what type of solutions could be applicable is a way to influence and alter the perception of others. It should be noted that directional leadership due to its focus on changing attitudes through the power of example has a rather long-term perspective (Ibid:20). Thus this indicates that a directional leader should provide visionary strategies followed by policies to implement such strategies providing examples from which others will learn and in turn follow. Gupta and Grubb consider the EU particularly suitable to provide such leadership due to its nature as a collection of diverse states constituting a type of model for the wider world (Ibid:21).

2.4.1.4 *Adding a fourth distinction: Pusher*

The leadership typology by Gupta and Grubb as mentioned deals with three different modes of leadership. However as pointed out by Steinar Andresen and Shardul Agrawala, a distinction can also be made between leaders and pushers where the latter refers to the type of action that more can be characterized as symbolic action, rather than carrying actual weight (Andresen & Agrawala 2002:42). Vogler and Stephan agrees with such assertion, stating that a leadership role may sometimes be more rhetorical than real, recalling the concept of pusher put forward by Andresen and Agrawala (Vogler & Stephan 2007:392). What distinguishes a pusher from a leader is that the former refers to a rather persistent behaviour with many public declarations, but with largely ineffectual negotiating efforts. Also a pusher would hesitate to commit to policies that would be costly, and instead lead through symbolic action (Vogler & Stephan 2007: 392). This concept is going to be added to the above typology by Gupta and Grubb as it is believed to add some nuances to the conceptualisation of leadership, and captures very well situations in which proactive engagement exists, however without making much effort nor sacrifice, which is considered a necessity for leadership (Underdal 1991 referenced in Andresen & Agrawala 2002: 42). As mentioned by Vogler and Stephan, it may be difficult to determine whether or not an actor has undertaken a certain degree of sacrifice in the pursuit of leadership, therefore, it may be sufficient to say that sacrifice has been made, when an actor demonstrates alternative solutions through more tangible efforts than just rhetoric (Vogler & Stephan 2007: 392).

To this a comment made by Gupta & Ringius should be emphasised, in that they state that credibility is important for any kind of leadership (Gupta & Ringius 2001: 290). The role of being a pusher, or purely rhetorical leader must necessarily be time limited or else it will influence the

credibility of an actor in the long run. As Gupta and Ringius state, leadership must be credible both in terms of rhetoric and in terms of action (Gupta & Ringius 2001: 294).

2.5 Sum up:

The above run-through of leadership modes has provided a well-rounded tool-box from which it will be possible to assess the role of the EU, when the point of reference is the role of leadership. The three-strand typology put forward by Gupta and Grubb has been supplemented with a fourth distinction, which tries to denominate the type of proactive behaviour that cannot be denominated leadership. Thus, through a four-strand typology it is possible to assess in more concrete terms the role of the EU in relations to climate change.

3 Knowledge foundation

Before commencing the analysis, a brief introduction to climate change as a political issue, as well as an introduction to the institutional set-up of the EU in this area seems to be a good starting point, in that it will provide a necessary knowledge foundation for the further investigation.

3.1 Climate change as a political issue:

Climate change is a rather complex issue to deal with politically. First of all, climate change, as an environmental problem is considered to be an unintended side-effect of the broader socio-economic processes (Greene 2001: 394). Thus, any attempt at dealing with this problem requires a political focus on how some of these socio-economic processes can be rearranged in such a way that they become less environmentally damaging. As Ott explains, a potential solution to the problem requires nothing less than a technological and social revolution towards a global society that has outgrown its fossil fuel resource base (Ott 2001:278). Dealing with the climate change problem does not just require a single policy response called climate policy, but as pointed out by scholars, it requires an integration of the concern for the climate into every other policy area such as for example transport policy, energy policy, agricultural policy etc (Gupta & Ringius 2001:293).

Secondly, climate can be characterized as a common good, and dealing with such issue, requires a global collective response in order to avoid the problem of “the tragedy of the commons” (Greene 2001:395). However, designing global governance structures to deal with a problem such as climate change is not so straightforward.

First of all, climate change can be characterised as being both an intergenerational and ethical problem. The most adverse consequences stemming from climate change may first become real sometime in the future, but requires effective and potentially costly responses today, in order to secure the world for future generation (Ott 2001:278).

Another interesting facet of the climate change problem is the issue of interregional equity (Harris 2003:151). Current climate changes can largely be attributed to the process of industrialisation and economic development of the developed world, however, it is the developing part of the world that currently seems to be most adversely affected by climate change. Thus, developed countries it is argued, has a historical responsibility for the current level of emissions (Harris 2003:150). The initial response in dealing with climate change internationally has been to only subject the industrialized world to emission reductions in order to allow for developing countries to continue on

the path of economic development. However bringing some of the major developing countries onboard as well becomes increasingly important, as their current development trajectories in terms of CO₂ emissions can become catastrophic (Harris 2003:150).

The fact that mitigating climate change can be a costly affair, the question of inclusiveness and broad participation in the regime becomes important, in that it is a widely held assumption that unilateral implementation of climate policies can negatively affect the competitiveness of a country (Ott 2001:278). Thus, the climate change problem once again can be viewed in terms of ethics, as the debate on responsibility and burden-sharing comes to be at the very core of the climate debate, which to a large degree becomes determined by economic concerns.

This introduction, however brief has served to highlight climate change as rather complex political issue-area in that a large variety of concerns are to be taken into account. Furthermore, the very fact that dealing with climate change involves a wide range of policy-areas increases the complexity of providing adequate responses. As Sjøstedt very aptly describes, climate change negotiations are about coping with uncertainty and coping with complexity (Sjøstedt 1998:233).

3.2 The institutional set-up of the European Union in relation to climate change:

In the EU's pillar-structure, climate change as such belongs to the community-pillar. However it can be said to be rather intergovernmental in character, as it is a matter of shared competence, meaning that climate change is both a competence of the European Community (EC) and the member states (Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007:971). As mentioned in the above section, climate change involves action to be taken through many different policy-areas, and in the case of climate change, areas such as energy, transport and taxation are of considerable importance, but the overall responsibility for these areas belongs to the member states, and are considered highly sensitive political issues (Vogler & Bretherton 2006:10). Thus, it does not take long to understand that dealing effectively with climate change in terms of developing policies within the Union can be rather complex.

When speaking of the external representation of the Union in international negotiations, the constellation of shared competence leads to a rather complex set-up. In climate change both the EC as well as the EU member states are signatories to the UNFCCC as well as the Kyoto Protocol (Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007: 987)⁸. With the inclusion of the environment to the treaty-base with

⁸ For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that when speaking of external representation of the EU, a distinction must be made between EC and the EU, the latter being the collective of member states and the common institutions. It is the

the Maastriech-treaty in 1992, the involvement of the EC alongside the member states in external environmental negotiations was recognized, and article 174 (4) of the TEU thus states that “*within their respective spheres of competence, the Community and the Member States shall cooperate with third countries and international organizations*” (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 234 note 11). The constellation of both the EC and the EU member states as signatories to environmental agreements is termed “mixed agreements” (Sbragia & Damro 1999:55). Even though there is this distinction between the EC and the member states, they largely act jointly and are recognised as one unitary actor in climate change negotiations (Oberthür and Roche-Kelly 2008:38).

It should be noted that the participation of the EC to any agreement, is not just a matter of internal competence distribution, but also determined by the extent to which third parties accept the EC as a party alongside its member states (Vogler 2003:67). The EC has been allotted REIO-status (Regional Economic Integration Organization), which allows the EC to be party to a convention without any of the member states having to be part of it. In the case that some of the EU member states as well decide to become a party, the EC and the member states will need to decide on their respective responsibilities in terms of the obligations accorded under the convention. Furthermore, the EC cannot cast a vote at the same time as its member states (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 96).

At the actual negotiations the constellation of shared competence also has an influence in terms of who should negotiate on behalf of the Union. In article 174, paragraph 4 of the TEU, it is explicitly stated that the EU member states can choose to negotiate by themselves in international bodies, and thus choose not to authorise the Commission to undertake negotiations when it comes to international environmental agreements⁹. The Council of Ministers have chosen to be very strict in choosing not to have the Commission negotiate on behalf of the EU (EC and EU member states) in climate change negotiations, and therefore it is the rotating Council Presidency that negotiates on behalf of the EU as a collective, with assistance by the incoming Presidency and the Commission representing the EC. The Presidency thus enjoys a special position, as it prepares the agenda and draft conclusions (Van Schaik & Egenhofer 2003: 3; Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007:986).

International negotiations are conducted on a relatively strict mandate from the Environment Council of Ministers, which is agreed upon by QMV (Van Schaik & Egenhofer 2003: 3), however as put forward by Groenleer and Van Schaik, consensus is most likely the guiding principle, as

EC, and not the EU that enjoys legal personality, and can thus become a party to international treaties and conventions (Vogler & Stephan 2007:394).

⁹ When it is a matter of exclusive competence, it is the Commission that negotiates on behalf of the EU. This is for example the case in the WTO, where member states are part of the delegation, however, are to be silent during the negotiations, when the Commission articulates the position of the EU (Bretherton & Vogler 2006: 67)

unanimity is an *"implicit consequence of the theoretical possibility for EU member states to negotiate on their own behalf"* (Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007: 985).

A last point worth mentioning is the fact that during climate negotiations, the EU delegation meets in daily coordination meetings in order to adjust its position against the proposals put forward by other negotiating parties. So this is a way in which a degree of flexibility can be pursued in relations to the strict negotiation mandate agreed upon prior to entering climate negotiations (Van Schaik & Egenhofer 2003: 3). It should be noted that many scholars have focused on this explicit constellation of the EU as an actor, as for example being quite problematic for the Union during intense tactical negotiations at the international level, in that often the EU finds itself negotiating more with itself, than with other, to find a new common position (Vogler & Bretherton 2006:12-14, Gupta & Van der Grijp 2000:78; Grubb & Yamin 2001:274).

Thus clearly the formal institutional set-up can be influential for EU leadership, and provides an important background from which the EU is to be understood as an actor in climate change. However in the further investigation in this thesis less attention will be given to the influence of the formal institutional structure, in that the role-theoretical framework advocates a more sociological understanding of institutional structures as influencing the role of an actor.

However, it should be noted that this competence-delegation has important implications. With reference to the theoretical framework fig.2 presented in chapter 2, the situated actor is thus to be understood as comprising EU member states, as well as the European Commission. Even though they negotiate as a collective it is still important to make this distinction in the further investigation particularly in the analysis of role conception.

Part 3: Analysis, Explanation and Concluding remarks

The two following chapters constitute the analytical part of this thesis, which will be separated into two parts. *Chapter 4* will take a closer look at the role conception of the EU in relations to climate change, and *chapter 5* will take a look at actual role performance. The chapters will provide important insights that will be assessed and evaluated in chapter 6 in relations to the theoretical framing set forth in the first part of this thesis. Lastly, chapter 7 will conclude and draw some perspectives.

4 EU role conception – an analysis of the subjective dimension of EU role in climate change:

Role conception reflects the normative expectations an actor expresses towards itself, and should be viewed as the intention and motives of an actor in relation to its foreign policy – in this case climate policy. The following analysis of EU role conception is based on an extensive review of 38 speeches and press releases and statements by European Environmental Commissioners from 1990-2008 (Annex 1), as well as a review of 47 Presidency Conclusions from European Councils from the same period (Annex 2). Due to the large amount of information processed the results of this review are presented in Annex 1 and 2 and a summarized version of the analysis is presented below and constitutes the main findings of this review. Both annexes present a schematic overview of the findings for each document analysed.

In the review a distinction between direct and indirect mentioning of leadership is made, and has been guiding the investigation of the documents. When referring to a direct mention of leadership, this means that the specific word of leadership or leader has been mentioned. When referring to an indirect mentioning of leadership, an evaluation of the context has been made, in terms of the degree to which climate initiatives are talked of in relations to EU's position externally in climate politics. The leadership typology has been applied in order to categorize how EU leadership, directly or indirectly, has been conceptualised.

4.1: 1990-1994: A role conception of leadership is born

As mentioned in the very introduction of this thesis, from early on the EU¹⁰ clearly sees itself taking on a leadership role. In the review of European Council Conclusions, as well as speeches from the first two years of the 90s, such conception is upheld. The Council Conclusions from 1990 are particularly adamant in directly calling for a leadership role. In the declaration "The Environmental Imperative" the European Heads of State underline that: "*The Community and its member states have a special responsibility to encourage and participate in international action to combat global environmental problems. Their capacity to provide leadership in this sphere is enormous.*" (European Council 1990a).

However, as such the climate change issue only appears in three out of ten Council Conclusions analysed in the period from 1990 to 1994, and the role of leadership is most directly projected in the period up until 1992, where focus is on reaching agreement on a Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) at the 'Earth Summit' in Rio. Leadership is mentioned in more indirect terms at the end of 1994 in relations to the position of the EU at the first Conference of the Parties to be held in 1995 (European Council 1994b). It can be argued that the low mentioning of climate change in this period is a reflection of the overall importance of climate change considered by the European Council at this point in time. Nonetheless, as mentioned, leadership is a role conception held by the European Heads of State at this point in time.

A commitment to leadership and active engagement in global negotiations on climate change is by different Commissioners for the Environment clearly projected in the ten speeches and press releases analysed. What is particularly noteworthy is the attention given to the development of policy measures, which can underpin a directional leadership role for the EU. In eight out of ten speeches analysed in this period, a directional element of leadership is projected, and in all ten speeches an understanding of leadership in relation to the international sphere is projected either directly or indirectly.

Overall, principles such as sustainability, multilateralism and precautionary action are projected in both EC speeches and Council Conclusions as guiding principles for EU action. Up until '92, the objective of reaching an international agreement with the inclusion of emission reduction targets is specifically put forward as an important guiding vision by the Commissioner.

¹⁰ Prior to 1992, the right denomination would be the EC, however, for the sake of continuity I will apply the European Union throughout this paper, unless it is mentioned otherwise in a reference. The term EC, will be applied when a specific reference is made to the legal entity which has signed the UNFCCC and the Protocol.

Furthermore, the EC speeches and press releases analysed emphasise the need for integrating environmental concerns into other policy areas and is projected as an all important principle for the Union to follow on the path towards a more sustainable future. The acting Commissioner for the Environment in 1992, Karel Van Miert, particularly emphasises that the credibility of the international position of the Community is particularly dependent on its ability to adopt progressive measures internally (Van Miert 1992). Commissioner Paleokrassas similarly emphasises that the development of internal policy measures is necessary, particular a combined carbon-energy tax, if the Union wants to keep its credibility as a leader intact (Paleokrassas 1994a).

Thus, the analysis of this period shows that both the European Council and the Commissioner for the Environment at the beginning of the period sees a leadership role for the EU in relation to climate change. However, as mentioned, the commitment at the highest political level within the Union is as such not further projected post-1992. The leadership role conception is clearly upheld though by the different Commissioners throughout the period.

4.2 1995-1997: Leadership as a mission of the Commission

In this period the Commission clearly sees leadership as the right role for the EU to play in climate change. In five out of the six EC speeches and press releases analysed, the projection of the Union as a leader continue, albeit mostly indirectly. The role projected is particularly tied to the directional notion of leadership, in that the primary focus in many of the speeches is the necessary development of policy measures and the setting of ambitious reduction targets in order to provide important examples for others to follow in the fight against climate change.

The 1996 speech by Commissioner Bjerregaard to the Globe Europe Network Conference should be singled out in this period, in that it reflects very clearly how the Commission perceives a leadership role for the EU. In her speech, the Commissioner calls specifically for a “*re-instatement of EU leadership*” in the time up to the Kyoto negotiations by internally agreeing on ambitious binding commitments, and adequate policies and measures to reach these commitments, ensuring the credibility of the EU at the international level (Bjerregaard 1996b). As she mentions in her speech: “*the failure to translate political commitments into concrete actions at both Community and national level is not helpful for the credibility of the EU when we are still trying to be the main driving force in the international negotiations, particularly with developing countries*” (Bjerregaard 1996b). Thus, EU leadership is clearly projected as a subjectively held expectation, however up until this point, the quest for leadership seems not to have been as embedded with the Member

States as it is within the Commission, in that previously suggested policy proposals, as the Commissioner states, has either been “*watered down*” or, as was the case with the key proposal on energy/carbon tax, exempted from adoption (Bjerregaard 1996b). This indicates a lack of political will by the member states to make the necessary sacrifices to pursue a credible leadership role.

In four out of six Council Conclusions analysed climate change is mentioned. In two of these a leadership role for the EU in relation to the international agenda on climate change is mentioned indirectly. Specifically in the 1997 conclusions, the intention for the EU to push for an ambitious and strong outcome from COP3 in Kyoto, with legally binding reduction targets at the core of an agreed Protocol is clear, clearly wanting to set a leading example by presenting a 15%-target from the Union (European Council 1997a). However, as such, a direct reference to leadership is not made in any of the Council Conclusions.

In addition to sustainability and multilateralism as guiding principles for EU action, the analysis of speeches, press releases and Council Conclusions indicate that ensuring legally binding reduction targets to be pursued and agreed upon at the international level has become a guiding objective. Further to this, a reliance on common and coordinated policies and measures to constitute part of the agreement to be made internationally is expressed as an objective both in the Council Conclusion in June 1997, and in the speech held at COP2 by Commissioner Bjerregaard (European Council 1997a; Bjerregaard 1996a). In the Commissioner's speech at COP3, it is emphasised that the main means to achieving reductions should be through domestic action. This is reiterated as a reaction to the emphasis on flexible mechanisms such as emissions trading by other Parties, which as stated by Bjerregaard could result in “*a virtual reality protocol*” (Bjerregaard 1997).

Thus overall, the analysis of the speeches and press releases from this period shows that leadership clearly still is a role conception held by the Commissioners. As underlined in the speech from 1996, the leadership role needs to be built upon a credible base, if such is to continue. The analysis of the Council Conclusions shows that the issue of climate change is still not a regularly debated topic at the highest level, and as such the notion of leadership is fairly weak. The Conclusions from June 1997, however does project climate change as a serious issue that needs a strong response, indirectly connecting a role of instrumental leadership to the Union to ensure such response in the outcome of COP3 (European Council 1997a).

4.3 1998-2000: An increased embeddedness of leadership as a role for the EU

In this period it is noteworthy that climate change seems to be an issue increasingly on the agenda of the European Council. In five out of seven Council Conclusions analysed climate change is mentioned, four of which indirectly treat leadership as a role for the Union. Thus, compared to the two previous periods, the European Heads of State increasingly project an understanding of the Union to play an important role in climate change. Specifically, the Heads of State stress the need to develop common and coordinated policies within the Union in order to meet its commitments internationally, strengthening the directional element of leadership (European Council 1998b; 1999b; 2000c). A leadership role is also indirectly projected in that the European Council explicitly calls for an early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by all Parties in four out of five Conclusions treating the issue of climate change. In December 1999 the European Council specifies 2002 as the target year for final ratification (European Council 1999b), thus clearly indicating the intention of the EU to lead the way towards such goal.

In this period, the Commission continues its projection of the EU as a leader, but in an even stronger manner than before. In six out of six speeches and press releases analysed, a leadership role is connected to the Union, three of which are made directly. Thus, clearly the EC perceives the EU as the main player in international negotiations. Furthermore, an understanding of the EU as a leader is clearly projected, both in terms of an instrumental role in driving forward the process, but also in terms of showing the way, leading by example through the development of policies and measures at home to prepare for the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. In a press release prior to COP4, it is for example clearly stated that "*The European Union (EU) will continue to take a leading role in this process*" (European Commission 1998), and the development of internal policy measures are reiterated as a way to underpin the credibility of the Union as a leader (Wallström 1999; 2000a).

The analysis shows that one main objective for the EU, is to secure early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. However, both Commissioners in this period are particular adamant in stressing the principle of domestic action as a primary means for reaching the Kyoto targets, underlining the need for supplementary use of flexible mechanisms only (European Council 1998b; 1999b + all speeches and press releases analysed in this period – see annex 1). Commissioner Bjerregaard for instance states: "*Let me underline as strongly as possible, the EU's absolute commitment to domestic action. The mechanisms must be supplementary to this*" (Bjerregaard 1998). Commissioner Wallström,

taking over from Ritt Bjerregaard, continues to stress the importance of domestic action, in order to ensure *"the environmental integrity of the Protocol"* (Wallström 2000b).

The overall role conception which emerges from this analysis is one of leadership tied to the objective of early ratification of an environmentally sound Protocol embracing domestic action as the primary means to achieve reductions. The instrumental role of the EU ensuring such objective is clearly projected. Furthermore, the notion of the EU leading the way through example is emphasised through the increased focus by the Heads of State on the development of common policies and measures to support the Union in the endeavour towards emission reductions. Lastly, the overall projection of leadership by the Commissioner has been strengthened and become more direct.

4.4 2001-2004: A changing basis of EU leadership strategy

A number of interesting findings from this period should be singled out as important for the development of the overall role conception of the EU in relation to climate change.

First of all, in relation to the Council Conclusions, in eight out of twelve Conclusions analysed climate change is subject to discussion. In seven of these, a rather ambitious leadership role for the Union is projected, albeit mentioned in an indirect manner. This is in itself a noteworthy development, when compared to the findings of the period from 1990-1994, where climate change only was mentioned in three out of ten Council Conclusions. Although, the word leadership is not mentioned specifically, the review shows that the role conception guiding the European Council clearly is one of leadership. For instance, in the Council Conclusions from March 2001 the European Council issues a declaration on climate change as a response to both the failed COP6 in Hague in November 2000 as well as the declared withdrawal of the US. In this, the European Council affirms its strong commitment to the Kyoto Protocol expressing its concern that it is *"being called into question"*; and the Council urges all Parties to contribute to reach agreement on the final issues on the Kyoto Protocol so it will enter into force by 2002 (European Council 2001a). The issuing of such declaration clearly shows the Council's commitment to the process, and the identification of the Union as a leading actor wanting to ensure the Protocol despite the setback. In its Conclusion in June 2001, the commitment is as well clear in that it is stated that: *"The European Union will work to ensure the widest possible participation of industrialised countries in an effort to ensure the entry into force of the Protocol by 2002"* (European Council 2001b), and thus projecting an image of the Union wanting to provide instrumental leadership.

The analysis of the speeches and press releases from the Commissioner shows that a role of leadership for the Union clearly is the point of reference. In all eight documents analysed a notion of leadership is projected, four of which make a direct link between the EU and leadership in climate change. Thus, as such, this is a continuation of the findings in the previous periods.

However, taking a closer look at the principles and objectives attached to the role of leadership, an interesting discovery emerges. In line with the findings from the period from 1998-2000, the period from 2000 until 2002 shows that the principle of domestic action is highlighted as an important guiding principle for the Union. However, at the same time, the analysis shows that an emerging focus on cost-effectiveness is taking place, in which emissions trading by the Commission is promoted as being a cost-effective measure to supplement domestic policies in the battle against climate change (Wallström 2001a; Wallström 2001b). From 2002 and throughout the rest of the period, the principle of cost-effectiveness is specifically highlighted as important for the development of EU policy measures, and emissions' trading is presented as a cornerstone of EU policy in its efforts to mitigate climate change, thus building its directional leadership on such basis (European Commission 2002b, Wallström 2003, Dimas 2004). For instance, referring to the agreement of the Council on the Emissions Trading Directive it is stated that "*This agreement confirms the EU's continued political leadership in the area of climate change*" (European Commission 2002b). This is considered a rather interesting development in that it represents a change in the normative basis upon which EU leadership strategy is built, in that an instrument such as emissions trading previously has been projected as an instrument that could harm the environmental integrity of the Kyoto Protocol as shown in the analysis of the previous period.

Lastly, it should be noted, that the principle of multilateralism continuously is reiterated in the speeches and press releases, clearly showing the commitment of the Union to the international process in terms of dealing with climate change.

Thus, the conception of the Union as a leader in climate change has only grown stronger, specifically when factoring in the increased attention given by the European Council to the issue of climate change, and the manner in which the role is described in the Conclusions. Furthermore, the normative basis upon which leadership is built seems to be changing, in that the directional leadership increasingly is being connected to an understanding of cost-effective measures such as emissions trading.

4.5 2005-2008: Leadership as a clear and direct role for the EU

Reviewing the Council Conclusions from this sub-period an interesting finding emerges in that climate change is mentioned in eleven out of twelve Conclusions analysed, all of which also project an understanding of EU leadership. The interesting feature of this finding is the very fact that in six of these, leadership is mentioned directly in connection to the role played by the Union.

Such development clearly reflects the fact that climate change has become an issue of high politics subject to frequent discussion by the European Heads of State. Furthermore, the fact that leadership is mentioned in direct terms in the Council Conclusions is a reflection of how the role of leadership has become deeply embedded at the highest political level. For instance in the Council Conclusion from March 2007 it is stated: *“The European Council underlines the leading role of the EU in international climate protection. It stresses that international collective action will be critical in driving an effective, efficient and equitable response on the scale required to face climate change challenges”* (European Council 2007a). The subsequent Council Conclusions follow this trend emphasising EU leadership both in instrumental and directional terms. The Council Conclusions in March 2008 for instance state that *“The EU is committed to maintaining international leadership on climate change and energy and to keep up the momentum of negotiations on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol in particular at the next Conference of the parties in Poznan* (European Council 2008a).

The strong projection of EU leadership is also found in the analysed EC speeches and press releases. In all eight documents an understanding of EU as a leading actor is projected, five of which make a direct mention of an EU leadership role. A direct leadership role is often emphasised at press conferences and speeches held at the different COPs throughout the period. In these the directional element of EU leadership is particularly emphasised referencing the many policy solutions that are or will be developed within the EU. Furthermore, the speeches and press releases are particularly vocal in emphasising the need for the rest of the Parties to follow the lead by the EU. For instance, Commissioner Dimas states at a press conference at COP13 in Bali in relation to the adoption of a post-Kyoto agreement: *“You may be sure that the European Union will continue to exercise its global leadership to achieve this goal. As a union of 27 democratic countries bound by legal commitments, we speak with one voice for a region of 500 million people”* (Dimas 2007a). From the review of all documents in this period, efforts of securing an ambitious post-Kyoto agreement by 2009 is projected as the overall guiding vision for the EU, particular emphasising the

need for strong reduction targets. Overall, principles such as multilateralism, 'common-but-differentiated responsibilities' and cost efficiency are projected as important for the EU.

Thus, the findings show that the role of leadership for the EU in relation to climate change is clearly and directly projected by both the Commissioner, as well as by the Heads of State as reflected in the Council Conclusions. Thus, it would be fair to say that it seems that leadership very clearly is a guiding role conception for the EU.

4.6 Sum up of the overall development and findings of EU role conception:

The analysis of EU role conception over time in relation to climate change has brought forward a number of interesting findings. First of all, from the speeches and press releases held by the Commissioner for the Environment, it becomes clear that a role of leadership is held from the very beginning, and that the identification with such role only grows stronger over time, in that leadership is mentioned more directly over time.

Secondly, the analysis of the Council Conclusions shows that initially, climate change as such is not very often on the highest political agenda in the Union, however, in the early Conclusions a leadership role conception is shown to be held by the European Council in relation to international climate change politics. Throughout the 90s the mentioning of climate change increases, and indirect references to leadership are as well projected. In the new millennium climate change is increasingly on the agenda, and in almost all Conclusions mentioning climate change, a leadership role is projected indirectly, and from around 2006 direct reference to a leadership role by the European Council is made.

Thus, it would be fair to say that it seems leadership as a guiding role conception for the EU as a collective has undergone a high degree of institutionalisation since the beginning of the international climate change regime.

Thirdly, it should be noted that the analysis as well has shown that a shift in terms of guiding principles underpinning the leadership role is taking place. At the beginning of the new millennium the normative basis upon which leadership is built seems to be changing, in that directional leadership increasingly is being connected to an understanding of cost-effective measures such as emissions trading, rather than the previously emphasised focus on domestic action.

5 EU role performance – an analysis of EU behaviour in relation to international climate change politics over time:

The previous chapter has provided an insight to and presented a number of findings related to the development of EU role conception during the period under investigation. This chapter will seek to establish the development of EU role performance in an attempt to be able to establish the degree to which role conception is translated into role performance. The following section will provide a chronological analysis of EU role performance in climate change, applying the leadership typology as the point of reference.

5.1 1990-1994: Leadership – a slow start

As mentioned in section 1.6, the period from 1990-1994 is characterised by international efforts to establish a framework convention on climate change and thus the INC was created. Several scholars mention that from early on it is clear that a leadership vacuum existed in this process in that neither the US nor Japan showed any signs of driving forward the process. Thus, an opportunity for the EU to take on a leadership role appeared in that the vacuum needed to be filled (Andresen & Agrawala 2002:45; Ringius 1999:18). As mentioned in the very introduction, the EU saw this opportunity and adopted a common stabilisation target calling for the stabilisation of emissions at 1990-levels by the year 2000, based on an internal agreement on burden-sharing (Ringius 1999:8; Wynne 1993:110). This move has by some scholars been considered important in that it provided necessary impetus to the INC negotiations providing a steer for other industrialised countries to follow (Yamin 2000:49), and as such can be categorized as an important move by the EU towards providing directional leadership. The EU brought this position to the international negotiations arguing for a Convention with binding targets, however, especially the US rejected any type of binding commitments to be included (Ringius 1999:8; Yamin 2000:49). Despite diplomatic efforts by the EU to convince the US, the final outcome is considered more of a victory to the US, in that the Convention did not contain any provisions on legally binding targets, but merely a call for industrialised countries to undertake a stabilisation of their emissions (Andresen & Agrawala 2002:46).

It has been argued that the potential of the EU to exercise instrumental leadership at the negotiations was significantly hampered by the lack of agreement within the EU on a package of policy measures, particularly the issue of a carbon/energy tax, to underpin its position at the negotiations (Hovi et al 2003: 17). Thus, the EU had no unified position prior to the Rio summit where an agreement was to be made. The final compromise it has been argued, was a result of the breaking of

ranks by the UK forging a rather modest deal with the US, who was considered of all importance to get onboard due to its status as the largest emitter of CO₂, which induced the EU to give in to US demands for its participation (Andresen & Agrawala 2002:46; Ringius 1999:9).

Despite the lack of success by the EU in ensuring a Convention with binding targets, it is widely acknowledged that the "soft" stabilisation target agreed upon can be accredited to the EU's persistence on targets (Yamin 2000:49; Andresen & Agrawala 2002:46). Thus, overall, EU performance at this point should primarily be characterised in terms of the EU being a pusher, in that the EU could not deliver a credible underpinning to its setting of targets hampering its ability to provide credible instrumental leadership and convince other parties to the necessity of binding targets. Nonetheless, a soft target was agreed.

After the agreement on the UNFCCC at Rio, the EU managed to adopt a package of measures to constitute the beginning of an actual Community policy on climate change in 1993, however as noted by Wettestad, the package was significantly watered down, and the tax issue still unresolved (Wettestad 2000:28-29). Prior to the first COP to be held, the EU again reiterated its commitment to stabilisation of emissions, and called for further action in terms of binding reduction targets (Ringius 1999:11). However, the deadlock on the tax-issue, as put forward by Yamin further "*dented*" EU's leadership in international negotiations in the run-up to COP1, as many of the negotiating Parties pointed to a credibility gap between the EU's goals and lack of a coherent implementation strategy (Yamin 2002:49; Ringius 1999:11). Thus, EU credibility as a leader was somewhat at a low point.

Further to this, it should be noted, that the EU's position on targets based on the burden-sharing principle primarily was possible due to German reunification, causing a shutdown of inefficient industries, causing emissions to fall automatically, as well as a restructuration of the energy-sector in the United Kingdom (Oberthür & Roche-Kelly 2008:40, Gupta & Ringius 2001:283). As Ringius argues, the target was primarily a result of a bottom-up approach based on expected emission trajectories (Ringius 1999:8), thus supporting an understanding of the EU primarily as pusher, in that the set target as such did not involve any real costs or sacrifice for the EU, which as stated in section 2.4.1.4 is considered necessary for providing true leadership.

Overall, the EU during this period has not provided impressive leadership, although it is accredited to having provided important impetus initially calling for stabilisation targets to be included in the UNFCCC. However, as such the EU could not agree internally on important policy-measures to

underpin its targets, making the EU a pusher rather than a directional leader, which in turn hampered EU ability to provide instrumental leadership.

5.2 1995-1997: EU as an important pusher

This period represents efforts made to advance the climate regime towards a binding Protocol to strengthen the commitments made in the UNFCCC. At the beginning of this period, the EU showed important instrumental leadership bringing about the so-called Berlin mandate at COP1 in Berlin in 1995, setting in motion a process towards a binding protocol, despite strong initial opposition by the US. As emphasised by Yamin, through structural and instrumental leadership, using its political weight and diplomatic ties with the developing world, the EU managed to form a “green coalition” with the developing countries, which outnumbered the parties opposing any negotiation process to be set in motion, primarily the JUSCANZ¹¹ group and OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries)(Yamin 2000:50). As pointed out by Ringius, the fact that the EU did not call for commitments by developing countries, seemed to be a deal-breaker for their support (Ringius 1999:11)

However, the leadership role by the EU as such was not continued. At the subsequent COP in 1996, the EU did not play any significant role in moving the negotiation process forward, as it was preoccupied with figuring out its own position internally. Despite its continued calls for binding reduction targets, the EU still had not formally agreed on a position to be brought forward internationally. Furthermore, the EU was still struggling to find agreement on additional policy measures to underpin any position on targets (Yamin 2000:54; Andresen & Agrawala 2002: 47). Thus, the agreed Geneva Declaration adopted at COP2 specifying that a protocol would have to contain quantified, legally binding objectives with specific timeframes, was largely due to an unexpected change of position by the US (Andresen & Agrawala 2002: 47). As Yamin states, many observers saw COP2 as a turning point for the leadership game due to US proactive engagement in moving the process forward (Yamin 2000.54).

Upon US change of mind, the EU stepped up its leadership reaching agreement internally on a burden-sharing arrangement allowing for the EU to be the first Party internationally to set forward a proposal for a 15% flat reduction target for all industrialised countries. Yamin considers this move to be a clear sign of directional leadership, in terms of putting pressure on other parties to follow suit (Yamin 2000:55). The end result was a differentiation of binding reduction targets between

¹¹ JUSCANZ is an informal grouping coalesced around COP1 constituted of Japan, US, Canada, Australia, Norway and New Zealand

industrialised countries, with the EU committing itself as a “bubble” to reduce emissions by 8%. The final result on targets is by many considered to be due to EU's continued persistence, such as was the case in Rio as well (Yamin 2000:55; Ringius 1999:13; Sjøstedt 1998:230; Schreurs & Tiberghien 2007:20).

However, the EU was less successful in influencing the final design of the Protocol as it was largely identical to the proposal by the US including the so-called flexible mechanisms such as for example emissions trading, a key issue for the US (Andresen & Agrawala 2000:47; Hovi et al 2003:17; Yamin 2000:65). The EU during negotiations called for a primacy of domestic action arguing for the inclusion of common policies and measures (PAMS) to be included in the protocol, however the EU was not successful in providing instrumental leadership in this sphere as it could not argue why it insisted on such measures and was largely hampered by the fact that it had been struggling to agree internally on common policies and measures undermining the EU's credibility internationally (Yamin 2000: 53 + 65).

Overall, the EU can be said to have provided important impetus to the building of the climate regime through its insistence on targets, however due to its lack of development of policy-measures internally, its role should rather be characterized as one of pusher, rather than a leader, or as stated by Andresen & Agrawala, a directional leader in terms of “pushing numbers” (Andresen & Agrawala 2002:49). Furthermore, other than the success of the EU in bringing about the Berlin Mandate, the label of instrumental leadership should primarily be accredited to the role of the US.

5.3 1998-2000: Leadership at a low point, but true to its beliefs

After the Kyoto Protocol was agreed, the international negotiations have by some scholars been characterized in terms of stalemate and retreat from the commitments made at COP3 (Ott & Oberthür 2001:17-18). EU leadership during this period has been said not to be particularly impressive (Hovi et al. 2003:17). Despite rhetorical commitment from the Union in bringing forward the process, this was not really reflected in the action taken by the EU (Ott & Oberthür 2001:18). For instance COP4 was dominated by conflicts between the EU and the Umbrella group¹² especially on the issue of quantified limitations on the use of flexible mechanisms, the EU arguing to set a cap to ensure the efficiency of the set reduction targets. However, as noticed by Tangen, the EU did not present a single proposal on the flexible mechanisms at COP4, and in general was perceived as rather passive during negotiations, as a result of difficulties in balancing the various

¹² The Umbrella group, previously JUSCANZ, is Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Russia, Ukraine and the US (Ott & Oberthür 2001:12).

ambitions of its member states (Tangen 1999: 176-178). Thus, despite rhetoric, the EU was not providing any significant instrumental leadership.

In terms of directional leadership, the level and pace of initiatives for domestic action at EU-level slowed considerable after the final adoption of the burden-sharing agreement in 1998, and the EU was characterized by internal strife between member states on the further policy direction (Ott & Oberthür 2001:23; Hovi et al 2003:17). The issue of flexibility mechanisms especially proved difficult, in that a number of member states as well as the Commission started to realise that applying an instrument such as emissions trading perhaps would be an efficient and necessary tool to reach the Kyoto target causing significant disagreement internally on measures to be developed (Cass 2005:39; Oberthür & Ott 2001:11). However, the EU did manage to reach voluntary agreement with European Car manufacturers in 1998 to limit emissions of new cars as part of its strategy toward reducing emission (Ott & Oberthür 2001:11), thus providing an example for others to follow.

In 1999, the EU did provide momentum and hope to the process, in that it announced it would work for the Protocol to enter into force by 2002 (Ott 2001:280). However, as described by Ott & Oberthür at the end of 1999, little had still been done by the EU to accelerate ratification internally through the implementation of internal policies and measures (Ott & Oberthür 2001:21). Thus the EU would at this point be more of a pusher than a directional leader.

However, in 2000, with the launch of European Climate Change Programme (ECCP) by the Commission, which was to identify and develop all necessary elements of an EU strategy to implement the Kyoto Protocol, (DG Environment 2009), the directional leadership was strengthened and was an important move to enhance EU credibility as a leader internationally at the forthcoming COP6 (Metz et al 2001:171).

However, at COP6 in The Hague, which broke down¹³, the EU has been accused of being one of the causes for the breakdown providing a very weak instrumental leadership performance, despite the sense of urgency projected by its commitment to securing the entry into force of the Protocol by 2002. Both Ott and Grubb and Yamin point to the institutional set-up of the EU as a source for this weakness, as it for instance still found itself negotiating internally on a compromise text, when other Parties had finished (Ott 2001:285; Grubb & Yamin 2001:274); a clear example of the instrumental weakness of the EU to take quick initiatives during the course of tactical negotiations, which is an essential part of this notion of leadership.

¹³ For detailed articles on why the Hague broke down see Ott 2001, Grubb & Yamin 2001, Dessai 2001.

An interesting feature which should be noted is that just as was the case in Rio, the UK broke ranks, in attempt to negotiate a last-minute deal with the US, albeit without a mandate from the Troika. However, the compromise made was denied by the EU as a group, in that it was not considered ambitious enough (Grubb & Yamin 2001:263). The EU had throughout negotiations been particularly adamant in safeguarding the environmental integrity of the protocol calling for a cap to be set on the use of the Kyoto mechanisms in order to ensure domestic action as the primary way to reach reductions (Dessai 2001: 4). The negotiated compromise text did not live up to EU demands to secure an environmentally sound protocol, and as pointed out by Ott, this was by many environmentalists seen as a true success of EU's leadership (Ott 2001:279).

Thus, overall, the performance of the EU in this period is neither strong in instrumental nor directional leadership in driving forward the process, albeit the call for the entering into force of the Protocol by 2002 and the development of the ECCP in 2000 is strengthening EU credentials as a directional leader. Furthermore, the credibility of the EU was as well intact in that it did not give into US demands in the final hour, such as was the case in Rio and in Kyoto.

5.4: 2001-2004: The EU as an important leader

Between 2001 and 2004, the EU ups its leadership considerably compared to the previously analysed periods. As mentioned in section 1.6 after the breakdown of COP6, the US decides to withdraw completely from the process endangering it from entering into force (Dessai 2001:5). Some scholars have called this event an important turning point for EU leadership, in that said leadership considerably escalated upon US withdrawal (Hovi et al. 2003:19; Bang et al 2005:5), and few scholars would disagree that the Kyoto Protocol survived because of the leadership provided by the EU. As pointed out by Bang et al, the EU was the only actor in town with sufficient political energy and strength to ensure ratification of the Protocol in the face of US withdrawal (Bang et al 2005:5). The EU provided important instrumental leadership, undertaking a number of diplomatic missions to ensure the support for Kyoto from a wider coalition of countries in the face of US withdrawal (Dessai 2001:7; Hovi et al 2003:18; Vogler & Bretherton 2006:13). Thus, the EU clearly was aware that combining its structural power with instrumental leadership would provide important impetus into the process ensuring KP ratification.

An agreement to continue towards ratification of KP was reached at COP6bis, and can be seen as an important culmination of EU instrumental leadership. However, it should be noted that such agreement was not without concessions, in that it was obvious that the hopes of any deal to be made in Bonn would have to accommodate the interests of the "Gang of Four" – Japan, Russia, Canada

and Australia, sacrificing primarily environmental effectiveness for economic flexibility to keep the group onboard (Dessai 2001:8+14 Hovi et al 2003:18). Thus from COP6 to the final outcome at COP7 in 2001, the Kyoto Protocol, it has been argued, was turned into a ultra-light version, reflecting to a large degree the version of the Protocol envisioned by the US the entire time. But as further noted, had it not been for the EU, the Protocol might have been dead (Hovi et al 2003:19).

In addition to instrumental leadership, the EU as well showed important directional leadership in this period preparing the ground for a swift ratification of the Protocol internally (Hovi et al 2003:18). By 2002 both the EC and the EU member states had all ratified the Protocol setting a good example (Schreurs & Tiberghien 2007:21). While Parties such as Japan and Canada both ratified in 2002, Australia rejected ratification of the Protocol, while Russia still tried to reap some benefits in return for its ratification (Hovi et al 2003:18; Bang et al. 2005:16-17) Vogler & Bretherton indicate that the EU used its power as a trade actor, offering its support for Russian WTO membership in exchange for Kyoto ratification (Vogler & Bretherton 2006:14), thus clearly an indication that the Union has combined structural and instrumental leadership applying its economic and political weight providing incentive for Russia to ratify.

Besides the ratification of KP, this period furthermore shows an important strengthening of EU's directional leadership in climate change, in that the EU adopts a number of policies and measures that will support it to reach its Kyoto targets. The most important and interesting development in this matter is the Emissions Trading Directive, which was to form the centrepiece of the EU's climate policy based on the aforementioned ECCP (Oberthür & Roche-kelly 2008:40). As emphasised by Ott, with the adoption of the emissions trading directive, the EU went from "*rhetoric to action*" calling it a remarkable success in the light of the difficulties the Union has had in finding common ground on the carbon-energy tax (Ott 2002:7).

After having agreed on the final details on KP, at COP8 the EU started to focus attention internationally on an initiation of discussions of the post-Kyoto commitment period. However, a rift between the former alliance between the EU and the G-77 occurred in that the EU wanted to start discussing the possibility of future participation by developing countries. At this point the US shifted attitude siding with the G-77 stating that it was premature to begin discussions on future commitments from developing countries (Bang et al 2005:11; Ott 2002:3). At COP10 in Buenos Aires, despite recent ratification by Russia, once again EU efforts to steer discussion towards the future of the regime were completely denied by the US. As Ott et al. points out, "*it takes two to tango*" (Ott et al. 2005:85). Thus, the success of EU instrumental leadership at this point is limited,

in that it as such did not create any alliances to support the initiation of discussions on the future regime and was significantly hampered by the US.

Overall, however, this period shows a remarkable strengthening of EU leadership. And the final ratification by Russia in 2004, allowing the protocol to enter into force in 2005, is in itself clear evidence of the strengthened leadership performance by the EU. As noted by Ott et al, the entry into force of KP is a *“major soft power policy achievement of the EU”* (Ott et al. 2005:84). Furthermore, the successful adoption of the emissions trading directive, the EU is showing important directional leadership.

5.5 2005-2008: EU leadership on retreat?

With the entering into force of KP in early 2005 a new era for international climate policy began (Ott et al. 2005:84). As seen in the analysis of the previous period, the EU clearly established itself in a leading position, and as pointed out by Vogler and Bretherton, having done so, *“much is expected of the Union in the next phase of the climate-change regime”* (Vogler & Bretherton 2006:19).

As such EU instrumental leadership during the first couple of COPs in this period have not been considered to be particularly impressive, despite ambitious efforts to invigorate international negotiations towards future commitments in the post-Kyoto commitment period. A two-track process started at COP11 in Montreal in 2005, however this was primarily due to a legal obligation in the Kyoto Protocol stipulating that such process would have to start at the latest seven years before the end of the first commitment period (Sterk et al. 2007:140). At COP12, the EU was instrumentally active attempting to have the objective of keeping the temperature increase below 2°C as a guiding long-term vision adopted, but this was opposed by G77/China (Ibid: 141). In general, EU instrumental leadership efforts at COP12 has been considered rather vague in directing the process towards successful post-Kyoto negotiations, in that the EU failed to forge a green coalition with some of the rapidly industrialising countries. As put forward by Sterk et al. the EU at that point would need to demonstrate its willingness to do its share, to get these countries onboard (Ibid:147).

The EU was more successful in providing instrumental leadership at COP13 in Bali, which has been noted to be one of the more successful conferences in the history of international climate change negotiations, in that many old battlegrounds were overcome and both developing countries and the US agreed to the Bali Action Plan acknowledging the need for broad participation in a future regime (Watanabe et al. 2008: 14; Ott et al 2008:93). As mentioned by Ott et al. the EU *“spent the*

first week of the conference trying to act as bridge leading the USA and their allies back into the fold, but in the second week reinforced its positions and strongly fought back attempts to water down the draft decisions” (Ott et al. 2008:93).

The more visible instrumental leadership by the EU should be seen in the light that in March 2007, the directional leadership in terms of numbers was significantly enhanced with the European Council decision to commit unilaterally to a 20% reduction target by 2020, and 30% if other developed countries would commit to comparable reduction targets (European Council 2007a). As put forward by Schreurs et al. the EU pushed for ambitious reduction targets at both COP13 and subsequent sessions (Schreurs et al 2009:177; Santarius et al 2009:4).

In general, the EU undertook a considerable strengthening of its directional leadership both through the entering into force of the European emissions trading system in 2005, as well as the launch of the Second European Climate Change Programme (Schreurs et al. 2009:176). The abovementioned commitment made by the European Council in 2007 was followed by a number of measures to be adopted, and Oberthür and Roche-Kelly argued that the adoption of such measures would go a long way in providing credibility for EU's international leadership on climate change, and in general provide a firm basis for the further strengthening of EU climate and energy policy (Oberthür & Roche-Kelly 2008:42). However, when it came to finding agreement on the so-called energy and climate package during 2008, it proved harder than expected for the EU to agree on the proposed measures in the light of the financial crisis. As noticed by Santarius et al. the COP14 held in Poznan was characterised by a lack of political leadership, especially due to the “*tug-of-war*” over the EU climate and energy package (Santarius et al. 2009:32). Thus, despite the potential for the EU to provide directional leadership through the adoption of the climate and energy package to assist the Union towards reducing emissions by 2020, the package was watered down significantly, hampering the potential for the EU to ambitiously lead by example (Santarius et al. 2009:3). However, it should not be forgotten that as such, the adoption of the climate and energy package is a novelty in terms of EU climate policy, in that it for the first time integrates climate and energy concerns.

Overall, this period shows a rather ambiguous picture of EU leadership. The EU has clearly strengthened its potential to provide directional leadership during this period through the development of a number of policy measures and ambitious targets supporting it in its endeavour for leadership. However, as has become clear as well, instrumental leadership by the Union was not as successful, although the EU played an important role in bringing about the Bali Action Plan. At

the last COP prior to COP15 in Copenhagen, it has been noted that it was the developing countries that showed the most leadership in keeping the process going, and Santarius et al. speculates on whether or not the lack of action at COP14 should be seen as an abdication of EU leadership (Santarius et al. 2009:3), thus leaving the question as to whether EU leadership is on retreat.

5.6 Sum up of development of EU role performance in terms of leadership:

In the beginning of this very thesis, the question asked indicates that the performance of the EU in leadership terms over time has been fluctuating. The above analysis agrees with such assertion, albeit it should be noted, that overall, the main difference in terms of EU role performance is seen between the two decades analysed. During the 90s, the EU starts off with a clear bid for leadership, setting forward ambitious targets, but it soon comes to show, that the Union has political difficulties in finding agreement on measures and policies to underpin its target, which is a characteristic trait of EU role performance throughout the 90s. Overall, the analysis shows the EU to be more of a pusher than a leader throughout most of the 90s, in that the EU is largely ineffective in its negotiating behaviour, and reluctant to commit to costly policies, especially, the carbon-energy tax. However, at times the EU does show important instrumental leadership, such as was the case with the Berlin Mandate. It should be emphasised also, that the EU has been an important pusher in terms of securing for example binding reduction targets in the Kyoto Protocol.

A change in EU role performance seems to take place around the new millennium, in that the EU begins to strengthen its role as a directional leader through the development of policies and measures. In particular the EU is quite successful in quickly finding agreement upon an emission trading directive to constitute the cornerstone of EU policy. Furthermore, upon US retreat, EU shows considerable instrumental leadership in securing the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol despite the absence of the largest emitter, the US, as a Party to the Protocol. However, the analysis as well shows that post-2005, the performance by the EU is once again somewhat lacking in terms of its ability to provide instrumental leadership at the international negotiations, although the EU plays an important role in terms of bringing about the Bali Action Plan. As shown, from 2007 onwards the EU takes on a new direction in strengthening its climate policy by integrating climate and energy, however, internal strife on the level of ambition is noted, which hampers the EU in providing much instrumental leadership at the last COP prior to COP15 in Copenhagen.

6 Explaining EU fluctuating leadership:

In the following chapter a few of the main findings which are considered to have explanatory value will be identified and summarized and put in relation to the theoretical framework, however firstly a sum-up of the main findings of the two analyses made of role-conception and role-performance will be made and briefly held up against each other.

6.1 Main findings of the analysis: Conception-performance gap

When comparing the findings in the analysis of both role conception and role performance, it becomes clear that particularly throughout the 90s the EU is struggling with translating its role conception into role performance. Inspired by Christopher Hills famous notion of “capability-expectations gap”(Hill 1993), Elgström and Smith speaks of a “conception-performance gap” (Elgström & Smith 2006:248), which is considered to be a rather suitable denomination for the situation of the EU in relations to international climate change politics.

As concluded in the section on role conception it is seen that during most of the 90s there is an emphasis on the EU to lead by example through the development of policy measures, as well as through the setting of ambitious targets. However, the role performance analysis shows that the EU primarily is successful in pushing emission targets, rather than leading through the development of common policies to underpin the targets. Thus a gap can be said to exist, in that the EU does not live up to its own conception of leadership. In general there is high emphasis on the Union as an actor driving forward the international process however, its success as an instrumental leader throughout the 90s is as well shown to be limited.

With the new millennium, the conception-performance gap seems to be narrowed considerably, and the EU is far more successful in living up to its stated commitments of leadership. Specifically in the period from 2001-2004 the two analyses show that the EU lives up to its own projections both in terms of instrumental and directional leadership.

In the last period, from 2005-2008 the conception-performance gap can be said to widen a little in that in terms of instrumental leadership, the EU is less successful in driving forward the process towards a post-Kyoto agreement. However, with the development of new targets in 2007, the EU provides considerable momentum to the process, living up to its own projection of providing leadership in the negotiations. Albeit, at the last COP, despite clear ambitions of keeping up momentum at COP14, the EU fails to deliver instrumental leadership, due to difficulties in coming

to an agreement on the climate- and energy package, which was to serve as a strengthening of EU directional leadership.

The identification of the conception-performance gap as well as the subsequent narrowing of this gap indicates that the reasons for EU fluctuating leadership can be found by taking a closer look at the variables causing these gaps, bringing us closer to an overall explanation of fluctuating EU leadership. In doing so, the analysis of role performance, which drew upon the work of other scholars providing the context surrounding the EU in relations to international climate change politics becomes important. It serves as an important reference in that a number of internal and external variables, which served as opportunities and constraints for the EU leadership, were identified. Together with the findings of the role conception analysis, these can assist in providing an explanation and understanding of fluctuating EU leadership.

Naturally, not all variables can be examined more closely, however the following section will highlight and elaborate on what may be regarded as the most influential aspects as represented by the findings in the two previous sections through the assistance of the role-theoretical framework.

6.2 The normative basis of EU leadership strategy:

Although it has been put forward that EU role conception has been rather consistent with leadership as the point of reference, the role conception analysis provided an important finding in that a change in the normative basis of the leadership role was discovered.

In the period from 2001 to 2004 it was noticed that a change in the principles and objectives attached to the role of leadership underwent a change from emphasising domestic action, such as policies aimed at changing consumption and production patterns, to an emphasis on cost-effectiveness represented by an instrument such as emissions trading.

The change in the normative basis upon which EU leadership strategy was built correlates with the changing success of EU leadership observed in the analysis of role performance in the same period. As was shown the EU undertook a considerable and relatively fast strengthening of EU's directional leadership through the development of a number of policies and measures, specifically the Emissions Trading Directive. Up until this point, the EU member states had shown inability to find agreement upon common policies that would support and provide credibility to EU's leadership internationally. Specifically attempts to develop a policy to mitigate climate change through a

carbon-energy tax failed at several occasions, and thus left the EU without any real common policy on climate change to support directional leadership.

In light of the role-theoretical framework, this development suggests that EU leadership strategy throughout the 90s has been built upon principles that the EU member states could not agree to.

As the intentional perspective suggest, an actor is involved in its own definition and construction of a role attaching it with norms, principles and objectives. In the case of EU leadership, the Commission has from the beginning of the process defined the overall leadership strategy on the basis of domestic action, such as the introduction of a carbon/energy tax, as the primary principle underpinning a directional leadership role.

As shown in the role performance analysis the commitment of the member states to the projection of ambitious reduction targets reflects how member states do adhere to the guiding role-conception of leadership. However, it proved more difficult to substantiate this leadership tactic with a credible underpinning. Thus the lack of development of EU directional leadership throughout the 90s indicates a lack of consensus about the content in terms of norms and objectives of EU leadership role.

As put forward in the theoretical framework, such lack of consensus can result in a role-conflict. In this case the findings suggests that there is a collision between the role conception held by the European Commission, and the various role conceptions held by the different member states, and thus makes EU actions in relations to climate change rather unstable, due to a lack of consistency and centrality about the normative basis of the role.

However as noted also in the framework, the EU is considered to be a "situated actor", and an intentional agent with a desire for cognitive stability. The intentional perspective puts forward that an actor always finds it self in a process of self-monitoring allowing for a reassessment of the role, which in turn can result in change if it is considered necessary in order to obtain cognitive consistency and stability. In this case, a change in the sole adherence to domestic action, to also emphasise the principle of cost-effectiveness was noted, allowing for the EU to embrace an instrument such as emissions trading underpinning its leadership, which it previously had been strongly against.

To dig deeper into the process leading to such change, some scholars suggest that the development of the international negotiations and social interaction with other actors gradually led the EU to change its position on an issue such as emissions trading as a main instrument in climate policy and

thus a main instrument to underpin its international leadership (Bang et al 2005:6), an assertion in line with the interactional perspective on roles emphasising social learning to take place.

Here an interesting argument made by Loren Cass should be emphasised. As noted in the role-conception analysis the principle of cost-effectiveness is not really promoted by the EU before 2001, although it has been put forward in the role performance analysis, that from around '98 a growing acceptance of emissions trading seems to take place among some member states and within the Commission (Cass 2005:39).

Cass argues that up until US withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol, the EU found itself in a situation of "norm-entrapment" in its international position. Throughout the 90s the EU had consistently argued for domestic action to constitute the only legitimate mechanism for obtaining emission reductions, rejecting any type of use of flexibility mechanisms such as promoted by the US. Despite emerging changes within the EU in relations to the attitudes towards emissions trading, the EU, Cass argues could not actively promote such strategy internationally, before the US withdrew from the process, in that it would undermine the EU's legitimacy and credibility with the European public, NGOs and its negotiating partners, and would risk being seen as a self-interested capitulation to the US (Cass 2005:38-40+49). With role-theoretical glasses Cass's argument reflects very well how a role is not just like "*a hat you can take on and off*", but in fact is a result of a dynamic interaction between institutional constraints and preferences of an actor. Up until this point EU leadership has been built around a myth of the EU securing the environmental integrity of the international climate change regime creating expectations of such type of action, and in turn became a constraint for the EU in terms of changing the normative basis of its leadership without losing credibility. Thus, the institutional perspective also provides explanatory value in terms of understanding the role played by the EU, in that it highlights why change in the role as well is difficult.

Overall, the variable of the normative basis of EU leadership seems to have explanatory value in terms of explaining fluctuating leadership over time, in that a change in the normative basis allows for a larger degree of coherence between EU role conception and EU role performance. In turn, the gap in the 90s can be said to be because of EU leadership strategy being built on a normative basis upon which there is a lack of consensus.

6.3 The institutionalisation of the leadership role:

In addition to the change in the normative basis of EU leadership, the role conception analysis as well showed that over time the role of leadership has become far more embedded in the minds of the European Heads of State, who increasingly is making a stronger projection of a leadership role for the EU. Concurrently, the analysis of EU role performance shows an increased success in terms of translating EU role conception into both instrumental and directional leadership over time. The findings of the two analyses thus suggest that a correlation between the two can be made.

As put forward by role theory, the degree to which a role conception is translated into role performance depends on the degree to which it has become institutionalised. The less institutionalised a role is, the larger the room for role-playing, resulting in a possible deviance between the role conception and role performance. Thus in the light of the found correlation between the increased mentioning of leadership by the European Heads of State and the increased role performance this suggest that the leadership role has become far more institutionalized and which therefore over time means that there are less fluctuations in the EU leadership performance, and conversely, that early on, fluctuations are more likely. To this an observation made by Michael Grubb and Joyeeta Gupta in 2000 should be emphasised, in that they argue that by 2000, despite its own projections of leadership the EU still had to determine a clear-cut role for itself that was compatible with its own political and institutional circumstances, and at the same time would be credible, legitimate and effective (Grubb & Gupta 2000a:4). This assertion supports an understanding of the lack of institutionalisation of a clear-cut leadership role during most of the 90s, which has made it more difficult to translate the leadership conception into performance, in that it provides considerable scope for role-playing.

Returning to the role-theoretical framework, the observation of an increased institutionalisation of an EU leadership role can be explained through the interactional perspective, which suggests that over time through a process of interaction, roles are learned socialized and given meaning. This is both relevant in terms of interaction at the international level, as well as within the EU.

For instance, through interaction at the international level the EU increasingly learn what behaviour is expected. In terms of leadership, this means that in order to be credible it must necessarily develop policies that can underpin its role as a directional leader.

As mentioned in the role performance analysis, both between 1990 and 1994, as well as 1995 and 1997, EU leadership was significantly hampered by a lack of credibility due to the fact that internally the EU had no common policies to underpin its international position. Subsequently, as

was seen in the role conception analysis in the period from 1998-2000, the need for a development of common policies was increasingly reiterated and recognized as important by the European Council. The narrowing gap between role-conception and role-performance in the new millennium especially in terms of directional leadership indicates that a process of internal socialisation of EU policy-makers also has taken place, such as proposed by an interactional perspective. Keeping in mind the large role-set of the Union, socialisation of EU policy-makers is particularly important in order to find agreement on common EU policies in that EU member states may have a tendency to give more weight to domestically related role expectations, over role expectations for EU leadership. Groenleer & Van Schaik in their treatment of EU's actorness in climate change suggest a degree of socialisation to have taken place among the Member States due to interaction (Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007:989), and thus supports the noted indication of a socialisation process.

However, another interesting finding should be mentioned in connection to this. Despite the fact that the leadership role is strongly embedded in the minds of EU policy-makers at the end of the period, the analysis of role performance shows that during the negotiations at COP14, the EU is largely absent in terms of driving forward the international negotiations, despite the very clear ambition, as shown in the role perception analysis, of playing a leadership role at that particular COP. This suggests that even though there has been a large degree of institutionalisation of the leadership role for the EU as a collective, a gap between perception and performance can still occur. As mentioned in the theoretical framework roles are sensitive to situational context and time, and a role conflict in an actor's role-set can erupt if a change of the conditions and context in which the role conception was formulated take place. As mentioned in the role performance analysis, in 2008, the financial crisis erupted. It can be argued that this caused a role conflict to emerge in the EU role set in that the individual member states were met with demands and expectations to secure jobs and limit unemployment in the face of the crisis colliding with the expectations of the EU to provide a credible underpinning of its leadership by agreeing on an ambitious climate and energy package that could support the EU in leading by example.

Overall, the findings suggest that the institutionalisation of the leadership role is an explanatory factor in terms of why EU leadership has been fluctuating, in that early on the role is less institutionalised and therefore provides more room for interpretation. However, as noted, role conflict can still occur due to external changes.

6.4 The role of the US in international climate change politics:

A last interesting finding of the analysis which will be highlighted, is the role played by the US throughout the development of the climate regime. Although it may not be a direct influence in terms fluctuations in EU behaviour, it is considered to be an important variable in the structural environment that determines the range of opportunities, to apply the terminology of the Bretherton & Vogler actorness framework (Bretherton & Vogler 2006), available to the EU in terms of pursuing its own ambition of leadership.

As seen in the analysis of EU role performance from 1990-1994, the US is abdicating any type of leadership in relation to climate change creating an opportunity for the EU to take on such role. As reflected in the institutional perspective, roles are firmly embedded in the institutional structure providing the range of roles available. Given a particular social order, actors are expected to perform specific roles.

In the setting of climate change, a social order is based on economic and political strength in relation to the issue, but also on the level of emissions (Grubb and Gupta 2000b:19). For instance an actor with a high level of emissions will be met with expectations by other actors to participate in reduction efforts to save the global commons. To once again use the terminology by Bretherton and Vogler, the EU as a collective had a significant "environmental" presence due to its status as the second largest emitter of CO₂. This would create expectations of an active and perhaps leading role by the EU, especially in the light of US lack of interest (Vogler & Bretherton 2006:6). Thus, these initial circumstances can be said to have set in motion the quest for EU leadership, and the lack of US engagement, can furthermore be said to have generated international expectations of leadership directed towards the EU.

The role performance analysis further shows that throughout the negotiations, the US can be considered the main opposite to the EU in the climate regime. At the UNFCCC it is the issue of binding targets that divides the two; at Kyoto it is the issue of the inclusion of flexible mechanisms in the protocol, and afterwards it is the issue of limitation on the use these mechanisms; and later on it is the issue of when to begin talks of the future design of the regime post-2012 that divides the two. As put forward by Hovi et al., the EU and the US has been in constant opposition in international climate politics, the former favouring a more ambitious international regime (Hovi et al. 2003:2). An observation supported also by Schreurs et al. who state that when it comes to climate change policy, the difference between the EU and the US is stark, speaking of a "deep climate divide" across the Atlantic (Schreurs et al 2009:166). The starkest example of divergence is

the overall commitment to the Kyoto Protocol, which is clearly demonstrated with the US withdrawal from the Protocol in March 2001, and the EU determination to continue despite US involvement.

As mentioned in the role performance analysis, the withdrawal of the US is in general considered to have spurred a change in terms of leadership for the Union in that EU leadership performance is considerably enhanced. In fact, from the time of US withdrawal, in 2001 and to 2004, the conception-performance gap, which has characterized most of the 90s is considerably narrowed, which indicates that the behaviour of the US is a variable that must be accounted for.

As asserted earlier in the theoretical section, change in a role due to role-conflict may be spurred by unexpected behaviour by another role-player in the structural environment. In this case the withdrawal of the US from the Kyoto Protocol constitutes such unexpected behaviour. However, rather than spurring a role-conflict, it can be argued that US withdrawal had the opposite effect in terms of settling some of the role-conflicts that have hampered EU leadership throughout the 90s as reflected also in the argument by Cass presented earlier, allowing it to translate its role conception into role performance.

That withdrawal by the US constitutes the unifying point for the EU is not so surprising considering the history up until this point as opposites in the climate regime. As mentioned by Bretherton & Vogler, the EU considers itself as an alternative source of influence and counterweight to the USA (Bretherton & Vogler 2006:57). Groenleer and Van Schaik similarly assert that the willingness of EU member states to act collectively should be seen as being "*because of*", rather than "*despite of*" US withdrawal (Groenleer & Van Schaik 2007:990).

To this it should also be mentioned that the role-conception analysis shows that between 1998 and 2000, the EU clearly projects itself as the leading actor ensuring a swift ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. Thus from an institutional perspective, the actions by the EU to follow through with the ratification process despite US withdrawal is not so surprising in that it seems the EU is adhering to a logic of appropriateness, seeking to fulfil the international expectations that would be created by such projection.

Seen in the light of the structurationist argument underlining the theoretical framework, the EU interprets US withdrawal as an opportunity to once and for all assert itself as a leader, rather than a constraint for the development of the wider climate change process and is good example of how structures are interpreted by an agent. However, at the same time the actions are determined by the very same structures in that EU's understanding of itself as a leader, and the institutional

expectations attached to such role determines how the EU will interpret US withdrawal as an opportunity rather than a constraint due to its adherence to a logic of appropriateness.

As such the role played by the US is not considered a direct cause for fluctuating leadership, but it is an important variable in the external environment to understand, as the EU throughout the international process is considered to be the necessary counterweight to the US and with this in mind it is possible to understand some of the actions taken by the EU as certain expectations towards the EU is derived from this constellation.

6.5 Sum up of explanatory variables:

As shown in the above section, it has become quite clear that despite the fact that EU overall sees itself as a leader in international climate change, and adheres to such guiding role in its external dealings in this sphere, this does not necessarily translate into similar performance. This assertion is supported by Schreurs et al who point out that EU's bid for leadership is not necessarily a given (Schreurs et al 2009:176).

The three variables evaluated above highlights a number of interesting aspects in terms of the development of the role of the EU.

First of all, the normative basis upon which leadership is built upon matters. This is especially the case when speaking of an aggregated actor such as the EU, in that the norms to underpin leadership promoted by the Commission may not be compatible with the norms preferred by the member states. This in turn could cause a role conflict, resulting in a deviance of role performance from the overall role-conception, or a change in the normative basis.

Secondly, the degree to which the role has become embedded within the collective mind of the EU matters. A high degree of institutionalisation lowers the room for manoeuvre in role-playing in that it indicates that EU policy-makers have been socialized into the role of leadership, increasing the adherence to act in accordance with the role expectations attached to leadership, thus narrowing the potential gap between role conception and role performance.

Lastly, the role of the US was highlighted as an important variable, as it constitutes an important point of comparison for the EU, and much EU action shall be seen in relations to action taken by the US. Furthermore, the US withdrawal was considered to be of overall importance for EU's ability to take on a renewed leadership role, and thus indicates the influence of external variables.

As asserted by role-theory, in order to understand and explain the development of a role, it is necessary to draw on the three interlinked perspectives of institution, interaction and intention

representing both sides of the agent-structure debate. In the above discussion of the three main variables considered to be explanatory for the fluctuating leadership, it was shown that in order to gain an understanding of the influence of these variables over time, it was necessary to draw on all three perspectives in order to understand and explain the witnessed conception-performance gaps, and why these gap then close, i.e. the fluctuating behaviour of EU in relations to a leading role in international climate change politics.

Further to this, it also became clear that an understanding of the EU as an aggregated actor navigating with a large role-set perhaps can be said to even further increase the potential for role-conflict as it is more fragile to external circumstances, making it more difficult for the EU to always translate role-conception into role-performance.

It should be noted that overall these variables do not give a final answer as to why EU leadership has been fluctuating, but are considered interesting variables that could guide one towards points where further investigation may be needed in order to come closer to a more thorough explanation in terms of uncovering more explanatory variables.

7 Concluding remarks, evaluation, and perspectives

This chapter will sum up the main results and findings as well as assess the extent to which the methodological approach chosen was appropriate in generating an overall explanation to the question asked in this thesis. Further to this, some comments on the contribution of this thesis to the debate on the EU as an international actor will be made, as well as some reflections on the current negotiations in relation to the EU.

This thesis set out to investigate the role of the EU in international climate change politics over two decades starting from 1990 to 2008. The aim was to bring forward an explanation as to why, as asserted by other scholars, EU leadership has been somewhat inconsistent and fluctuating in this period, when it from the outset seems to have had a clear ambition of leadership in this sphere. The guiding question has been sought answered by assessing the EU's engagement in international climate change politics through the glasses of role-theory as well as through the assistance of leadership-theory.

The role-theoretical framework applied in this thesis has allowed for a more concrete understanding of the complex phenomenon of role, which has led to an application of the distinction between role conception and role performance in the analysis of EU's role in international climate change politics. Through this analytical distinction, several important and interesting findings have been generated, which has provided a basis for understanding and explaining EU fluctuating leadership.

First of all, the role conception analysis revealed several interesting aspects of the overall role conception. It became clear that as such, leadership was the appropriate label to which the overall EU role conception can be described. However, through the analysis over time it was discovered that first of all, the role of leadership has undergone a development in terms of the degree to which it has been embedded in the collective mind of the EU. Specifically, the analysis of European Council Conclusions showed that over time, the role of leadership became far more embedded, indicating an internalization of the role at the highest political level in the EU. The differentiation between the European Council and the Commission in terms of assessing EU role conception further revealed a rather interesting finding, in that it was shown that the Commission from the very start and throughout the period analysed has shown a strong identification with leadership as the appropriate role for the EU in international climate change politics, indicating a rather active Commission in this sphere.

Furthermore, the role conception analysis, through a focus on the norms, principles and objectives underpinning leadership, revealed that a change in the normative basis took place around the new millennium going from emphasising domestic action as a main guiding principle to embracing and promoting a principle of cost-effectiveness. This was a particularly interesting finding seen in the light that in many of the analysed documents prior to the new millennium the primary use of cost-effective measures such as emissions trading in mitigating climate change was rejected.

The role performance analysis provided an affirmation of the asserted presumption of fluctuating leadership by the EU in international climate change politics, such as indicated in the guiding question of this thesis. Keeping in mind minor fluctuations, overall, a primary difference between the 1990s and the new millennium, in terms of the extent to which the EU has exerted leadership, was identified. EU's role in the 90s was identified as one of pusher, rather than a leader. However, with the new millennium EU leadership was considerably enhanced both in terms of instrumental and directional leadership, although towards the end, the role performance analysis showed that EU leadership was less successful in terms of instrumental leadership.

The analysis as well highlighted the context surrounding the EU's behaviour in the different international negotiation rounds and provided insight to possible influential variables, which could have explanatory power in terms of EU's fluctuating leadership.

The main findings of the two analytical chapters led to an identification of a conception-performance gap as a primary characteristic of the EU's role in the 90s, in that it was clear that the EU had not been able to translate the projected role conception into role performance. It was argued that by taking a closer look at the variables surrounding this gap, as well as the subsequent narrowing of the gap, witnessed in the new millennium, a possible understanding and explanation of EU fluctuating behaviour could emerge. Three main explanatory variables were identified and assessed through the use of the underlying perspectives on role as represented in the role-theoretical framework. As to explain specifically the fluctuating behaviour, the analysis revealed that the norms attached to EU leadership role and the degree of institutionalisation mattered in terms of the EU's ability to translate role conception into role performance. The role of the US was furthermore highlighted as an influential variable, in that it became clear that EU leadership behaviour to a large extent also was influenced by the behaviour of the US. With that said however, it should be noted

that overall these variables are not considered a final answer as to why EU leadership has been fluctuating, but are considered interesting variables that could guide one towards a further and more detailed explanation. For instance, the variable of role institutionalisation, indicating a degree of socialisation of EU-policy-makers would be interesting to take a further look at by for instance making a comparative analysis of a number of EU member states assessing the degree of Europeanization of these states in climate change policy.

The approach applied in this thesis was appropriate in capturing fluctuations in the role played due to the long time period investigated. In terms of gaining insight into the role played by the EU in international climate change politics over time, the approach helped generate interesting and informative insights in terms of the relationship between role-conception and role-performance, and that a direct translation does not always take place.

The three building blocks of the theoretical framework provided useful guidance in terms of understanding how EU behaviour in relations to its external climate policy is both intentional and shaped by its institutional context. Furthermore, it became clear that in order to understand the role played by the EU, several perspectives on role were necessary in order to get a broader understanding and explanation for EU fluctuating behaviour over time.

Thus, overall this approach was useful in highlighting some important aspects however, due to the long time-frame selected and the narrow focus on the overall role-conception and role-performance of the EU, a number of other explanatory variables were left uncovered.

For instance, it became clear from the role performance analysis through the use of the leadership typology, that in order to understand the EU's position internationally, it is necessary to take a closer look at the internal policy development in that this is important for the EU's ability to provide directional leadership.

The approach chosen in this thesis was only able to explain how different role-conceptions within the role-set of an actor can collide and thus hamper the translation of the overall role-conception into role-performance. As highlighted in this thesis, in the case of the EU, the size and content of the role-set is important in that it is constituted by both EU-level role conceptions, but due to its status as an aggregated actor, it also includes the role-sets of each individual member state.

As such the framework did not provide the possibility of looking further into the underlying reasons for the indicated role-collisions hampering directional leadership, but only indicated this as a reason for lack of development of directional leadership. Thus, the chosen approach for the investigation of the answer excluded a more concrete look *at the "black-box of domestic politics"* (Keohane 2005:xiii).

Furthermore, as was indicated by the role-conception analysis, the Commission seems to have been a rather active player in promoting a leadership role for the EU. This leads me to think that a further look at the different actors involved in the climate policy process could provide interesting insight to the development of the EU's overall position in international climate change politics. Seen from this perspective it could have been appropriate applying a narrower timeframe, analysing in more detail the circumstances surrounding the development of the EU's position in international climate change politics at specific points in time. For this purpose a multi-level-governance approach could be useful in an attempt to identify the development at different levels. Miranda Schreurs and Yves Tiberghien suggests such an approach in that they argue that the open-ended and competitive governance structure of the EU in an issue-area of shared competence creates multiple and mutually-reinforcing opportunities for leadership (Schreurs & Tiberghien 2007:19).

As was stated in the beginning of this thesis, an overall aim for the investigation of the role of the EU in international climate change politics over time, was to be able to, on such basis, assess and understand the behaviour of the EU in current negotiations, as well as in general to contribute to the debate on the EU as an international actor.

To start with the latter, this thesis has clearly highlighted several interesting aspects in terms of the EU as an international actor. In relation to seeing this thesis as a contribution to the debate, one of the most interesting findings is the relationship between conception and performance, as well as the fact that despite evidence of an increasingly institutionalised role guiding the EU as a collective, such role is rather sensitive to external events, and thus highlights the difficulties and sensitivity arising from the EU as an aggregated actor.

Further to this, the finding in terms of how a role is defined is interesting, when it comes to understanding the EU as an actor. As was shown through the analysis, despite an overall agreement on the type of role to be played, the different constituent parts of the EU may very well have

different perceptions on the definition of such role, causing problems for the translation of role conception into role performance.

Bringing closure to this thesis, a few brief perspectives in relation to current negotiations seem appropriate in the light of the findings of this thesis. As was shown in the very last period analysed, a strong identification with leadership at the highest political level was shown, but also a less active role of leadership in the negotiations was noticed, leaving a somewhat ambiguous picture of the future role to be played by the EU.

Currently, it seems that the EU finds itself struggling once again in terms of the level of ambition internationally in that the past months have shown reluctance within the EU to provide leadership in the process in terms of putting money on the table (Bang Nielsen 2009). However, this thesis has shown that over time, the EU has provided important leadership at crucial moments, and seen in the light of the level of identification with the leadership role, it can be expected that the EU as a collective may still aim to lead towards an agreement in Copenhagen. However, as was also shown in this thesis, the behaviour of the EU is to a large extent also dependent on external factors, such as the behaviour of the US, which at current negotiations is the most uncertain variable at the moment. As well, the economic crisis is an external influential factor for EU leadership. Only time will tell which factors will weigh the most.

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NOTE: All the primary sources applied in the analysis are derived from the EU Commission's RAPID database: <http://europa.eu/rapid/showInformation.do?pageName=about>. The reference number for each document is stated, and can thus quickly be found in a database search.

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Annex 1: Role conception analysis: review of EC speeches and press releases

Guiding Questions:

#1: *Has climate change been linked directly or indirectly to the notion of EU leadership?*

If so,

#2: *How is such leadership conceptualised?* (Application of leadership-typology as point of reference)#3: *What types of objectives, principles and norms are projected as guiding principles for EU action and if stated particularly for EU leadership?*

Year	Type of document	#1	#2	#3
1990 (<i>European Commission 1990</i>)	<u>Press release:</u> Statement by EU Commissioner Mr. Ripa di Meana on the Washington Conference on Climate Change (19/04/1990) (IP/90/321)	indirectly ¹	(instrumental) ²	Multilateralism ³
1990 (<i>Ripa di Meana 1990</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Mr. Carlo Ripa di Meana to the Club de Bruxelles (31/05/1990) (SPEECH/90/47)	Indirectly ⁴	(instrumental) ⁵	Objective of international decisions, common efforts, target setting ⁶
1991 (<i>Ripa di Meana 1991a</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Ripa de Meana at the World Economic Forum –Davos, 6 february (06/02/1991) (SPEECH/91/12)	Directly ⁷	Directional, structural ⁸	Multilateralism, target-setting, policies aimed at changing behavioural patterns ⁹
1991 (<i>Ripa di Meana 1991b</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Ripa di Meana at Conference ‘ The internal market	Indirectly ¹⁰	(directional) ¹¹	¹² Sustainability,

	and the environment', Brussels, (05/12/1991) (SPEECH/91/133)			
1992 (<i>Ripa di Meana</i> 1992)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Ripa di Meana to the Club de Bruxelles, (06/02/1992) (SPEECH/92/11)	Indirectly ¹³	(Structural, directional) ¹⁴	Developed countries primary responsibility, policy integration, emission targets ¹⁵
1992 (<i>Van Miert</i> 1992)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Van Miert to the ERL Environment Forum, London, 23 July 1992. (23/07/1992) (SPEECH/92/74)	Indirect ¹⁶	(Directional, instrumental) ¹⁷	Multilateralism, precautionary action, sustainability, policy integration ¹⁸
1993 (<i>European</i> <i>Commission</i> 1993)	<u>Press release:</u> on Speech by EU Commissioner Paleokrassas on the First Anniversary of the Rio Conference, Lisbon (14/06/1993) (IP/93/463)	Indirect ¹⁹	(directional) ²⁰	Sustainability, Long-term solutions ²¹
1993 (<i>Paleokrassas</i> 1993)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Paleokrassas at the Japan-EC Symposium, Tokyo, (12/11/1993) (SPEECH/93/133)	Indirectly ²²	(directional) ²³	Sustainability, policy-integration ²⁴
1994 (<i>Paleokrassas</i> 1994a)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Paleokrassas at High level meeting,	Directly ²⁶	Directional, structural ²⁷	Polluter-pays- principle ²⁸

	Hamburg ²⁵ (28/06/1994) (SPEECH/94/77)			
1994 (<i>Paleokrassas 1994b</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Paleokrassas on ‘China: Global Cooperation and New Development Model’, Peking (04/07/1994) (SPEECH/94/80)	indirectly ²⁹	(directional) ³⁰	Sustainability, policy-integration, international cooperation ³¹
1995 (<i>European Commission 1995a</i>)	<u>Press release:</u> EU climate change strategy (01/03/1995) (IP/95/199)	Indirectly ³²	(directional) ³³	Policy-integration, ³⁴
1995 (<i>European Commission 1995b</i>)	<u>Press release:</u> “Reducing CO2-emissions from Cars: Commission outlines strategy”, (20/12/1995) (IP/95/1439)	Indirectly ³⁵	(directional) ³⁶	Emission reductions ³⁷
1996 (<i>Bjerregaard 1996a</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Bjerregaard at COP2, Geneva (18/07/1996) (SPEECH/96/195)	Indirectly ³⁸	(instrumental, directional) ³⁹	Scientific findings as guiding action, common and coordinated policies and measures, legally binding reduction targets, multilateralism ⁴⁰
1996 (<i>Bjerregaard 1996b</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Bjerregaard at the Globe Europe Network Conference, Brussels (05/12/1996) (SPEECH/96/320),	Directly ⁴¹	Directional ⁴²	Binding reduction targets, policy integration ⁴³
1997	<u>Press release:</u>	No ⁴⁴	-	Binding reduction

<i>(European Commission 1997)</i>	“US position on Climate Change – reaction from Commissioner for the Environment, Ritt Bjerregaard” (23/10/1997) (IP/97/909)			targets overall objective ⁴⁵
1997 <i>(Bjerregaard 1997)</i>	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Bjerregaard at COP3, Kyoto (08/12/2007) (SPEECH/97/275)	Indirectly ⁴⁶	(directional, instrumental) ⁴⁷	Legally binding reduction targets, domestic action, industrialized countries have main responsibilities ⁴⁸
1998 <i>(European Commission 1998)</i>	<u>Press release:</u> “The fight against Climate Change continues. Next stop: Buenos Aires” (30/10/1998) (IP/98/946)	directly ⁴⁹	Directional, instrumental ⁵⁰	Early ratification of Kyoto Protocol, Domestic action, developed countries at forefront for reducing emissions ⁵¹
1998 <i>(Bjerregaard 1998)</i>	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Bjerregaard at COP4, Buenos Aires. (12/11/1998) (SPEECH/98/246)	indirectly ⁵²	(instrumental) ⁵³	Domestic action, multilateralism, Early ratification of KP ⁵⁴
1999 <i>(European Commission 1999)</i>	<u>Press release:</u> “Preparing for implementation of the Kyoto Protocol” (19/05/1999) (IP/99/333)	directly ⁵⁵	Directional, instrumental ⁵⁶	Early ratification, policy integration, domestic action, multilateralism ⁵⁷
1999 <i>(Wallström 1999)</i>	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Wallström at COP5, Bonn (03/11/1999) (SPEECH:99/150)	Indirectly ⁵⁸	(directional) ⁵⁹	Domestic action ⁶⁰

2000 (<i>Wallström 2000a</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner. Wallström “Statement of Commissioner Wallström at the 13 th session of the subsidiary bodies to the UNFCCC Lyon (11/09/2000) (SPEECH/00/299)	directly ⁶¹	Directional, instrumental ⁶²	Early entry into force of KP by 2002, environmental integrity of KP, domestic action ⁶³
2000 (<i>Wallström 2000b</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Wallström at COP6, The Hague (21/11/2000) (SPEECH/00/446)	indirectly ⁶⁴	(directional, instrumental) ⁶⁵	Environmental integrity of KP, primacy of domestic action, ratification of KP by 2002 ⁶⁶
2001 (<i>Wallström 2001a</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Walström at COP7, Marrakech. (07/11/2001) (SPEECH/01/516)	Indirectly ⁶⁷	(Directional) ⁶⁸	Multilateralism, domestic action, Emission trading introduced ⁶⁹
2001 (<i>Wallström 2001b</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Wallström at The World Business Council for Sustainable Development conference on climate change, Brussels (26/10/2001) (SPEECH/01/496),	Directly ⁷⁰	Directional, instrumental ⁷¹	Early entry into force of KP, domestic action, multilateralism, cost-effectiveness ⁷²
2002 (<i>European Commission 2002a</i>)	<u>Press Release:</u> Commission welcomes outcome of climate change conference (COP8) (02/11/2002)	Indirectly ⁷³	(directional) ⁷⁴	Multilateralism ⁷⁵

	(IP/02/1605)			
2002 (<i>European Commission 2002b</i>)	<u>Press release:</u> Emissions Trading – EU Environment Commissioner Margot Wallström welcomes Council agreement as landmark decision for combating climate change” (10/12/2002)	directly ⁷⁶	directional ⁷⁷	Cost-efficiency ⁷⁸
	(IP/02/1832)			
2003 (<i>Wallström 2003</i>)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Wallström at CEPS 1 st Brussels Climate Change Conference, Brussel (20/05/2003)	directly ⁷⁹	Directional, instrumental ⁸⁰	Cost-effectiveness, environmental integrity ⁸¹
	(SPEECH/03/260)			
2003 (<i>European Commission 2003</i>)	<u>Press Release:</u> COP9/Climate Change: All parties must maintain momentum to tackle the 21 st Century’s biggest environmental challenge. (02/12/2003)	Indirectly ⁸²	(instrumental) ⁸³	Common but differentiated responsibilities, multilateralism, objective of post-Kyoto agreement, ambitious reduction targets ⁸⁴
	(IP/03/1638)			
2004 (<i>European Commission 2004</i>)	<u>Press release:</u> “UN conference on climate change: EU set to keep momentum in the global fight against climate change” (03/12/2004)	Indirectly ⁸⁵	(directional, instrumental) ⁸⁶	Discussions on Post-Kyoto design as an objective, cost-efficiency ⁸⁷

	(IP/04/1437)			
2004 (Dimas 2004)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at Dinner hosted in relation to COP10, Buenos Aires ⁸⁸ (14/12/2004) (SPEECH/04/542)	Directly ⁸⁹	Structural, instrumental, directional ⁹⁰	Multilateralism, UN-context only framework, 2°-objective, emission targets and cost-efficiency ⁹¹
2005 (Dimas 2005a)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at COP11, Montréal, (07/12/2005) (SPEECH/05/769),	Indirectly ⁹²	(Directional, instrumental) ⁹³	Post-kyoto agreement, Multilateralism, UN-context only framework, common but differentiated responsibilities ⁹⁴
2005 (Dimas 2005b)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at EU Troika Press Conference at COP11, Montréal (08/12/2005) (SPEECH/05/779)	directly ⁹⁵	directional ⁹⁶	Multilateralism, common but differentiated responsibilities ⁹⁷
2006 (Dimas 2006a)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at COP12, Nairobi, (17/11/2006) (SPEECH/06/705)	Directly ⁹⁸	Directional ⁹⁹	Public-private collaboration ¹⁰⁰
2006 (Dimas 2006b)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at European Voice Comment Forum debate on climate change, (30/11/2006) (SPEECH/06/769),	Directly ¹⁰¹	Instrumental, directional ¹⁰²	2°C-objective, post-Kyoto framework, ambitious emissions reductions ¹⁰³
2007 (Dimas 2007a)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at COP13, Press Conference,	Directly ¹⁰⁴	Structural, directional ¹⁰⁵	2°-objective, ambitious post-Kyoto agreement, emission

	Bali, (11/12/2007) (SPEECH/07/808)			reductions ¹⁰⁶
2007 (Dimas 2007b)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at High level segment of COP13, Bali (12/12/2007) (SPEECH/07/812)	Indirectly ¹⁰⁷	(instrumental, directional) ¹⁰⁸	Ambitious post- Kyoto agreement, Common but differentiated responsibilities, 2°- objective, ambitious emission reductions ¹⁰⁹
2008 (Dimas 2008a)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at COP14, Poznan (11/12/2008) (SPEECH/08/704)	Indirectly ¹¹⁰	(Directional) ¹¹¹	Ambitious post- Kyoto agreement, strong reduction targets ¹¹²
2008 (Dimas 2008b)	<u>Speech:</u> EU Commissioner Dimas at Press Conference at COP14, Poznan (12/12/2008) (SPEECH/08/706),	directly ¹¹³	Directional, instrumental ¹¹⁴	Ambitious post- Kyoto agreement as objective, ambitious reduction targets ¹¹⁵

¹ There is no direct mention of EU leadership, but a clear indication of how climate change is considered to be a serious problem and how the Commission considers there to be an urgent need to solve the problem internationally

“Despite last-minute efforts to reconcile the various positions, the Washington Conference ended with a serious split between those who believe that the phenomenon of global warming has far-reaching implications for our future which must be tackled with urgency, and those who maintain with slight differences of emphasis, that action can be delayed pending the results of further studies. The Commission’s view is that there can be no further delay in taking effective and internationally coordinated action [...] Thirdly, I am concerned that the Washington Conference has revealed a major difference in approach between the USA and the European Countries on an issue vital to international environmental policy. Consequently, I believe the time has come to set to work with an open mind and firm resolve to find common ground for joint action by the Europeans and the Americans by the next bilateral meeting on the environment scheduled for July” (European Commission :1990)

Further to this, as reflected in the above quote, a difference of opinion on the problem of climate change between the United States and European countries is clearly projected as a perceived problem for dealing with the issue at an international level.

² As reflected in the above quote, indirectly there is a notion of instrumental leadership, in that the Commissioner states that it is time for the Europeans and Americans to find common ground at their next bilateral meeting, indicating that the EC will be applying diplomatic pressure to get the US on board.

³ Commissioner Ripa di Meana clearly emphasizes multilateralism as the right approach to dealing with a very real environmental problem such as climate change

“The Commissions view is that there can be no further delay in taking effective and internationally coordinated action.” (European Commission :1990)

⁴ There is no direct reference to EU leadership in the climate change sphere, however the Commissioner puts forward the importance of bringing forward the many conferences held at an international level to lead to actual concrete decisions, a process which he is determined to take on responsibility.

“In the general international sphere, more and more conferences are meeting to discuss all the various global problems which have to be faced. We have now come to a stage where these conferences are becoming unproductive, a stage where the talking has to stop and concrete decision taken. That means for example, that dates and levels for reducing emissions of CO₂ and for even more rapid phasing out of CEC’s have to be set. I have no illusions that this will be an easy task, but it is a vital one which will require changes both in attitudes and in our lifestyles. We also have to accept that if the developing world is to accept these new requirements also we must be prepared through aid and the transfer of technology to help them adapt to new norms. I take this opportunity to confirm, as I did at Bergen two weeks ago, our willingness to accept our responsibilities in this regard” (Ripa di Meana:1990)

⁵ Based on the above quote a notion of instrumental leadership is indirectly present, in that the Commissioner states that the Community is ready to take on responsibilities towards ensuring that at the international level, moves towards more concrete decisions will be made.

⁶ As seen in the above quote, the Commissioner clearly underlines the objective of reaching decisions on an international level to deal with problems such as climate change, which should be done through a common effort. Especially the reluctance of the US is singled out as going against such efforts:

“The United States are increasingly isolated in this respect since they are refusing to accept[...]targets for reduction of CO₂ emissions. I appeal through you to them to rejoin the main stream and to avoid the risk of increasing isolation and condemnation.” (Ripa di Meana:1990)

Furthermore, as can be seen in the above quote, as well as in the quote in note 4, the Commissioner clearly projects an objective of the international community to set specific emission reduction targets.

⁷ Commissioner Ripa di Meana makes a direct reference to leadership by the Community in environmental matters when he states:

“We see, more and more, that the Community is spear-heading the international movement for environmental protection. I take, as an example, the Conference on global Climate Change where the Community’s decision to fix CO₂ stabilisation by the year 2000, followed quickly as it was by the same decision by EFTA, gave to the Conference considerable impetus and shifted the limelight of the discussions on to the unwillingness of the United States of America to adopt any such stabilisation date” (Ripa di Meana 1991a)

It should be noted also, how the actions of the Community is set forward as an opposite to that of the United States which is projected as unwilling in terms of setting any targets and dates for stabilisation of emissions.

⁸ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 7, there is a notion of directional leadership present, in that the Commissioner emphasises the very fact that the setting of a stabilisation target by the Community led to others doing the very same thing bringing forward the negotiations at the Conference.

There also seems to be a notion of structural leadership present in that the Commissioner makes a reference to the collective weight of the Community as an important source for the role it should play in this forum:

“Finally, because of its increasing environmental role, the Community has a vital part to play on the international stage. The united and single voice of the Community in international discussions is considerably more influential than the sum of its Member states’ voices”(Ripa di Meana 1991a)

⁹As reflected in the quote below, multilateralism, target-setting and policies for changing production and consumption patterns are considered the main approaches in the endeavour to deal with global environmental problems such as climate change. Specifically, the notion of multilateralism is set forward as guiding principle for dealing with such problems.

"In the past decade, it has become increasingly evident that certain problems are common or global problems and can only be tackled successfully by a concerted effort on a global scale. I think, in particular, of problems such as [...]and the phenomenon of global warming caused by increasing emissions of CO2. Actions taken by one State or by one Region, while to be welcomed because they contribute in a small way to the solution of the problem, cannot provide a long term and exhaustive solution. The problem can only be tackled by agreement being reached between all the nations of the globe to bind themselves to targets, to new production habits and new consumption habits" (Ripa di Meana 1991a)

¹⁰ No direct mention of EU leadership, but climate change is mentioned in relations to some of the instruments that the Commission proposes in order to live up to the commitments of CO2 stabilisation, which indirectly can be seen as a way to strengthen a directional element of leadership.

"The Commission has also begun to develop an array of economic and fiscal instruments which will ensure a prudent use of natural resources, such as energy. The first example is the recent Commission Communication on the Community Strategy to limit carbon dioxide emissions and improve energy efficiency, which also outlines a proposal for a new EEC energy and carbon tax in order to respect fully the commitments which we have taken for the stabilisation of CO2 emissions" (Ripa di Meana 1991b).

¹¹ As reflected in the above quote, a notion of directional leadership is present in that it is emphasised how the Commission has started to develop a range of measures that can assist in the endeavour to find solutions to stabilise emissions.

¹² The speech is concerned very much with the link between the Internal Market, and the Environment, stressing the necessity of ensuring that the expected economic growth arising from the internal market shall be sustainable. Thus, the commissioner in general sees sustainability as an important guiding principle.

"I hope today we will be able to show that the internal market and the move towards sustainable development are not incompatible[...]...the economic growth that we look forward to, should be sustainable, not only in regard to the resources we consume, but also as to how they consume" (Ripa di Meana 1991b).

¹³ There is no direct mention of leadership, however, in his speech, the Commissioner puts forward that:

"We at the European Commission, are convinced that there is a vital role for the European Community to play both in that further development of the continent of Europe and in international environmental developments which will be characterized by the Conference in Rio in the middle of the year" (Ripa di Meana 1992)

Furthermore, the Commissioner stresses the importance of the Community acting as one at the negotiations at Rio:

"For the environment, 1992 is above all the year of the Rio conference and I consider it to be the most crucial rendez-vous ever for the survival and continuing well-being of the planet. The European Community must speak with one voice, and that voice must be a positive and reasonable one" (Ripa di Meana 1992)

¹⁴ As can be seen in the above quote, the Commissioner considers it highly important that the Community at Rio will be able to speak with one voice, i.e. taking into account the ability of the Union to exert structural leadership based on the structural power the Union as a collective can project.

Furthermore, a notion of directional leadership is indirectly reflected in the speech, in that the Commissioner states:

“We in the developed world are responsible for much of the global damage done over the past decades and centuries[...]. But if we are to ask for sacrifices from countries at a much less advanced stage of development than us, we in the developed countries must show that we are prepared to make sacrifices ourselves. The European Community has already undertaken to stabilize its CO2 emissions at the 1990 level by the year 2000. In order to implement that objective the Commission, in its recent communication to the Council of Ministers, set out a series of measures designed to achieve it [...] It is my intention to come forward with these proposals as swiftly as possible so as to provide a solid basis for the position which the Commissions will take in Rio.”

Clearly, the Commissioner stresses how the Community intends to put lead by example by developing concrete measures to achieve its projected stabilisation targets, which in turn will strengthen the position at Rio.

¹⁵ As seen in the above quote, the Commissioner sets forward that developed countries have the primary responsibility for dealing with global problems.

Furthermore, it is emphasised that the integration of environmental concerns into other policy areas is considered an important guiding principle:

“Perhaps the most important is the growing realisation that an environmental policy can no longer be seen in isolation but must be integrated into all other policies. This has been reflected both in the wording of the Single European Act and in the Maasticht Treaty” (Ripa di Meana 1992)

Lastly, as seen in the quote in note 14, the EC has brought forward an intention to stabilise its own emissions, and the endeavour to increase its own credibility and position in Rio, the Commissioner will set forward a proposal that will secure the implementation of this target. Thus, the setting of emission targets is projected as an important principle.

¹⁶ Indirectly, a leading role is attached to the role of the Community and its member states in that a reference to the role played at the UNCED meeting in Rio, where an agreement on the UNFCCC was made, is defined as one of leadership:

“...the UNCED meeting in Rio demonstrated that the Community and its Member States recognized their wider responsibilities to play a leading role in promoting concerted and effective action at a global level, working with other industrialised countries and assisting developing countries to overcome their special difficulties. The results achieved at the UNCED even though they fall far short of what the Commission had hoped for, represent the start of a process aimed at transforming policies in both industrialised and developing countries, gearing them towards environmentally sound sustainable development” (Van Miert 1992)

It should be noted though that the Commissioner expresses disappointment over the final outcome, despite the fact that he sees the Community and member states as having played a leading role.

¹⁷ An understanding of the importance of exerting directional leadership is recognized in that the Commissioner asserts that:

“The Community’s credibility and effectiveness at the wider global level depends in large measure on the ability to adopt progressive environmentally measures internally: the internal and external dimension of Community environment policy are inextricably linked” (Van Miert 1992)

Thus, there is a clear recognition by the Commissioner that the credibility of actions pursued at an international level is highly dependent on internal policy development, which is exactly what a notion of directional leadership refers to.

This is as well confirmed by the quote below, in which the Commissioner clarifies some of the initiatives that the Union must take:

“Firstly, the post-Rio work must be tackled. We must not only begin to move towards achieving the targets which were agreed there, but also implement at the Community level the actions necessary to fill the gaps where there was no agreement. I think in particular of the stabilisation of CO2 emissions by the year 2000...” (Van Miert 1992).

A notion of instrumental leadership is to some degree also present in that, as seen in the quote put forward in note 16, that the leadership role is linked to the efforts of promoting ‘*concerted and effective action at a global level*’ meaning the Community sees itself as an actor which should create coalitions around the objective of dealing with global climate change at a global level.

¹⁸ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 16, multilateralism is considered a guiding principle when dealing with the problems as “*concerted and effective action at a global level*” is emphasised.

Furthermore, the principle of precautionary action, and sustainability are put forward as important guiding principle for Community action

“The starting point for the Commission was a clear awareness of the need to protect the environment, acting on the principles of sustainable development and preventive and precautionary action including effective implementation of the polluter pays principle” (Van Miert 1992)

Lastly, policy integration is clearly put forward as an important guiding principle in terms of dealing with climate change

“In my view integration of the environment into other Community policies is the key to the future [...] How can CO2 emissions be brought under control without changes in both energy and transport policies? We at the Commission are looking closely at this concept of integration...” (Van Miert 1992)

¹⁹ There is no direct reference to leadership in relations to climate change, there is however an important reference to the credibility of the Community as an important factor for its engagement in environmental protection internationally:

“Rio was undoubtedly an historic event. Apart from the fact that two international conventions on climate and biodiversity were adopted, it represented the first attempt to translate the conclusions of the 1987 Bruntland report into concrete political measures [...] The Community should be in a position to ratify the two international conventions before the end of the year and it intends to strengthen its relations with the competent United Nations agencies responsible for implementing the Rio agreements. The Community already plays an important role in providing assistance to the developing countries but it will have to step up its efforts to enable Agenda 21 to be implemented in those countries. However, the Community’s credibility will depend on its own ability to adopt measures to protect the environment. It is doing so gradually; for example, early this year the Council agreed to proposals concerning a CO2 emissions control mechanism, and the eco-audit system” (European Commission 1993)

²⁰ As mentioned in the quote in note 19, there is an understanding of the international credibility of the Community being dependent on the degree to which it adopts internal policy measures that protect the environment, which is a reflection of the understanding of directional leadership. However, it should be emphasised that as such a reference to such role is not made directly.

²¹ The principle of sustainability as a guiding principle for EU efforts is clear, in that it is stated that the Commissioner in his speech

“spoke out against the misconception that environmental protection cannot be reconciled with economic growth” (European Commission 1993), referencing to the concept of sustainability in relations to economic growth.

Further to this, it should be noted that the Community underlines the importance of engaging in a long-term process when dealing with the issues discussed at the Rio conference

“While the measures adopted in Rio did not meet all the Community’s aspirations, the conference should nevertheless be regarded as the beginning of a long-term process” (European Commission 1993)

²² There is no direct reference to EU leadership in relations to climate change, however, in his speech, the Commissioner does stress that Japan and the European Community could perhaps provide leadership in sustainable development on the international scene:

“If Japan and the European Community joined their efforts in a common endeavour, they could provide both the critical mass needed to push forward a worldwide transition towards sustainable development, and an effective leadership on the international scene” (Paleokrassas 1993).

Furthermore, it is stated in relations to the agreements made at Rio that:

“The Community and its Member States have committed themselves at the highest political level to implement the measures agreed at Rio both internally – by shaping a new, more sustainable model of development – and externally – by participating in international action to solve global environmental problems and by assisting other nations in the field of sustainable development and environmental protection” (Paleokrassas 1993).

²³ As seen in the above quote, a notion of directional leadership seems to be present, in that it is stressed that Community will work towards a new, sustainable model of development, which externally can serve as an example for others to follow

²⁴ Clearly, as seen in the above quote, sustainable development is an important guiding principle for the Union, which is also reflected in the quote below, in which it is stated that:

“The Treaty on European Union, which came into force a few days ago, has included promotion of sustainable growth respecting the environment as a primary target of the European Union. The new Treaty has also significantly reinforced the legal basis of Community environment policy, in particular by providing that Community action in the field of the environment shall aim at a high level of protection” (Paleokrassas 1993).

Policy integration is as well put forward as an important principle in that it is stated that:

“Similarly, environmental protection requirements are being increasingly taken into account as an integral part of other Community policies, including those relating to the establishment and functioning of the internal market” (Paleokrassas 1993).

²⁵ It should be noted that this speech is primarily internal in character, meaning the Commissioner speaks to high-level representatives specifically targeting the German EU presidency. This speech has been chosen due to its specific focus on climate change, and its importance reference to the importance in terms of its external dealings in climate change, and references made to the process started at Rio. Other speeches available at this point in time, held by the Commissioner for the Environment do not centre on this subject matter.

²⁶ All through the text a clear reference to EU leadership is made:

“Energy is the main source of air pollution (CO₂, Nox; SO₂ ect). The tax is necessary to achieve the CO₂ stabilisation goal. It would set an international example and establish European environmental leadership” (Paleokrassas 1994)

“First, the tax is necessary as part of a packet of measures to achieve the target of the Climate Change Convention we signed at Rio and the Council Decision of 1990 with the same commitment. The credibility of the EU as world environmental leader is at stake” (Paleokrassas 1994a)

“Because in the real world revolutions are not carried out through international consensus. Somebody has to lead. In Rio, Europe took the leadership and committed itself to the stabilisation target. Shall we keep up the spirit or shall we admit defeat” (Paleokrassas 1994a)

²⁷ From the quotes presented in note 26, it is clear that the Commissioner makes a rather clear reference to the element of directional leadership, in that he references to how the EU through a CO₂-energy tax would set an example for the wider world as a way of dealing with climate change, underlining the importance of credibility for the Union in doing so.

Furthermore, he states:

“A final argument in favour of the proposed tax is international. Europe supplies about 13% of all world CO2 emissions. We should set the example because together with the US (23%) we are the worst offenders. Others, notably the less developed countries, will follow because for them the introduction of the tax is now easy; but ten years later it will be painful in the same way as it is for us, the US or Canada” (Paleokrassas 1994a)

This quote both contains elements of ambitions of directional leadership, in that he emphasizes that the Union must set an example for others to follow. But there is also a clear reference in terms of structural leadership, in that the Commissioner references to how the Union, as one of the largest emitters of CO2 is considered one of the worst offenders alongside the US, and thus due to this structural “power”, the Union should provide directional leadership.

²⁸ The Commission sets forward a polluter-pays-principle, in that its focus on a CO2/Energy tax is considered to be the only way to internalise environmental costs, which in turn should change consumption patterns.

“We talk about polluter/pays principle and internalisation of environmental costs but costs can only be internalised through taxes or charges otherwise consumer patterns remain unchanged. The Commission proposed this as the first European environmental tax because: “Energy is the main source of air pollution (CO2, Nox; SO2 ect). The tax is necessary to achieve the CO2 stabilisation goal. It would set an international example and establish European environmental leadership” (Paleokrassas 1994a)

²⁹ There is no direct mention of leadership in relations to climate change, however in the speech the commitment of the Union to the international negotiation process is underlined:

“The Rio Conference provided an excellent opportunity for the Community to further focus on the necessity for environmental co-operation with third countries. The nature of global environmental problems is such that only international co-operation can enable a solution to be found. For this reason, I am particularly pleased to have the opportunity to address the distinguished guests, and underline the importance the Community attaches to the preservation of the not only the European environment, but also the “global commons”(Paleokrassas 1994b).

It is further stated that:

“We need to instigate global action and drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions[...]I should have to add at this point, that the bleak picture I painted risks getting much worse in the areas of the world where population growth and industrialization will results in a sharp rise in emissions and waste” (Paleokrassas 1994b).

³⁰ A notion of directional leadership is present in this speech in that the Commissioner explains how the Union is beginning to adopt concepts to begin change towards a more sustainable economic growth model, which he then goes on to suggest should provide the basis for others to follow:

“The achievement of sustainable economic growth will come about once changes are made. Chief among these is the degree to which environmental criteria are integrated into economic planning. This will require a new way of thinking for anyone involved in national and international economic processes, from the factory workers whose labour is essential for a growing economy, right up to the heads of state who attend the ASEAN and G7 meetings. The European Community has realised this, and has adopted concepts to begin to accommodate the required change” (Paleokrassas 1994b).

³¹ As reflected in the above quote, the principle of sustainable development, through the integration of environmental concerns into other policies is considered an important guiding principle for the Union.

Furthermore, as reflected in the quote put forward in note 29, the emphasis on international cooperation to solve global environmental problems is considered the right approach.

³² There is no direct mentioning of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however the press release is a reflection of how climate change is considered to be an important issue, in which policies and measures need to be developed further, and thus can be considered an indirect link to how the Commission sees the role for the Union.

“Therefore, at this stage the Commission underlines the importance of reaching the stabilisation objective, through a more vigorous implementation of current Community and national programmes, including the introduction of a carbon/energy tax. The European Union should commit itself to implementing the necessary measures, first, to stabilize its CO₂ emissions beyond the year 2000 and, second, to limit and reduce CO₂ emissions beyond the year 2000 in the horizon of 2010. The Union should also stress the importance of designing cost-effective strategies in the hope that other nations will pursue a more sustainable policy in the future” (European Commission 1995a)

“The Union must face up to its international obligations with a climate change strategy that brings together energy policy and environmental objectives” (Commissioner Papoutsis in European Commission 1995a)

³³ As reflected in the above quote, the directional aspect of leadership is indirectly present in that the Commission stresses the importance of developing policy-measures that can ensure that the Union will in fact reach its stabilisation target and which can encourage other nations to follow suit in the endeavour towards a more sustainable future. Further to this, the press release presents how the Commission, by request of the European Council has made an analysis of necessary policy options to be considered with an objective of limitation and reduction of future emission, which should provide basis for preparing the European Union for the first Conference of the Parties.

“The paper, which is a reply to the request of the Environment Council of 15-16 December 1994, constitute a preliminary analysis of the policy options which should be considered for the limitation and reduction of CO₂ emissions in the perspective of 2005-2010. This question is dealt with in the context of the preparations of the European Union’s contribution to the Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change, which will be held in Berlin from March 28 to April 7, 1995 “ (European Commission 1995a).

³⁴ Policy-integration is promoted as an important guiding principle in terms of working towards a limitation of CO₂ emissions:

“the options-paper demonstrates clearly that environmental problems are horizontal in their nature and require horizontal solutions. An efficient environmental policy is a combination of a variety of other policies working together to achieve environmental objectives. Reduction of the CO₂ emissions in the Union is dependent on energy-, transport-, fiscal-, research-, and external policies and efforts being made in each area. Results from each policy area will lead to stabilisation and abatement of CO₂ emissions in the Union” (Commissioner Bjerregaard in European Commission 1995a).

³⁵ There is no direct reference to EU leadership, however, it is put forward in the press release that the development of the concrete initiative to reduce CO₂ emissions from Cars, shall be seen as a way to enhance the Union’s position in the negotiation process started at COP1 in Berlin:

“The strategy put forward in the communication is a concrete follow-up of the mandate given by the First Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change held in Berlin in the spring of 1995. A significant improvement in the fuel efficiency of cars could, indeed, curb the abovementioned growth trend in CO₂ emissions and lead to a reduction in total CO₂ emissions from the car fleet by 2010. This would represent an important contribution to the negotiation process agreed in Berlin on setting quantified greenhouse gas limitation and reduction targets” (European Commission 1995b)

³⁶ As reflected in the above quote, a notion of directional leadership is present, in that it is clear, that the car-proposal is seen as an important example that the Union can set forward during the negotiation process as way of saying that the Union will support commitment to emission reduction through this particular concrete example.

³⁷ As reflected in the quote in note 35, the objective of emission reductions is projected as the guiding principle behind the policy proposals on reducing CO₂ emissions from cars.

³⁸ As such there is no specific mention of the European Union as a leader in climate change negotiations, however, the Commissioner is very adamant in calling on the world to drive forward the process and define an effective policy in order to deal with the problem of climate change at a global scale.

“We are here to make progress. To give direction to our world and to prepare the next vital steps of our joint endeavour to combat climate change [...] The scientific assessment is that if we want to limit the change of global climate to what is scientifically seen as sustainable, a global reduction of CO2 emission in the order of 60% would be necessary [...] It goes without saying that such a reduction cannot be achieved overnight. However, the world is increasing its CO2 emissions and consequently a more and more rapid build up of CO2 concentrations in the atmosphere is inevitable unless we agree to take decisive action. We must define an effective policy ” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

³⁹ The above quote indirectly reflects a notion of instrumental leadership, in that the Commissioner calls on the world to drive forward the process and define effective policies, which gives an indication of the Union wanting to pursue such ambition.

A notion of directional leadership seems to indirectly be present, in that the Commissioner in her speech emphasizes how the Union is already taking on the task of developing adequate policy measures as a response to the climate challenge, something which she considers pivotal for all industrialised countries to do.

“First, I consider it crucial that we set legally binding and ambitious reduction objective for industrialized countries. This should be the main outcome of the Berlin Mandate process [...] The second task is that all Annex I parties have to implement specific policies and measures to reach these targets. We have to use the tools available and deliver. The European Union has, as you know, submitted proposals for negotiations for all the key sectors such as – energy, transport, industry, agriculture and waste management. It is now crucial that we start actual negotiations on effective measures for these sectors. Let me give a very concrete example: The European Environment Ministers have recently asked the Commission to negotiate an agreement with the car industry. This agreement should ensure that the average gasoline consumption of new cars is reduced to five liters per 100 km by the year 2005 and no later than by 2010. Such an undertaking alone will be equivalent to more than 30 percent reduction compared to today’s situation” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

Furthermore, she underlines in her speech how the European Union intends to live up to its commitments, indirectly referencing how the EU should be considered a credible player at the negotiations.

“The credibility of industrialized countries is at stake. Not only for future objectives but also for present commitments to stabilize greenhouse gas emissions as 1990 levels by the year 2000. In both respects The EU is determined to live up to its commitments” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

⁴⁰ First of all, in the speech made by the Commissioner it becomes very clear that the scientific findings as presented by the IPCC serves as an important argument for EU action, and can thus be considered a guiding principle. As the Commissioner states:

“In the past many challenged even the existence of climate change itself. With scientific uncertainty there has been ample scope for the cynics to question the true level of international commitment. We now, however, look to the future from a different and more certain position. The messages of the Second Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change leave no room for misunderstandings. It clearly is our common responsibility to confirm its findings and use them as a basis for a protocol” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

The devotion of the Union to the findings put forward by the IPCC as guiding principle for the action to be taken at an international level is clear when the Commissioner states:

“I fully support the Declaration of the Ministers worked out last night both with respect to the endorsement of the findings of the IPCC and especially with regard to the commitment to accelerate negotiations towards an ambitious

protocol. As you know the EU would have liked to be more specific in its supports of the findings of the IPCC, but I realize that the present text represents a clear political willingness to move forward” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

As is reflected in the first quote in note 39, the Commissioner also indicated how the Union sees legally binding reduction targets as the only way forward in terms of dealing with climate change, as well as an emphasis on policies and measures to constitute the basis from which such reductions will be pursued.

Lastly, the Commissioner emphasises many times how dealing with climate change is a common responsibility that must be solved through common efforts, thus endorsing a principle of multilateralism

“The future work on the Mandate is a major challenge. It requires the cooperation of all Parties – developed as well as developing countries. We must help each other” (Bjerregaard 1996a).

⁴¹ There is a direct mention of leadership in relations to international climate change negotiations. As reflected below, the Commissioner clearly sees a leadership role for the Union, albeit as she mentions – it will need to be reinstated:

“In the time up to Kyoto we must reinstate the European union as a leader in the combat against climate change by 1. agreeing on ambitious binding commitments and 2. agreeing on policies and measures that will make it realistically possible to reach these commitments. There is clearly a credibility gap here. To be effective leaders in the negotiations we must close that gap” (Bjerregaard 1996b).

⁴² As seen above, the Commissioner believes that currently there is a credibility problem for the EU in terms of leadership which needs to be closed by enhancing the directional element of leadership through targets setting and policy development. As she states:

“It is becoming clear that industrialised countries will arrive in Kyoto with a credibility problem [...] The EU is no exception, although we may be ahead of some [...] This said, we have to admit that our selectively good performance is not primarily due to the successful implementation of the policies proposed in 1992 by the Commission as our basis for signing the Climate Convention in Rio. Some of the Commission’s proposals [...] were watered down. The key proposal for an energy/carbon tax has not been adopted. This failure to translate political commitments into concrete actions at both Community and national level is not helpful for the credibility of the EU when we are still trying to be the main driving force in the international negotiations, particularly with developing countries. It is vital that the EU and other developed countries close this credibility gap by setting ambitious and binding reduction targets in Kyoto next year.” (Bjerregaard 1996b).

The necessity for policy development, strengthening directional leadership is emphasised:

“The translation of these commitments into reality also requires us to focus on concrete policies and measures. Without this, the credibility of our leadership will be seriously in question” (Bjerregaard 1996b).

⁴³ As seen in the first quote put forward in the above note, binding reduction targets is clearly an objective that will be pursued, and will define a leadership strategy.

Secondly, policy-integration is set forward as an important principle in the development of policies and measures at national and community-level:

“We must integrate climate change and energy issues into other areas of policy making and promote renewable sources of energy and energy efficiency more actively” (Bjerregaard 1996b).

⁴⁴ There is no mention of EU leadership. The press release is a reaction from Commissioner Bjerregaard on the position taken by the United States prior to COP3 in Kyoto. In this, the EU is indirectly put forward as being far more ambitious than the US, and a clear disappointment of US ambitions is expressed:

“I am disappointed with the very weak level of ambition by the US. This is not an adequate response to the global problems of climate change [...] The Convention on Climate Change as adopted at the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992 already urges emission stabilisation by 2000 at 1990 levels for industrialised countries. The US position to reach this goal by sometime around 2010 is therefore a significant step in the wrong direction. Kyoto is all about legally binding emission objective and should clearly improve the Convention. Instead the US seeks to weaken it considerably – even though they are responsible for close to 25% of the global emissions of greenhouse gasses” (Bjerregaard in European Commission 1997).

Furthermore it is stated in the press release, having put forward that the EU has put forward a negotiating position on a 15% reduction target, which is considered to be technically feasible and economically manageable, that Commissioner Bjerregaard has added:

“it must be done and it can be done – provided the political will is there. This goes for the EU. Don’t tell me other industrialised countries cannot do the same” (Bjerregaard in European Commission 1997).

⁴⁵ As can be seen in the first quote in the above note, an overall adherence to legally binding reduction targets is clearly a guiding principle and objective for the Union at the international negotiations.

⁴⁶ There is no direct mention of leadership, however, throughout the speech the Commissioner emphasises the European Union as being the party with the most progressive suggestions for reduction targets, and clearly emphasizes the EU as being the party which is driving forward the process. Furthermore, it should be noted how the US is singled out as being the party which so far has delivered the most disappointing effort in the eyes of the EU.

“So let me echo what was said by the President of Costa Rica this morning. It is time for our industrialised partners to come up with substantial targets. I did not expect Vice-President Gore to match our own reduction of 15%. But I was looking for a real movement towards a target which will make a REAL difference. We in the EU are disappointed. The rhetoric was not matched by reality. So, let’s be clear. Target figures have to result in real reductions in overall emissions by our industrialised partners. We in the EU have shown our willingness to negotiate. Our main industrial partners also have to show that they are serious in making the sacrifices necessary to save our planet” (Bjerregaard 1997).

⁴⁷ As reflected in the quote in note 46, there is an indirect understanding of the EU wanting to provide directional leadership, in that it is clearly stated that the Union expects others to move on the issue of targets, when the Union itself has put forward a proposal. A notion of instrumental leadership is as well present in that the Union wishes to gather support around the issue of strong reduction targets.

This directional quality, in terms of the EU leading by example through the setting of ambitious targets, is also noted when the Commissioner states:

These targets are both realistic, technically feasible, and economically manageable. But it is not just the European Union that can and should make significant contributions. Other industrialised have the same or greater potential to cut their emissions” (Bjerregaard 1997).

⁴⁸ It is clear, that setting legally binding reduction targets is an overall important objective for the EU and is a guiding objective for EU action in negotiations, and as seen above, the Union is under the impression that by setting ambitious targets forward, others may follow.

“Time is running out for our climate. Instead of inventing loopholes, we should now concentrate on really reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Our first task is obviously to set legally binding targets for industrialised countries. These targets should correspond to significant and early overall reduction of greenhouse gases” (Bjerregaard 1997).

Secondly, an overall important norm from which reductions should be achieved according to the European Union, is an emphasis on domestic action. As the Commissioner states:

“I am deeply concerned, therefore, to see that the current draft of the protocol contains dangerous loopholes. We want a protocol with real effect NOT a virtual reality Protocol. I am referring in particular to emission trading. This should only take place in the context of strong targets. Domestic action should provide the main means for meeting the commitments. We cannot afford hot air.[...] Finally, we are ready to study new approaches for cooperation such as the proposed clean development mechanism. However, it must not be used by industrialised countries to escape domestic action” (Bjerregaard 1997).

Lastly, the Commissioner in her speech clearly emphasises the main responsibilities of the industrialised countries:

“Clearly, industrialised countries must commit themselves now! [...] Our first task is obviously to set legally binding targets for industrialised countries [...] It is time for our industrialised partners to come up with substantial targets [...] Our main industrial partners also have to show that they are serious in making the sacrifices necessary to save our planet [...] Our position on developing countries is clear. As agreed in the Berlin Mandate there should be no new commitments for them” (Bjerregaard 1997).

⁴⁹ There is a clear reference to EU leadership in climate change in that it is stated that:

“From 2-13 November 1998 the 4th Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP4) will take place in Buenos Aires. The European Union (EU) will continue to take a leading role in this process” (European Commission 1998)

There is as well clear reference to how the Union has strengthened its leadership in that it is stated that:

“Apart from signing the Kyoto Protocol in April 1998, the EU’s credibility is strengthened by the fact that it is on track to stabilise its CO₂ emissions by the year 2000 at the level they were in 1990 – as promised in Rio in 1992” (European Commission 1998)

⁵⁰ A notion of directional leadership is present in that it is stated:

“The Commission will work towards the early ratification of the Protocol by the EU, as an expression of its own commitment and in order to continue to show leadership, such as we have already done by the adoption in June 1998 of a burden sharing agreement” (European Commission 1998)

A notion of instrumental leadership is clear in that the Commissioner says:

“We need to keep the momentum from Kyoto. We need to continue to work together with our global partners for the common good of mankind. We need to find common solutions to common problems. There is nothing on the table that the EU is not willing, able and ready to discuss. But a few principles must be borne in mind” (Bjerregaard in European Commission 1998)

Thus the Union clearly is projected as being ready to bring the process forward, however on the basis of certain principles (see below) which the EU will need to gather consensus around.

⁵¹ The Commissioner states in the press release a number of principles guiding the Union at COP4:

“But a few principles must be borne in mind. First of all, the industrialised countries need to demonstrate their willingness to go first. We created the problems and we must be in the forefront in solving it. Secondly the use of flexible mechanisms must never be an excuse for neglecting obligations back home. Domestic action must continue to be the main means of attacking the problems of climate change[...] Thirdly we need an early signature and ratification from all Parties to the Kyoto Protocol. Without commitments from i.e. the US and Russia the reduction achievements from Kyoto will effectively be gone with the wind. We simply cannot allow this to happen” (Bjerregaard in European Commission 1998)

⁵² There is no specific mention of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however, in the speech the Union is clearly projected as a leading actor in terms of meeting the commitment of stabilisation as set forth in the UNFCCC, in that it is emphasised how the Union is on track while many of the other developed countries are not..

“The will to change direction is still not evident in all quarters. Look at the lack of progress by many developed countries in meeting the Rio commitment to stabilise their carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by 2000. The European Community is on track but many others are not. And this is only the beginning. In the end we all have to do much more” (Bjerregaard 1998)

⁵³ A notion of instrumental leadership can be detected, in that the Commissioner at the end of her speech emphasises that she wishes to make sure that process will continue to move forward and that securing that the Kyoto Protocol will ensure effective emission reduction.

“I came to Buenos Aires to ensure that the political momentum built up at Kyoto is maintained and to safeguard the effective emission reductions we painfully negotiated at Kyoto. These are essential if we want to combat global warming. So is early signature and ratification of all Parties. I urge everybody to participate in the process” (Bjerregaard 1998)

Thus, an instrumental notion of leadership can be detected from such statement in that in order to ensure these goals a coalition around such thinking must necessarily be formed.

⁵⁴ The primacy of domestic action as a guiding norm to which the EU adheres is very clear in the speech in that the Commissioner states:

“Let me underline as strongly as possible the EU’s absolute commitment to domestic action. The mechanisms must be supplementary to this. We cannot weaken the incentives needed to modify existing systems. We need to develop new technologies. And we must ensure changes in the public’s attitude, which is so crucial. Supplimentarity is in the Protocol for a good reason. We must reduce our carbon dependency. There is no way to avoid that. Do not get me wrong. The Kyoto mechanisms can make an important contribution to meeting our commitments. But only if the principles governing their use are subject to strict rules on certification, monitoring, accountability and compliance [...] we cannot accept trading that produces no environmental benefit” (Bjerregaard 1998)

Furthermore, the Commissioner further emphasis on global participation if the climate change challenge is to be met, thus indicating the Union’s adherence to multilateral approach in the dealings with climate change

“Providing such assistance to the developing countries addresses the question of global participation. This is essential if climate change is to be reversed” (Bjerregaard 1998).

Lastly, the Commissioner clearly states the objective of the Union to ensure an early adoption of the Kyoto Protocol

“I came to Buenos Aires to ensure that the political momentum built up at Kyoto is maintained and to safeguard the effective emission reductions we painfully negotiated at Kyoto. These are essential if we want to combat global warming. So is early signature and ratification of all Parties. I urge everybody to participate in the process” (Bjerregaard 1998).

⁵⁵ In the press release a statement by the Commissioner is made in which the notion of leadership is directly connected to the Union:

“Entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol is a prerequisite to go beyond moral commitments to the implementation of legal obligations and targets. In order to realise this objective, the Commission strongly urges all Parties, including the EU and its Member States, to start preparing for early ratification and implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. The EU is prepared to continue to lead the way. But we can not do this on our own. Everybody needs to contribute” (Bjerregaard in European Commission 1999)

⁵⁶ As reflected in the above quote, a notion of directional leadership is present in that it is stated the Union will start preparing for early ratification of the Protocol, and that others should follow such example.

Instrumental leadership is as well reflected in that it is stated:

“Now that EU as well as many other Parties have signed the Kyoto Protocol, the first objective is a rapid entry into force. To realise this objective, the EU should deploy all its efforts to ensure speedy ratification of the Protocol by as many Parties as possible in view of an early entry into force” (European Commission 1999)

⁵⁷ As reflected in the above quote, the objective of early ratification is very clear.

The principle of policy-integration is clearly projected as an important principle by the Commission in the development of policies to curb climate change in that it is stated:

“Combating climate change through greenhouse gas emission reductions is an excellent opportunity to give concrete meaning to the need to integrate environmental concerns in other policy areas, as strongly supported by Heads of State at their meetings in Cardiff and Vienna” (European Commission 1999)

Lastly, the adherence to domestic action and multilateralism is clear in that it is stated that:

“Climate change is a global problem that requires global efforts and overall substantial progress in the abatement of greenhouse gas emissions. To this end, each and every country, and in particular highly industrialised ones, need to establish credible and ambitious domestic action, preferable together with clear timetables for the adoption of specific measures” (European Commission 1999).

⁵⁸ No direct mention of leadership, however, a clear reference to how the Union is on track to meeting its stabilisation targets, however the Commissioner also emphasises that in order to be meet the Kyoto targets additional measures are necessary and she thus puts forward examples of the Union is on the road of doing so

“While, in the European Union, we are still confident that stabilisation of emissions in 2000 at 1990 level is possible, there is no doubt that the Kyoto target can only be met with additional measures [...] We must strengthen our efforts at home, already now, by putting in place concrete measures in sectors such as energy, transport, and industry have to participate in this effort. I have therefore decided to launch an Action Programme that will bring all stakeholders around the table to create synergies and will work towards a consensus on practical steps” (Wallström 1999)

⁵⁹ A lot of attention is given to the notion of developing domestic measures, and especially the type of measures that the Union has and is developing. This supports a notion of directional leadership, in that this is a way of leading by example.

“Within the European Union we have set ourselves the aim to double the share of renewables in total energy consumption from 6-12% by the year 2010. For combined heat and power production we intend to double the share from 9-18% in the same time horizon. In general our aim is an improvement in the energy intensity of final consumption or at least 1% per year above the current level.”(Wallström 1999)

The notion of directional leadership is specifically also referred to, in that the Commissioner states that the achievement of the above targets will serve as important examples specifically for developing countries to follow in that it should show how it is possible to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation.

“The achievement of these targets in our home economy is important not only for the European citizens but also for people in Asia, Latin-America and Africa. It will teach us better how to continue economic growth while keeping emissions low” (Wallström 1999)

⁶⁰ There is still a clear adherence to the principle of domestic action as an important guiding principle for Union efforts to deal with climate change, nonetheless a recognition of the use of flexibility mechanisms is projected.

“We must strengthen our efforts at home already now by putting in place concrete measures in sectors such as energy, transport and industry have to participate in this effort” (Wallström 1999).

“Together with emissions trading, those Kyoto Mechanisms could usefully supplement domestic action” (Wallström 1999).

⁶¹ A direct mention of leadership, which in turn is connected to the EU in that it is stated:

“To start with, the industrialised countries must show leadership in tackling climate change. This calls for substantial investments in energy efficient production methods, renewable energy sources and in sustainable transportation. The EU has already started down this path with the European Climate Change Programme complementing the various national programmes by the Member States. COP6 must ensure that other industrialised countries do the same, balancing the use of the Kyoto mechanisms with domestic action.” (Wallström 2000a)

Furthermore, the Union is emphasised as being on track to stabilise its emissions by the year 2000 unlike the case in many others industrialised countries

“According to the latest figures available, the EU is on track to stabilise emissions by the year 2000 as we committed ourselves to do under the Convention. Generally, however, emissions in industrialised countries are still going up. To curb this trend we need to intensify our efforts. Entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol is essential to convince both politicians and citizens for the need to act.”(Wallström 2000a)

⁶² As reflected in the first quote put forward above, both a notion of directional and instrumental leadership is present, in that first of all, the Union is projected as providing directional leadership through the development of the Climate Change Programme. Secondly, an element of instrumental leadership is present in that it is stated that it must be ensured that other industrialised countries follow this example, which indicates that the EU will need to gather support around such conviction.

⁶³ The objective of an early entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol is clear in that it is stated that:

“You all know the EU wants the Protocol to be implemented. We need COP6 to provide the green light for ratification so that the Protocol enters into force by 2002” (Wallström 2000a).

However, this is not to be done at every price, another important principle guiding the Union is that of environmental integrity in that it is stated:

“We know how hard all Parties have been working to elaborate the rules and modalities for the effective operation of the different aspects of the Kyoto Protocol. The EU seeks workable and effective rules that ensure the environmental integrity of the Protocol”. (Wallström 2000a).

Such environmental integrity is specifically connected to the notion of domestic action, which is considered an important guiding principle:

“We want to get started: we want to move from ambitious objectives to concrete actions. Industrialised countries need to speed up action at home”
“COP6 must ensure that other industrialised countries do the same, balancing the use of the Kyoto mechanisms with domestic action” (Wallström 2000a).

⁶⁴ There is no direct mention of EU leadership, however, a clear reference to how the Union is on track to meet stabilisation targets, and its commitment to ensure it will meet the Kyoto target, indicating its clear commitment to the process

“Latest indications confirm that the Community and its Member States acting jointly, are on track to meet their commitment under the Convention to stabilise their emissions at 1990 levels by the end of this year. The Community and its Member States will also act jointly to fulfil their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. Their demanding 8% emissions reduction will be achieved as provided for by Article 4 of the Protocol” (Wallström 2000b).

⁶⁵ A notion of directional leadership is present in that the Commissioner first of all emphasises how the European Community will start the ratification process as soon as the final conclusions are in place, thus setting an example for others to follow, secondly, the Commissioner emphasises how the Union is approaching the problem of climate change by referencing the range of domestic initiatives taken, providing important examples for others to follow.

“We have pledged our support for the entry into force of the Protocol by 2002 and the European Community is committed to start the process of ratification within weeks of the conclusion of this session if the results are right” (Wallström 2000b).

“Generally, emissions in industrialised countries are still going up. This trend must be curbed, and entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol is essential to convince both citizens and business of the need to act. In the EU, we are developing a range of additional measures through the European Climate Change Programme to bring down emissions further. We have also published a Green Paper on emissions trading, but we do recognise that while emissions trading may be effective in certain sectors, it cannot replace the need for a range of policies to reduce emissions” (Wallström 2000b).

A indirect notion of instrumental leadership is as well present, in that the Commissioner states the need to reach a final decision at Hague that will safeguard the environmental integrity of the Protocol, indicating that the Union wishes to create a supporting coalition around such endeavour, when calling on the Parties to “work it out”.

“Mr. President, over the next days, the world’s eyes will be on The Hague. People all over the world rightly expects us, the politicians, to have the courage to make decisions that can help combat climate change. The challenge in The Hague is to reach final decisions on all issues that safeguard the environmental integrity of the Protocol and have sufficient certainty to enable widespread ratification of the Protocol. This requires that whatever we decide will stand up to public scrutiny and be able to mobilize citizen’s support. Mr. President, I join your appeal to ‘work it out’” (Wallström 2000b).

⁶⁶ In this speech, the Commissioner specifically emphasises that the environmental integrity is of overall importance to the Union, which is understood as being closely related to domestic action as the main approach to live up to the Kyoto targets, and the use of flexible mechanisms must thus be considered as supplements.

“For the EU, the way to ratification must be based on decisions that ensure the environmental integrity of the Protocol, that will lead to real emissions reductions in industrialised countries, and that will give us clear rules and the confidence that they will be observed [...] The decisions taken here must ensure that all industrialised countries take action to bring down their emissions, which is why we insist that the use of the Kyoto mechanisms must be balanced with domestic action. Industrialised countries need to make a substantial shift towards energy efficient production, renewable energy sources and sustainable transportation.” (Wallström 2000b).

Lastly, the objective of early ratification is projected as an important objective for the Union, as reflected in the first quote put forward in note 65

⁶⁷ No specific mention of EU leadership, however it is stressed in a highly indirect manner through several quotes see note 68.

⁶⁸ The Union indirectly projects itself as a directional leader in that it stresses firstly, how it hopes that it by ratifying the Kyoto Protocol quickly, in order for it to enter into force ten years after the agreement on the Convention in Rio, others will follow the EU’s lead.

“Ratification by the European Community will be completed in time for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg next year. We hope that the European Community’s initiative will encourage other countries to ratify soon so that the Protocol can enter into force within a decade after agreement of the climate change Convention in Rio de Janeiro back in 1992” (Wallström 2001a).

Thus, there is a clear reference to the Union wanting to serve as an example for others to follow.

Furthermore, the Commissioner emphasises how the Union is working on a number of policies and initiatives that will assist in the implementation of the Kyoto protocol, thus providing an important example for the rest as well as it will serve as an important development for the credibility of the Union.

“Curbing climate change is a prerequisite for sustainable development. The Community is committed to providing concrete evidence of its own commitment to sustainable development. We strongly believe that such commitment is only

credible if it builds on effective domestic policies to lower emissions. This is the reason why the Commission not only proposed to ratify the Protocol. We also announced a comprehensive implementation strategy comprising a number of policy proposals to be made within the next 2 years [...] the measures already announced offer the potential to achieve half the gap that separates the European Union from its Kyoto target. However, in addition to the general strategy, the Commission also made an important proposal for an internal EU greenhouse gas emissions trading scheme” (Wallström 2001a).

⁶⁹ The Commissioner emphasises multilateralism as an overall important principle for dealing with climate change, as she puts forward:

“Climate change is also a problem that should be of concern to us all, and one that is most effectively addressed by a multilateral response” (Wallström 2001a).

In line with previous propositions, the Commissioner emphasises the importance of domestic action in that she emphasises that

“We strongly believe that such commitment is only credible if it builds on effective domestic policies to lower emissions” (Wallström 2001a).

However, to this it should be added, that a new direction in terms of dealing with climate change is taking place, in that the Commission has put forward a proposal on emissions trading.

“However, in addition to the general strategy, the Commission also made an important proposal for an internal EU greenhouse gas emissions trading scheme. This scheme would of course, be compatible with the emissions trading of the Kyoto Protocol [...] This is unquestionably a major innovation in European environmental policy, as well as being a substantial policy measure that specifically addresses climate change” (Wallström 2001a).

⁷⁰ The notion of leadership in climate change is directly connected to the EU as becomes clear from the quotes below:

“Let me start at the international level. The EU has exercised leadership over the last few months, together with partners from around the world, to salvage the Kyoto Protocol. We affirmed that the Kyoto agreement is the only international framework for combating climate change after the United States’ withdrawal from the Protocol. Today we can say that this message prevailed. It has encouraged other Parties to stand by the Protocol as well, and this paved the way for the political agreement on the Kyoto Protocol in Bonn last July” (Wallström 2001b).

“I want to continue our international leadership role. However, international leadership in this area is only credible if it builds on domestic policies to lower emissions” (Wallström 2001b).

⁷¹ The EU is clearly projected as providing directional leadership, as it is stated:

“The Commission this week has underpinned its proposal for ratification of the Kyoto Protocol with an implementation strategy. We are not only negotiating on climate change, we are also taking action. We are credible in our international position” (Wallström 2001b).

A statement which clearly shows that the EU intends to lead by example.

The intention of providing directional leadership is as well put forward when stating that:

“...the Commission this week made a proposal for the EU to ratify the Kyoto Protocol. It will now have to be adopted by the Council. Of course, we hope that our initiative will encourage other countries to ratify soon as well so that the Kyoto Protocol can enter into force before the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in September next year” (Wallström 2001b).

The notion of instrumental leadership is as well present in that the Commissioner states:

“We of course have to get the United States again involved in the international efforts – the sooner, the better. They are the single biggest emitter. Nothing in the Kyoto Protocol prevents them from joining, and the EU will remain in close contact with the US on climate change” (Wallström 2001b).

⁷² As reflected in the quotes above, early entry into force is an overall important guiding principle for the Union. Furthermore, as reflected in the second quote put forward in note 70, domestic policies are still put forward as an overall guiding principle.

Multilateralism, is as well projected as an important principle in that it is stated that:

However, Bonn was also a victory for a multilateral approach more generally. Even more so in the wake of the terrorist attacks against the United States, reaffirming that the global community can overcome differences to work for the common good is important. (Wallström 2001b).

Lastly, cost-effectiveness is put forward as an important principle:

“Finally, the Commission has proposed legislation to establish a European system for emission trading as from 2005. An emission trading system is a corner-stone in a cost-effective EU climate strategy” (Wallström 2001b).

⁷³ No specific mention EU leadership, but an emphasis on the fact that the Union has ratified the Kyoto Protocol, as well as the fact that it has met its commitments under the climate convention to stabilise emissions by 2000, which can serve as a way to underline the credibility of the Union as an example that may be worth following

“The EU ratified the Kyoto Protocol on 31st of May this year. It has met its existing commitment under the UN Climate Convention to stabilise its greenhouse gas emissions at 1990-levels” (Wallström 2002 in European Commission 2002a)

⁷⁴ The directional element of leadership is put forward indirectly as an ambitions of the Union, in that in continuation of the quote put forward in note 73, it is stated that:

“The EU is putting in place a wide range of measures to ensure that it can meet its 8% reduction commitment under the Kyoto Protocol” (European Commission 2002a).

Thus, developing solutions for reaching such targets, which others may learn from.

⁷⁵ The adherence to multilateralism is clearly projected when it is stated that:

“Science tells us that these events are likely to become more frequent and intense in many areas as the climate warms. We need to act together in the international community to deal with this global threat” (Wallström 2002 in European Commission 2002a)

⁷⁶ There is a direct mention of leadership, in that it is stated that:

“Yesterday, a little over a year after the Commission presented its proposal for an EU greenhouse gas emissions trading system, the Council unanimously reached political agreement on a common position on the Commission’s proposal. This agreement confirms the EU’s continued political leadership in the area of climate change” (European Commission 2002b)

⁷⁷ A notion of directional leadership is presented with the agreement on the emissions trading system as a way for the Union to achieve its Kyoto targets, which is closely watched by the rest of the world in order to see if the Union succeeds

“This is a landmark decision for the EU’s strategy to fight climate change [...] It proves that the EU is taking action on climate change and gets emissions down, and that we do so in a way that minimised the costs to the economy. The world’s eyes have been upon us to see whether we will succeed in creating the biggest emissions trading scheme world-wide so far. We have succeeded. It will help all Member States, as well as the EU as a whole, to reach their Kyoto targets while cutting costs at the same time” (European Commission 2002b)

⁷⁸ Clearly, with the adoption of this policy instrument, and as reflected in the above quote, cost-efficiency is projected as an important guiding principle in the combat on climate change.

⁷⁹ Leadership is directly connected to the role of the EU in international climate change negotiations:

“The European Union is committed to continue exercising leadership on climate change internationally. We are taking measures to reduce our emissions even though progress is not easy[...]. From the European Climate Change Programme we know that we can reach our Kyoto target and that we can do so while minimising the cost to our societies and even reaping economic benefits through innovation and higher competitiveness” (Wallström 2003).

⁸⁰ As reflected in the above quote, the notion of directional leadership is clearly projected as the position of the Union, in that it is developing a number of measures and policies to secure reduction of emissions, and thus provides an example for others to follow.

This understanding is furthermore emphasised when the Commissioner states:

“I dare to say that with our legislation the EU will be a world leader in emissions trading. I am convinced that in the end emissions trading will help us prove those wrong who claim that combating climate change goes against business interests, both in the EU and in other parts of the world” (Wallström 2003).

A notion of instrumental leadership is as well present in that in relations to securing the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by Russia, the Commissioner emphasises how the Union is applying diplomatic pressure to ensure such ratification:

“Of course we are all keen to see Russia finally ratify the Kyoto Protocol. Russia knows that it holds the key to into-force of the Kyoto Protocol, and they are aware that the eyes of the world are on them. Together with the Greek and Italian Environment Ministers I was in Moscow early March to remind Russia of the commitment to ratification that Prime Minister Kasyanov made at the Johannesburg World Summit. President Putin has been reminded personally by President Prodi and several other EU leaders of this commitment. We know that the Russian Government is working on ratification, but we also know that there is little political momentum behind this work[...] I hope that EU-Russia summit at the end of the month will be able to make some progress also on the Kyoto Protocol” (Wallström 2003).

Instrumental leadership is also projected in relations to securing the support of developing countries towards starting work on a commitments post-Kyoto:

“Finally, we have to strengthen our co-operation with the developing countries who will be the first to suffer from climate change. We enjoyed good partnership with the developing countries in the final phase of the negotiations on the Kyoto Protocol. At the last UN climate conference in New Delhi, we had difficulties in explaining to them our views on starting work on a second commitment period. From this experience we have drawn the conclusion that we need to strengthen our dialogue with the G77, and this is what we are doing.”(Wallström 2003).

⁸¹ Cost-effectiveness is clearly projected as an important guiding principle for EU action:

“Finally, the European Climate Change Programme underscores our commitment to a cost-effective strategy to reach our Kyoto objective. It allows us to select those measures that reduce emissions at least cost to society” (Wallström 2003).

In relations to the emissions trading scheme developed, the Commissioner stresses however that the principle of environmental integrity is still considered a guiding principle:

“I want to be very clear through that the environmental integrity of emissions trading has to be safeguarded. Opening the doors for JI and CDM too wide would mean low credit prices that undercut efforts to reduce emissions within the EU. This would not least reduce the incentive for technological innovation. Hence we will need to find the right balance between encouraging the use of JI and DCM and making emissions trading deliver real emission reductions in the EU” (Wallström 2003).

⁸²No specific mention of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however, the press release indicates how the Union will seek to direct attention towards dealing with climate change after 2012, encouraging all parties to consider

new possibilities for moving the fight against climate change forward. Furthermore, leadership is referenced in terms of the need for developed countries to show leadership in tackling greenhouse gas emissions.

“One of the EU’s main goals at COP9 is building further confidence in the Kyoto- process[...]We will intensify our dialogue with other Parties on how to strengthen efforts to implement the Kyoto Protocol and how to move forward beyond 2012” (European Commission 2003)

“Responsibility for further action post-2012 should be governed by the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ and should be mindful of countries’ differing capabilities. Developed countries will need to continue to demonstrate leadership in tackling greenhouse gas emissions. The EU believes that emission reductions for developed countries of greater magnitude than those included in the Kyoto Protocol are necessary if we want to meet the ultimate objective of the Convention” (European Commission 2003)

⁸³ Thus with reference to the quotes put forward in note 82, an understanding of the EU wanting to be instrumental in driving the international response in a direction towards future agreements is clearly projected, thus indicating an ambition of instrumental leadership.

⁸⁴ AS reflected in both quotes in note 82, the Union is quite clearly guided by an objective of directing the international focus towards a post-Kyoto agreement.

To this end, the Union also emphasises an objective of a far more ambitious agreement with emission reduction of *“greater magnitude”* than was seen in Kyoto, as reflected in the last quote in note 82.

In the press release the adherence to multilateralism is clearly projected as important to the Union, specifically calling on the US to respect such principle in that it is stated:

“All parties must play a full and effective role in tackling climate change [...] The Parties that have decided not to ratify the Kyoto Protocol must act on the same terms as the other industrialized countries. The EU expects the US to fully and constructively engage in global action” (European Commission 2003)

Furthermore, in relations to the EU’s focus on action post-2012, it is clearly projected that this shall be governed by the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’:

“Responsibility for further action post-2012 should be governed by the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ and should be mindful of countries’ differing ‘capabilities’” (European Commission 2003)

⁸⁵ There is no direct mention of leadership, however, in the press release, the commitment of the EU to bring forward the international climate process is clearly projected:

“The EU will step up its efforts to combat climate change alongside its international partners at the annual UN climate change conference starting next Monday in Argentina. At the conference, which is taking place against the background of the recent ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by Russia, the EU will present its Emissions Trading System due to be launched the 1 January – a concrete step for the implementation of the EU commitment under the Kyoto Protocol in a cost-efficient manner”(European Commission 2004)

⁸⁶ The notion of directional leadership is clearly present in the press release, in that Commissioner Dimas puts an emphasis on the how the EU through its emissions trading scheme is showing the world how to live up to its Kyoto commitments, but at the same time emphasising that the EU cannot succeed on its own – thus indirectly calling for others to follow the example of the Union.

“The implementation of the Kyoto Protocol will be a very important first step, but more needs to be done, The Emissions Trading Scheme will take off in less than a month shows that the EU is not shying away from its commitment to meet the Kyoto target. But it’s clear that we can’t succeed on our own – this is a global challenge that requires a global response (Dimas in European Commission 2004)

A notion of instrumental leadership as well seems to be present, in that in the press release is stated that the EU intends to stimulate discussion on the future development of the regime post-Kyoto, which indicates an element of instrumental leadership to be needed:

“Further, the EU would like to stimulate first informal discussions on a future international framework for fighting climate change since the emission reductions envisaged by the Kyoto Protocol extend only until 2012” (European Commission 2004)

The notion of instrumental leadership is as well reflected in relations to the statement made on how the EU is committed to assist developing countries in dealing with climate change, thus indicating a sense of instrumentality in bringing about the appropriate design of the regime to encompass such considerations:

“The EU is committed to assisting developing countries in dealing with the effects of climate change. It therefore wishes to successfully conclude negotiations aimed at providing support for adaptation and mitigation policies in developing countries” (European Commission 2004)

⁸⁷ As reflected in the first to quotes in the above note, the objective of gaining support to start discussion on a post-Kyoto design is put forward as being important for the Union.

Furthermore, as seen in the quotes put forward in note 85 and 86, the principle of cost-efficiency is highlighted as a guiding principle for the Union in the quest towards meeting its Kyoto commitments, and emissions trading is considered one such measure which is considered cost-efficient.

⁸⁸ It should be noted that the speech is held in the realm of COP10 in Buenos Aires at a dinner hosted by Commissioner Dimas for the EU ministers plus 3. The subject matter is the EU stance at COP10

⁸⁹ The notion of leadership is specifically tied to the role of the Union in climate change, in that the Commissioner states:

“It is a particular pleasure for me to meet you here at the COP10 at a time when both Kyoto and our emission trading scheme will soon come into force. These are remarkable achievements, which would not have been possible without the determination and leadership by the European Union” (Dimas 2004).

⁹⁰ The Commissioner makes a clear reference to how the Union has been able to apply its structural power exerting leadership;

“The EU has been able to assume a key role internationally because it was united internally. This common stance of the EU would have been impossible without your commitment and efforts to convince your colleagues back home about the necessity of action. I am keen to work closely with you to build upon and continue the success of the past” (Dimas 2004).

The Commissioner furthermore emphasises that the Union now must take on an instrumental leadership role applying diplomatic efforts to ensure that focus will now be put upon action post-2012:

“Climate change is one of the greatest environmental challenges the world is facing and as a global challenge it needs a global response. This is the reason why 190 Parties have come to Buenos Aires to agree on the way forward – and as you know very well, that is not an easy task. The results of our deliberations this week will pave the way for the post-2012 regime. And to do this we need to engage our partners including in particular the US and major developing countries.” (Dimas 2004).

Lastly, the Commissioner makes a clear reference as to how the EU through its development of internal climate policies and measures will facilitate the instrumental leadership, in that by providing an example of how to deal with the challenges – ie. providing directional leadership – instrumental leadership can be facilitated. The quote below is a continuation of the quote above.

“The EU has done a lot to prepare the ground. We have developed an impressive set of measures under the European Climate Change Programme, with the Emissions Trading Scheme being a cornerstone of our policies. We have shown

that we mean what we preach. We are reducing emissions in a way that does not harm the economy- they are not almost 3% below 1990 levels. The most recent analysis indicates that the EU will meet its Kyoto target if we sustain our efforts (Dimas 2004).

⁹¹ Multilateralism is projected as an all important guiding principle for dealing with climate change, and the UNFCCC is specifically referred to as the only forum in which efforts for dealing with climate change should take place

“The response of our partners is important. The United Nations Convention is the only international framework for addressing climate change. As the frequency and intensity of climate change incidents rise, as citizens across the globe start asking questions what their governments are doing about it, the likelihood for concerted international action increases” (Dimas 2004).

Furthermore, the 2°C-objective is put forward as an important guiding objective for the development of targets and cost-effective measures to be developed to deal with climate change

“The Conclusions of the Spring Council must provide clear guidance. We need a solid basis for the Commission to start translating the 2° Celsius goal into proposals for emissions targets and cost-effective measures with which this can be achieved” (Dimas 2004).

⁹² No direct mention of leadership, however indirectly the EU is clearly projected as a player which is highly committed to the multilateral process of dealing with climate change

“The European Union remains committed to the multilateral co-operation on climate change and to the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol. This has translated into concrete policies and actions. The European Climate Change Programme introduced cost-effective policies. Our EU emissions trading scheme that started on the 1st of January this year is one of our flagship policies. It is already showing results” (Dimas 2005a).

It is further stated that,

“Developed countries must continue to take on serious commitments in the future and the EU will do its part.” (Dimas 2005a).

⁹³ As seen in the quotes presented in note 92, a notion of directional leadership is presented as a way to underline the commitment of the European Union to the international process and the implementation of the Kyoto protocol. The fact that such policies are mentioned serves to underline the credibility of the EU as important actor in these negotiations. Furthermore, it is clearly projected that the EU will do its part to secure the future by taking on serious commitments.

The Commissioner also presents ambition of instrumental leadership, in that he states:

“The Kyoto Protocol, while important, is only a first step. It is imperative that we start looking at the next steps in our battle against climate change – post 2012. The EU is determined to contribute to making the Montreal meeting a meaningful step towards the next multilateral regime to tackle climate change” (Dimas 2005a).

⁹⁴ It is clear that the main objective for EU in the negotiation process at this point is to direct attention towards cooperation post-Kyoto:

“I look forward to working with Minister Dion to achieve an outcome that will define a new stage of international cooperation on climate change[...] The Kyoto Protocol, while important, is only a first step. It is imperative that we start looking at the next steps towards the next multilateral regime to tackle climate change” (Dimas 2005a).

The Commissioner clearly underlines multilateralism as a guiding principle for dealing with climate change, and specifically that it is in the UN-context efforts for dealing with climate change should be made

“International co-operation can take place in different fora and partnerships. But it is in the UN context that we must bring these initiatives together, providing guidance, scaling them up, and organising the global support that is necessary for the success of our joint efforts” (Dimas 2005a).

Furthermore, as a principle guiding the position of the Union for a future agreement, the principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’ is clearly projected as important, securing the involvement of developing countries as well.

“Developed countries must continue to take on serious commitments in the future and the EU will do its part. However, there must also be a role for developing countries in line with the principle of common and differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” (Dimas 2005a).

⁹⁵ There is a direct connection made between the EU and leadership in that it is stated that:

“Developed countries are collectively responsible for the gradual accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Therefore we fully accept our responsibility that, as developed countries, we need to take the lead. We have implemented more than 30 measures under the European Climate Change Programme, which are starting to deliver results. There’s also much that EU member states are doing on their own. We are also working together with other countries – we have strong cooperation on climate change with China, India, and Russia, and we are working together with developing countries. This approach works. EU-15 emissions were down by 1,7% compared to base year levels in 2003, while our economy grew by 28% from 1990-2003” (Dimas 2005b).

⁹⁶ As reflected in the above quote, the notion of leadership is directional, in that there is a strong emphasis on how the many measures implemented is having an effect, and thus the EU is leading by example.

⁹⁷ The principles of multilateralism, and common but differentiated responsibilities are clearly projected as guiding principles for EU action:

“The fight against climate change requires a multilateral approach based on the Convention principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities”. In the EU we are implementing this approach.” (Dimas 2005b).

⁹⁸ There is a direct mention of EU as leader in relations to climate change, in that the Commissioner states:

“We are fully aware of the need to increase access to affordable, secure and sustainable energy in developing countries, particular in Africa. In this context, we emphasize that effective action on the scale required to win the battle against climate change requires a widespread shift to new or improved technology in key sectors such as energy and transport. Closer collaboration between governments and industry is needed to further stimulate the development of a broad portfolio of low carbon technologies and reduce costs[...]That is why we are calling on leading public and private decision makers to form a global alliance. Together, we will increase innovative public-private financing solutions to accelerate the deployment and transfer of energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies from developed to developing countries. The EU will continue to lead. You heard Finland – speaking earlier on behalf of the EU – mention a number of significant initiatives already under way and well funded. The Global Energy Efficiency and Renewable Energy Fund, or GEEREF, recently launched by the European Commission is a very concrete example of how to make capital and technology transfer work in practice” (Dimas 2006a)

⁹⁹ As can be seen from the quote put forward in note 98, as well as the quote put forward below, the Commissioner references to a notion of directional leadership, in that the Union he suggests others to follow the example set by the Union.

“We invite developed country and business leaders as well as investors to follow this example and come forward with similar initiatives by the 13th Conference of the Parties.” (Dimas 2006a)

¹⁰⁰ With reference to the quote put forward in note 98, public-private collaboration is clearly projected as an important principle for dissemination of new technology that can assist in the battle against climate change.

¹⁰¹ There is a direct mention of leadership of the EU in relations to climate change as it is stated by the Commissioner that:

“The European Union is committed to achieving our Kyoto Protocol emissions targets and by leading the way we are determined to ensure that the international community takes decisive further action to cut global emissions after 2012, when the Kyoto targets expire” (Dimas 2006b).

¹⁰² The above quotes clearly projects an intention of the EU providing instrumental leadership in ensuring that the international community will develop post-Kyoto framework in which further action to reduce emissions will be taken.

There is as well a reference as to previous instrumental leadership provided by the EU, when the Commissioner states:

“The second major challenge for Nairobi was to move forward the crucial discussions that have begun on the further global action that will be needed after 2012. Though absolutely critical for our future, this is a subject which outside the EU was all but taboo until a year ago, when we managed to get agreement at the Montreal conference to launch global talks” (Dimas 2006b).

A similar understanding is put forward when the Commissioner states:

“In Nairobi Kofi Annan appealed for political courage and leadership to address climate change. So far the European Union has been alone in showing this. Over the coming month the EU will need to step up its leadership, but I also sense a promising shift in attitudes among some of our partners” (Dimas 2006b).

The Commissioner as well projects a notion of directional leadership provided by the European Union, when he states that the EU has provided the example in the battle against climate change, now others must follow suit.

“The EU is leading by example, but we cannot win the battle against climate change alone. Our emissions are just 14% of the worldwide total and falling. This is a global challenge that needs a global solution. At the UN climate change conference in Nairobi earlier this month we reached decision that I believe give us a solid basis for progress at the international level” (Dimas 2006b).

The Commissioner goes on to claim that it is time for the EU to provide further directional leadership in order to give momentum to the further process:

“Now it is vital that the EU steps up its leadership and comes forward with concrete new ideas to take the debate on further action to the next level and give it necessary momentum. We will be doing just that in just over a month, when we will issue a new Communication exploring the domestic and international policy options for achieving significant reductions in global emissions over the next few decades” (Dimas 2006b).

¹⁰³ As seen in the above quotes in note 102, the objective of driving the process towards an agreement on a future design of the regime post-Kyoto is emphasised.

Furthermore, to this end, the 2°C- objective is put forward as a guiding principle for determining the overall ambitious level of further reductions:

“We know that global emissions need to be cut by around 50% by the middle of this century if we are to have a chance of keeping climate change within tolerable limits – that is, if we are to hold the global average temperature rise to no more than 2 degree Celsius above pre-industrial levels” (Dimas 2006b).

¹⁰⁴ There is a direct mention of leadership in that the Commissioner states:

“We must set out an ambitious roadmap to start urgent negotiations on a global and comprehensive climate agreement for the post-2012 period. It is clear that this future agreement will have to be far more ambitious than Kyoto. You may be sure that the European Union will continue to exercise its global leadership to achieve this goal. As a union of 27 democratic countries bound by legal commitments, we speak with one voice for a region of 500 million people” (Dimas 2007a)

¹⁰⁵ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 104, the structural power of the Union is underlined, providing a structural component to its leadership.

Furthermore, a notion of directional leadership is being promoted in that the Commissioner puts forward how the Union is setting an example for others to follow by putting forward ambitious targets.

“Developed countries have the moral duty – and the necessary resources – to lead the way in cutting emissions. One of the key components of the future climate agreement has to be much deeper, mandatory emissions reductions by the industrialised world. Bali is not the place to start negotiating who does what, but the European Union is very clear about the emissions cuts that will be needed. We are proposing that developed countries commit to reduce their collective emissions by 30% by 2020, and by 60-80% by 2050, compared to 1990-levels. The European Union is ready to do so providing other developed countries agree to make comparable efforts during the forthcoming negotiations. In the meantime we have given an independent commitment to cut our emissions by at least 20% of 1990-level by 2020, as I’m sure you are aware.” (Dimas 2007a)

¹⁰⁶ The 2^o-objective is clearly projected as important overall guiding principle for EU action, as well as the objective of reaching agreement towards a post-Kyoto framework

“The international community must move urgently to put in place a post-2012 climate regime. That is why it is essential that we reach consensus here in Bali to launch negotiations on a new agreement. We must also set a deadline for completing the negotiations by the end of 2009 so there will be enough time to ratify the agreement and bring it into force before the end of 2012[...] For the European Union it is clear that the ambition of the future agreement must be to limit global to no more than 2 degrees Centigrade above the pre-industrial temperature.” (Dimas 2007a)

It also becomes clear, that the Union calls for the future framework to be sufficiently ambitious, seen in relations to the projected challenges put forward by the IPCC

“The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the IPCC, has concluded that climate change is unequivocal and accelerating. All the IPCC’s scenarios project a further rise in temperatures this century to more than 2 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial level [...] It is our generation’s historic responsibility to prevent this from happening. [...] The key challenge I see for the next few days will be to ensure that the roadmap sets out a negotiating process, and a substantive work plan for the negotiations, that is sufficiently ambitious to tackle the climate challenge we face” (Dimas 2007a)

Furthermore, as reflected in the quote in note 105, “deeper, mandatory emissions reduction” are considered a vital objective for the Union.

¹⁰⁷ No direct mentioning of leadership, however the speech in general underpins the Union’s commitment to the international process on climate change, and the overall necessity in driving the process forward, and thus indirectly EU leadership is projected:

“Our citizens are looking to us to take the bold action needed to prevent climate change from reaching dangerous levels. The breakthrough must come here in Bali. – We must agree to launch negotiations on a global and comprehensive climate change agreement for the post-2012 era. – We must set a deadline for completing the negotiations by the end of 2009 so we can bring it into force before the end of 2012. – And we must define a ‘Bali Roadmap’ that sets out the key building blocks for the future agreement. The European Community is adamant that the ambition must be to limit global warming to no more than 2 degrees Celsius above the pre-industrial temperature” (Dimas 2007b).

¹⁰⁸ Although no specific reference is made, in the above quote, the Commissioner sets forward a number of demands that are believed to be important to reach agreement upon at the negotiations in Bali, and thus indirectly calls for instrumental leadership in bringing about such result.

A notion of directional leadership is also put forward in relations to target setting, in that the Union has already put forward ambitious targets, calling on others to do the same:

“It is therefore essential that developed countries take on binding commitments to reduce their greenhouse gases in absolute terms. The European Community is ready to commit to a 30% reduction below 1990 levels by 2020 if other developed countries commit to comparable efforts” (Dimas 2007b).

¹⁰⁹ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 107, the objective of a post-Kyoto agreement is clearly a guiding principle for the Union, in which the 2°C-objective is considered an overall guiding principle for the ambitions of such agreement.

To this, the objective of an agreement with ambitious emissions reduction is very clearly projected in the quote put forward in note 108

Furthermore, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities is projected as important in that it is stated that: *“We cannot win this battle without the help of developing countries, particularly those that are most advanced. But let me stress that those contributions must fully reflect the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. The European Community wants to work with developing countries to help them reduce their emissions growth”* (Dimas 2007b).

¹¹⁰ No direct mentioning of EU leadership, however a clear indirect reference of EU wanting to play an important part

“The year of negotiations ahead of us on the road to Copenhagen will be critical for our planet. The EU is ready to play its full part. We have put our bold commitments on the table. As we speak, EU heads of State and government are finalising their discussions on measures to implement these commitments. We are on track to become a low carbon economy while strengthening our competitiveness and energy security.” (Dimas 2008a)

¹¹¹ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 110, the Commissioner makes a reference as to how the Union should be seen as an example for others to follow in the combat against climate change, while underlining that the Union at that very moment, is doing even more to secure that its combat against climate change will be successful.

Furthermore, it is highlighted that the Union is committed to the climate change challenge despite economic crisis, promoting measures that can deal with both the economic crisis and the climate challenge, thus setting an example for others to follow.

“We often hear that the financial and economic crisis will limit our ability to act. This is simply not true. The European Commission recently put forward its European Recovery plan which focuses on green innovation. The EU is determined to seize this crisis as an opportunity to bring our economy out of recession and put it on track for a low carbon future” (Dimas 2008a)

¹¹² An ambitious post-Kyoto agreement is clearly the objective for the Union, which it shown through its commitment to strong reduction targets and its own wording:

“We all agreed in Bali that climate change can only be addressed through global action. First and foremost, the developed countries should, as a group, reduce their emissions by 30% by the 2020. This is what is needed, and this what the European Union is committed to achieving if our partners in the developed world do likewise” (Dimas 2008a)

“The message that we Ministers must give here in Poznan is one of opportunities, ambition and, above all, determination. An ambitious Copenhagen agreement is not a choice, it is a must.” (Dimas 2008a)

¹¹³ There is a direct mention of leadership, in that the Commissioner states:

“Today there has been important news from Brussels – but now we must look ahead to what is needed in Copenhagen. The agreement at the Brussels summit is a clear signal to the climate conference here in Poznan that the European Union has both the determination and the capacity to lead the global fight against climate change. We now have the measures to deliver on our commitments to cut emissions 20% by 2020.” (Dimas 2008b).

¹¹⁴ As reflected in the above quote, the speech given by the Commissioner clearly is to show that the Union is credible in terms of the targets out forward, by supporting these through an agreement on measures on how to reach those targets. Thus an element of directional leadership is projected:

Furthermore, this notion of directional leadership, shall be seen as a step enhancing the instrumental leadership by the Union, in securing an agreement in Copenhagen

“But we cannot rest on our laurels. The science is clear: developed countries as a group must reduce their emissions by 30% if global emissions are to peak by 2020. 20% can only be a start. The European Union is committed to increasing out emissions cut from 20% to 30% if other developed countries agree to comparable reductions under the Copenhagen agreement. A 30% reduction is what we are arguing for here in Poznan – and it is what we will continue to argue for in the negotiations all the way to Copenhagen. A reduction of this size is imperative – and it is both technologically feasible and economically affordable. So now it is time for our partners in the industrialised world put their cards on the table and propose ambitious reduction targets of their own” (Dimas 2008b).

¹¹⁵ As reflected in the quotes in note 113 and 114, the objective of an ambitious post-Kyoto agreement to be achieved by 2009 is an overall guiding objective for the Union. As well is the emphasis on such agreement being ambitious, defined by calls for strong reduction targets of a commitment by industrialised countries at 30%.

Annex 2: Role conception analysis: Review of Presidency Conclusions of the European Council:

Guiding questions for the analysis

#1: *Is there a specific mention of climate change in the Council conclusions other to that of a mentioning of environment?* (Climate change = carbon dioxide emissions, greenhouse gases, CO2)

If so,

#2: *Has climate change been linked directly or indirectly to the notion of EU leadership?*

If so,

#3: *How is such leadership conceptualised?* (Application of leadership-typology)

#4: *What types of objectives, principles and norms are projected as guiding principles for EU action and if stated particularly for EU leadership?*

Year/ Bibliographical reference	Month of European Council	#1	#2	#3	#4
<u>1990</u> (<i>European Council 1990a</i>) DOC/90/2	June	Yes	Directly ¹	Structural, directional, instrumental ² ,	Sustainability Preventive, precautionary action, science- based ³
<u>1990</u> (<i>European Council 1990b</i>) DOC/90/6	December	No	-	-	-
<u>1991</u> (<i>European Council 1991a</i>) DOC/91/2	June	No	-	-	-
<u>1991</u> (<i>European Council 1991b</i>) DOC/91/7	December	No	-	-	-
<u>1992</u> (<i>European Council 1992a</i>) DOC/92/3	June	Yes	Directly ⁴	Directional ⁵	No real mention of norms, principles and objectives
<u>1992</u> (<i>European Council 1992b</i>)	December	No	-	-	-

DOC/92/8					
<u>1993</u> (European Council 1993a)	June	No	-	-	-
DOC/93/3					
<u>1993</u> (European Council 1993b)	December	No			
DOC/93/11					
<u>1994</u> (European Council 1994a)	June	No	-	-	-
DOC/94/1					
<u>1994</u> (European Council 1994b)	December	Yes	Indirectly ⁶	(Instrumental) ⁷	Stabilisation of emission ⁸
DOC/94/4					
<u>1995</u> (European Council 1995a)	June	Yes ⁹	No	-	-
DOC/95/6					
<u>1995</u> (European Council 1995b)	December	Yes	Indirectly ¹⁰	(Structural) ¹¹	Multilateralism Sustainability ¹²
DOC/95/9					
<u>1996</u> (European Council 1996a)	June	No	-	-	-
DOC/96/3					
<u>1996</u> (European Council 1996b)	December	No	-	-	-
DOC/96/8					
<u>1997</u> (European Council 1997a)	June	Yes	indirectly ¹³	(directional, instrumental) ¹⁴	Legally binding reduction targets, common and coordinated policies and measures ¹⁵
DOC/97/2					

<u>1997</u> <i>(European Council 1997b)</i> DOC/97/24	December	Yes	No ¹⁶	-	Sustainability ¹⁷
<u>1998</u> <i>(European Council 1998a)</i> DOC/98/10	June	Yes	Indirectly ¹⁸	(directional) ¹⁹	Sustainability ²⁰
<u>1998</u> <i>(European Council 1998b)</i> DOC/98/12	December	Yes	Indirectly ²¹	(directional) ²²	Sustainability and policy integration Common and coordinated policies and measures internally, domestic action, early ratification of KP ²³
<u>1999</u> <i>(European Council 1999a)</i> DOC/99/2	June	Yes	Indirectly ²⁴	(instrumental) (Directional) ²⁵	Sustainability, Common and coordinated policies and measures, early ratification of KP ²⁶
<u>1999</u> <i>(European Council 1999b)</i> DOC/99/16	December	Yes	Indirectly ²⁷	(directional, instrumental) ²⁸	Sustainability, Common and coordinated policies and measures, ratification of KP by 2002 ²⁹
<u>2000</u> <i>(European Council 2000a)</i> DOC/00/8	March	No	-	-	-
<u>2000</u> <i>(European Council 2000b)</i> DOC/00/14	June	No	-	-	-
<u>2000</u> <i>(European Council 2000c)</i>	December	Yes	Indirectly ³⁰	(instrumental) ³¹	Precautionary principle, ratification of

DOC/00/30					KP by 2002 ³²
<u>2001</u> (European Council 2001a)	March	Yes	indirectly ³³	(instrumental) ³⁴	Ratification of KP by 2002 ³⁵
DOC/01/6					
<u>2001</u> (European Council 2001b)	June	Yes	indirectly ³⁶	(instrumental), (directional) ³⁷	ratification of KP by 2002, Sustainability ³⁸
DOC/01/8					
<u>2001</u> (European Council 2001c)	December	Yes	indirectly ³⁹	(directional) ⁴⁰	Ratification of KP by 2002, Sustainability ⁴¹
DOC/01/18					
<u>2002</u> (European Council 2002a)	March	Yes	indirect ⁴²	(directional) ⁴³	Sustainability, interregional justice, early ratification of KP ⁴⁴
DOC/02/8					
<u>2002</u> (European Council 2002b)	June	No	-	-	-
DOC/02/13					
<u>2002</u> (European Council 2002c)	December	No	-	-	-
DOC/02/15					
<u>2003</u> (European Council 2003a)	March	Yes	indirectly ⁴⁵	(directional) ⁴⁶	Sustainability, Cost-efficiency ⁴⁷
DOC/03/2					
<u>2003</u> (European Council 2003b)	June	No ⁴⁸	-	-	-
DOC/03/3					
<u>2003</u> (European Council 2003c)	December	Yes ⁴⁹	No ⁵⁰	-	Cost-efficiency, ⁵¹
DOC/03/5					
<u>2004</u>	March	Yes	indirectly ⁵²	(directional) ⁵³	Sustainability

<i>(European Council 2004a)</i> DOC/04/1					Cost-efficiency, early entry into force of KP ⁵⁴
<u>2004</u> <i>(European Council 2004b)</i> DOC/04/2	June	Yes	indirectly ⁵⁵	(instrumental), (directional) ⁵⁶	Sustainability, Early ratification of KP by Russia ⁵⁷
<u>2004</u> <i>(European Council 2004c)</i> DOC/04/6	December	No	-	-	-
<u>2005</u> <i>(European Council 2005a)</i> DOC/05/1	March	Yes	indirectly ⁵⁸	(Instrumental) (directional) ⁵⁹	2°C-objective, Common but differentiated responsibility, ambitious emission-reductions as objective, cost-efficiency ⁶⁰
<u>2005</u> <i>(European Council 2005b)</i> DOC/05/2	June	No ⁶¹			Sustainability cf.. Note 61
<u>2005</u> <i>(European Council 2005c)</i> DOC/05/4	December	Yes	indirectly ⁶²	(directional), (instrumental) ⁶³	Integration of approach to climate, energy and competitiveness as an objective ⁶⁴
<u>2006</u> <i>(European Council 2006a)</i> DOC/06/1	March	Yes	(in)directly ⁶⁵	(Directional), (instrumental) ⁶⁶	Cost-efficiency, sustainability, energy security ⁶⁷
<u>2006</u> <i>(European Council 2006b)</i> DOC/06/2	June	Yes	indirectly ⁶⁸	(instrumental) ⁶⁹	Sustainability, 2°C-objective ⁷⁰
<u>2006</u> <i>(European Council 2006c)</i>	December	Yes	Yes ⁷¹	Directional ⁷²	2°C-objective, policy integration ⁷³

DOC/06/3					
<u>2007</u> (<i>European Council 2007a</i>) DOC/07/1	March	Yes	Yes ⁷⁴	Directional, instrumental ⁷⁵	2°C-objective, policy integration, post-Kyoto agreement by 2009, emission reduction, common but differentiated responsibilities ⁷⁶
<u>2007</u> (<i>European Council 2007b</i>) DOC/07/2	June	Yes	(in)directly ⁷⁷	(<i>instrumental, directional</i>) ⁷⁸	Post-Kyoto agreement by 2009, Common but differentiated responsibilities, specific objective of combating climate change in treaty ⁷⁹
2007 (<i>European Council 2007c</i>) DOC/07/6	December	Yes	Yes ⁸⁰	Directional, instrumental ⁸¹	Post-Kyoto agreement by 2009, Sustainability ⁸²
<u>2008</u> (<i>European Council 2008a</i>) DOC/08/1	March	Yes	Yes ⁸³	Directional, instrumental ⁸⁴	Post-kyoto agreement by 2009, 2°C-objective, cost-efficiency ⁸⁵
<u>2008</u> (<i>European Council 2008b</i>) DOC/08/3	June	Yes	Yes ⁸⁶	Directional, structural ⁸⁷	Post-Kyoto agreement by 2009, 2°C-objective ⁸⁸
<u>2008</u> (<i>European Council 2008c</i>) DOC/08/5	December	Yes	Yes ⁸⁹	Directional ⁹⁰	Post-Kyoto agreement by 2009 ⁹¹

¹ There is a direct mentioning of EU leadership in 'The Environmental Imperative Declaration by The European Council', in its section on global issues:

“The Community and its member states have a special responsibility to encourage and participate in international action to combat global environmental problems. Their capacity to provide leadership in this sphere is enormous. The Community must use more effectively its position of moral, economic, and political authority to advance international efforts to solve global problems, and to promote sustainable development and respect for the global commons.” (European Council 1990a)

² Based on the quote presented in note 1, there is a clear references to the structural power of the Community as a moral, economic and political authority, which is projected as an important base from which the Community should seek influence – thus an indication of structural leadership

Furthermore, a desire to provide directional leadership is also presented in the Declaration in that it is pointed out that credibility is as an important prerequisite for its position at the wider level, and thus sees the adoption of measures and policies as important steps in this endeavour. Also, it is the intention to take all possible step to promote the adoption of a convention. Thus such declarations indicate a desire to provide directional leadership, by leading through example.

” There is also an increasing acceptance of a wider responsibility, as one of the foremost regional groupings in the world, to play a leading role in promoting concerted and effective action at global level, working with other industrialised countries, and assisting developing countries to overcome their special difficulties. The Community’s credibility and effectiveness at this wider level depends in large measure on the ability to adopt progressive environmental measures for implementation and enforcement by its member states. The internal and external dimension of Community environment policy are therefore inextricably linked [...] We call on the Commission to expedite its proposals for concrete action, and, in particular, measures relating to carbon dioxide emissions, with a view to establishing a strong Community position in preparation for the Second World Climate Conference. The Community and its member states will take all possible steps to promote the early adoption of a Climate Convention and associated protocols.” (European Council 1990a)

Lastly, the above quote also shows an intention to provide instrumental leadership in that it stresses that the Union should play a leading role in promoting concerted and effective action at a global level in the endeavour towards establishing a climate convention.

³ The principles of precautionary action and sustainability are clearly projected as important guiding principles:

“We intend that action by the Community and its Member States will be developed on a coordinated basis, and on the principles of sustainable development, and preventive and precautionary action [...] Completion of the internal market in 1992 will provide a major impetus to economic development in the Community. There must be corresponding acceleration of efforts to ensure that this development is sustainable and environmentally sound” (European Council 1990a)

There is furthermore a clear indication of science being considered an important basis for actions taken at Community level, and that the relatively narrow gap of scientific uncertainty should not be applied to justify procrastination, but rather encourage action with reference to precautionary action.

“It is emphasized that research and environmental monitoring must be intensified to achieve a better understanding of the phenomena involved in global change and the implication of different courses of action. But the European Council stresses that research must not be used to justify procrastination; the areas of scientific uncertainty have been narrowed down and the implementation of response measures can no longer be delayed” (European Council 1990a)

⁴ There is a mention of leadership in relations to the Community and its member states taking it upon themselves to establish a financial mechanism for the climate change convention

The European Council invites all the participating states to proceed rapidly to the implementation of the measures agreed at Rio. The Community and its Member States for their part, are prepared to commit themselves to the following eight point plan: to ratify the climate change convention and publish national plans for implementing it; [...]to take the lead in the restructuring of the GEF so that it can in time be established as the permanent financial mechanism for the

climate change and biodiversity conventions. The European Council invites the other states to make similar commitments" (European Council 1992a)

⁵As reflected in the quote in note 4 a clear reference to directional leadership is made, in that it is projected that it is the intention of the European Community and its member states to go forward with the ratification of the climate change convention, while also publishing national plans to show how it is implemented, and thus indicates an intention of leading the way through the setting of an example of how to proceed since the signing of the UNFCCC.

⁶ Leadership is not mentioned directly, but intentions of active engagement in securing specific objectives are put forward:

"The European Council confirms that, at the 1st Conference of States parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change in Berlin in March 1995, in order to protect the climate from harmful changes, it intends to secure a stabilisation of CO₂ emissions in the industrialized countries at 1990-levels up to the year 2000 and to consider how a similar commitment can be brought about beyond the year 2000" (European Council 1994b)

⁷ Based on the quote put forward in note 6, the EU has intentions towards securing stabilisation targets to be adopted at the 1st COP this refers to a notion of instrumental leadership, in that in order to do so the Union needs to create a coalition around such idea.

⁸ Based on the quote put forward in note 6, stabilisation is clearly a guiding principle underpinning EU action, in terms of dealing with the climate change problem.

⁹ Climate change is mentioned as part of a description of the position of the European Union at Euro-Mediterranean Conference to be held in Barcelona, however no real indication of norms, leadership-intentions or other points informative for an EU role conception.

"Implementation of the Rio Conventions on biological diversity, the fight against desertification and climate change constitutes an ideal area for cooperation" (European Council 1995a)

¹⁰ No specific reference to any type of leadership role. However, it is reiterated that EU efforts towards negotiations of how to deal with the global climate will be coordinated.

"We will work together to strengthen multilateral efforts to protect the global environment and to develop environmental policy strategies for sustainable world-wide growth. We will coordinate out negotiating positions on major global environmental issues, such as climate change [...]" (European Council 1995b).

¹¹ Based on the quote put forward in note 10, a notion of structural leadership is indirectly present in that it is emphasised that the Union intends to act as a collective in ensuring a multilateral response dealing with global environmental problems such as climate change. Thus, clearly a recognition of the fact that collectively, the voice of the Europeans may be more powerful, which is an essential understanding of structural leadership.

¹² Based on quote put forward in note 10, norms such as multilateralism and sustainability are mentioned guiding principles for EU action in general.

¹³ Leadership is not mentioned in specific terms, but intentions of a strong and ambitious response to the challenge of climate change is put forward

"The European Council reiterates the need for a strong response to the risk of climate change. The European Council reaffirms that the negotiating process to strengthen the Framework Convention on Climate Change should result in a protocol to be agreed in Kyoto in December, containing legally-binding commitments to significant overall reductions

of greenhouse gas emissions below the 1990-level after the year 2000, as well as common and coordinated policies and measures. The European Union has agreed to propose, as the Community's negotiating position in Kyoto, a 15% reduction, compared to their 1990 level, of the emission levels of the main greenhouse gasses for 2010" (European Council 1997a)

¹⁴ Based on the quote in note 13, it can be deduced that the EU has intentions of pushing a strong agenda putting forward ambitious targets for its negotiating position (15% reduction target), thus an element of directional leadership in the form of setting an example through ambitious target-setting, seen as part of the solution to the climate problem, is present.

A notion of instrumental leadership is as well present in that the Union puts forward a number of objectives that it wishes to be the result from the negotiation-process, and thus must ensure through coalition-building.

¹⁵ Based on the quote in note 13, it becomes clear that a guiding objective for EU action at negotiations is that of ensuring binding reduction targets and the inclusion of coordinated policies and measures as the means from which reductions should be made.

¹⁶ Leadership is not mentioned in specific terms, but a short evaluation of the agreement reached at COP3 in Kyoto is made, in which an agreement is welcomed but it stressed that the Council only sees it as an initial step which necessarily must be followed by further progress in the future.

"The European Council noted the agreement which had just been reached at Kyoto on a Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, containing significant undertakings by all industrialized countries which will lead to reductions in greenhouse gas emissions of more than 5%. It considers that this outcome represents an initial step which should be followed by further progress in the future." (European Council 1997b)

¹⁷ In prolonging of the quote in note 16, the European Council stresses its adherence to sustainable development calling for a strategy that will integrate environmental protection into all community policies and activities.

"The European Council stresses its conviction – expressed in the future article 6 of the Treaty – that environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the Community's policies and activities, in particular with a view to promoting sustainable development. With this in mind, it asks the Commission to submit a strategy to it, before its June 1998 meeting for achieving that goal." (European Council 1997b)

¹⁸ Leadership is not mentioned in specific terms, but a reference is made to the follow-up process of the Kyoto agreement, in which the Council stresses the need for the Union to develop strategies that can ensure that they will meet their commitment under the Kyoto Protocol, and can have the potential to serve as examples for others to follow. As is stressed by theory, directional leadership involves the notion of the development of conception and solutions that can serve as examples.

"The European Council welcomes the progress in following up the Kyoto Conference on Climate Change. The Community and its Member States now need to develop strategies to meet their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. Meeting these demanding targets will be a practical test of the progress the Community and Member States are making towards integrating environmental concerns into their policies". (European Council 1998a)

¹⁹ Although leadership is not put forward in specific term based on the quote in note 18, a notion of directional leadership is present, in that specific intentions towards integrating environmental concerns into other policy areas are presented as an important practical test for the EU as a way of meeting Kyoto targets. Thus, it is an example of how the Union is dealing with climate change, which may serve as an example. However it should be noted, that it is not put forward as a specific leadership strategy.

Furthermore it is stated,

"The European Council invites all relevant formations of the Council to establish their own strategies for giving effect to environmental integration and sustainable development within their respective policy areas. [...] The Transport, Energy and Agriculture Councils are invited to start this process" (European Council 1998a)

²⁰ Based on the above quotes in note 18 and 19, it becomes clear that sustainable development is an important guiding principle for Union action.

²¹ No specific mention of leadership, however, clear indications of climate policy as an important challenge, which the Union seeks to deal with.

“Climate change is one of the most challenging environmental problems for the next decades. Work on common and coordinated policies within the Community should be intensified with a view to domestic action providing the main means of meeting Kyoto commitments. The European Council welcomes the Buenos Aires Plan of Action and underlines the importance of its implementation for an early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. A comprehensive EU strategy on climate policy should be considered by the Cologne European Council on the basis of a report by the Commission”(European Council 1998b)

²² Based on the quote in note 21, a notion of efforts to underpin potential directional leadership is mentioned in that it is stressed that work on common and coordinated policies based on domestic action should be intensified to meet Kyoto Commitments. Thus, the Union is developing measures that can serve as an example for others to follow.

²³ The leading principle of sustainability and integration of environmental concerns into all relevant policy-areas is projected as an all important principle for the Council in general.

“The European Council reaffirms its commitments made in Luxembourg and Cardiff to integrate environment and sustainable development into all Community policies in view of the Amsterdam Treaty” (European Council 1998b)

Furthermore, as shown in the quote in note 21, principles of common and coordinated policies and measures, as well as a focus on domestic action (i.e. policies developed to change domestic consumption behaviour and production patterns, and not based on market-mechanisms) are projected as important norms guiding EU action.

Lastly, as projected in the quote in note 21, early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol is projected as an objective

²⁴ No specific mention of leadership, but clear indications of the growing importance of climate change as a political issue, and the intentions of the Union to deal with in a serious manner both in terms of ensuring ratification of the Protocol, and by calling for further measures

“The European Council emphasises the desire of the European Union to fulfil the commitments undertaken in Kyoto to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to press vigorously for the creation of the conditions for speedy ratification of the Kyoto Protocol under the action Plan adopted in Buenos Aires.[...]The European Council views the ratification and implementation of the Kyoto Protocol as an important milestone, but it also stresses the urgent necessity of further measures, especially in industrialised countries” (European Council 1999a)

²⁵ Based on the quote in note 24, although there is no specific mention of leadership, but the intention of the Union to “press vigorously” for a speedy ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, reflects a notion of instrumental leadership, in that it shows an indication of EU intentions to ensure that a coalition for such ratification is made.

Furthermore, a notion of directional leadership is presented in that the Union shows clear commitment to meeting its Kyoto target, as reflected in the above statement, and through a heightened focus on the development of strategies and policies at community-level, as well as the integration of environmental concerns to other relevant policy-areas, such commitments may be met.

“The European Council stresses the importance of attaching to the development of joint and coordinated policies and measures at Community level to supplement the efforts of the Member States. All relevant sectors are urged to make their contributions within the framework of an overall climate protection strategy. Climate policy is the most important example of the Council’s commitment, founded on the Treaty of Amsterdam, to incorporate the requirements of the environment and sustainable development into other Community policies” (European Council 1999a)

²⁶ Based on the quote in note 25, the leading principle of sustainability and integration of environmental concerns into all relevant policy-areas is projected as an all important principle for the Council.

Furthermore, principles of common and coordinated policies and measures are projected as important for an overall climate change strategy for the Union.

Lastly, speedy ratification of the Kyoto Protocol is set forth as an overall important objective for the Union.

²⁷ No specific mention of leadership, but clear indications of the growing importance of climate change as a political issue, and the intentions of the Union to deal with in a serious manner.

“Preparations in relations to policies and measures, including national and Community law, should continue in a manner that would enable the prerequisites to be established for ratifying the Kyoto Protocol both by the European Community, and the Member States before 2002. The European Council urges all parties to the Convention to achieve ratification by 2002, so it can enter into force. Integrating environmental issues and sustainable development into the definition and implementation of policies is a central factor in fulfilling the Community’s commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. Every effort will be made so that the Hague Conference reaches coherent and credible decision” (European Council 1999b)

²⁸ Based on the quote in note 27, a notion of directional leadership is present in that through the development of Community policies and measures set in motion in order to be able to ratify the Kyoto Protocol the Union hopes to set an example, encouraging all other parties to Convention to do the same.

Furthermore, a notion of instrumental leadership is as well present in that the Union intends to make *“every effort”* to ensure that a coherent and credible decision is made at the COP held in Hague, which indicated a proactive engagement in leading negotiations to the desired outcome.

²⁹ Based on the quote in note 27, the leading principle of sustainability and integration of environmental concerns into all relevant policy-areas is projected as an all important principle for the Council, and it is especially considered a central factor in fulfilling the Kyoto Commitments.

Furthermore, the development of common and coordinated policies and measures are projected as important principles for an EU strategy towards dealing with climate change.

Lastly, early adoption of the Kyoto Protocol specified as 2002 is set forth as an overall important objective.

³⁰ No direct mention of leadership, but indirectly in that the Union projects clear disappointment with the outcome of the Hague Conference (COP6), and stresses how the Union considers it to be of absolute importance to continue to seek and work for rapid ratification of the Protocol in 2002 as the latest.

“The European Council regrets the fact that it was not possible to reach an agreement at the conference in The Hague. It stresses the need for all parties under Annex B of the Protocol to initiate, without delay the measures necessary to fulfil their commitments and reaffirms the Union’s pledge to work resolutely towards the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol so that it can enter into force in 2002 at the latest,[...]The sixth Conference of the Parties must resume work without delay. The European Council appeals to all the Parties to make every possible effort to reach an agreement as quickly as possible” (European Council 2000c)

³¹ Based on the quote in note 30, a notion of instrumental leadership can be detected in that the Union clearly calls for action by other parties to be taken pushing for an early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol despite the setback provided by the outcome in Hague.

³² The European Council stressed the overall importance of the precautionary principle as a guiding norm for EU action through the Council Resolution on the Precautionary Principle, in which it is stressed that:

“...the Treaty recognizes, in Article 174(2), that the precautionary principle is one of the principles to be taken into account in Community policy on the environment [...] Considers that use should be made of the precautionary principle

where the possibility of harmful effects on health or the environment has been identified and preliminary scientific evaluation, based on the available data, proves inconclusive for assessing the level of risk” (European Council 2000c)

At the end of the resolution the European Council calls on member states and the commission to ensure that: “the precautionary principle is fully recognised in the relevant international health, environment and world trade for a...” (European Council 2000c)

Furthermore, based on the quote in note 30, early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol i.e. 2002 is set forward as an overall important objective for the Union.

³³ No specific mention of leadership, but the European Council has issued a declaration on climate change, which in itself is considered a rather resolute form of sending a message and can be seen as an actor wanting to lead.

“The European Council, recognising climate change as a global threat to future well-being and economic progress, recalls the necessity of efficient international action to reduce emissions. It reaffirms its strong commitment to the Kyoto Protocol as the basis for such action and expresses its deep concern at the fact that this Protocol is being called into question. The European Council urges all its negotiating partners to engage constructively in reaching agreement on modalities for implementing the Kyoto Protocol and to facilitate a successful outcome of the resumed COP-6, which will create the conditions for ratification and entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol by 2002” (European Council 2001a)

³⁴ Based on the quote in note 33, the Council clearly signals ambitions of being instrumental in gathering support for the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, despite the fact that the Protocol “is being called into question” ie. making a reference to the withdrawal of the US from the Protocol. Thus, by showing its continued support, and by calling on other parties to engage in a constructive dialogue in order to reach agreement on outstanding issues, signals of instrumental leadership are made.

³⁵ As reflected in the Council Declaration quoted in note 33, the objective of ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by 2002 is still an overall guiding objective

³⁶ No specific mention of leadership, but a clear indication of the intentions of the Union to work towards the successful ratification of the Kyoto Protocol

“Emissions of greenhouse gasses from human activity are contributing to global warming with repercussions on the world’s climate. Therefore, the Conference of the parties in mid-July in Bonn must be a success. The Community and the Member States are determined to meet their own commitments under the Kyoto Protocol. The Commission will prepare a proposal for ratification before the end of 2001, making it possible for the Union and its Member States to fulfil their commitment to rapidly ratify the Kyoto Protocol. The European Union will work to ensure the widest possible participation of industrialised countries in an effort to ensure the entry into force of the Protocol by 2002” (European Council 2001b)

³⁷ Based on the quote in note 36, it is clear that the Union has ambitions of “working to ensure the widest possible participation of industrialised countries ” to secure the entry into force of KP. This indicates a notion of instrumental leadership in form of coalition building around the objective of ratification.

Furthermore, there is a notion of directional leadership present as well in that following the quote presented in note 36, it is stated that

“To enhance the Union’s efforts in this area, the European Council: -reaffirms its commitment to delivering on Kyoto targets and the realisation by 2005 of demonstrable progress in achieving these commitments [...] – furthermore, reaffirms its determination to meet indicative target for the contribution of electricity produced from renewable energy sources to gross electricity consumption by 2010 of 22 percent at Community level as set out in the Directive on Renewable Energy” (European Council 2001b)

Thus, it is emphasized that a way to enhance efforts to secure ratification of Kyoto, is by showing the way through the implementation of policies that can provide progress towards emission reduction, thus intending to lead by example.

³⁸ As reflected in the quotation in note 36, the objective of ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by 2002 is still an overall guiding objective. Furthermore, sustainability is further reiterated as an overall guiding principle for Union action.

“Sustainable development requires global solutions. The Union will seek to make sustainable development an objective in bilateral development cooperation and in all international organisation and specialised agencies.[...]Building on the Commission communication in sustainable development, the 6th Environmental Action Programme and the sector strategies for environmental integration, the European Council has, as a first step, singled out a number of objectives and measures as general guidance for future policy development in four priority areas: climate change, transport, public health and natural resources...”(European Council 2001b)

³⁹ No mention of leadership, but the satisfaction with outcome of the COP7 is put forward, and the continued commitment to ratification of KP by 2002, and the determination to honour its commitments under KP is reiterated.

“The European Council welcomes the outcome of the Marrakesh Conference on Climate Change. The Union is determined to honour its commitments under the Kyoto Protocol and confirms its desire that the Protocol should come into force before the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development, where the European Union intends to be represented at the highest political level” (European Council 2001c).

⁴⁰ Based on the quote put forward in note 39, a notion of directional leadership can be detected in that it is clear that the EU aims to show the way by working for early ratification as well as ensuring that it will meet its commitments. However, there is no further specification of how this will be achieved.

⁴¹ As reflected in the quotation in note 39, the objective of ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by 2002 is still an overall guiding objective. Furthermore, sustainability is further reiterated as an overall guiding principle for Union action through the Laeken Declaration on the Future of the European Union adopted by the European Council, in which it is stated:

“Now that the Cold War is over and we are living in a globalised, yet also highly fragmented world, Europe needs to shoulder its responsibilities in the governance of globalisation[...]In short, a power wanting to change the course of the world affairs in such a way as to benefit not just the rich countries but also the poorest. A power seeking to set globalisation within a moral framework, in other words to anchor it in solidarity and sustainable development” (European Council 2001c)

⁴² No direct mention of leadership in relations to climate, but in the endorsement by the European Council of the ‘Sustainable Development Strategy’ included in the conclusions it is stressed that the EU should play a major role at the global level in promoting the sustainability agenda – an agenda in which efforts to deal with climate change is part of.

“The European Council:”

“REAFFIRMS that the EU should play a major role in global efforts to achieve sustainable development at all levels”[...]RECALLS that sustainable development is a primary objective in both our domestic and external policies. Integration of the sustainable dimension in bilateral and multilateral co-operation agreements concluded by the European Union[...]should be pursued further” (European Council 2002a)

Furthermore, the European Council expresses its satisfaction with the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by the Community, which has been an important objective projected so far, urging member states, as well as other industrialised countries to follow suit as soon as possible.

“The European Council welcomes the decision on the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol on behalf of the European Community. It urges the Member States to complete their national ratification procedures by June 2002. The Protocol

should enter into force before the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. The European Council recalls its invitation made at Göteborg to other industrialised countries” (European Council 2002a)

⁴³ Based on the third quote put forward in note 42, a notion of directional leadership is present in that the European Council calls for the urgency of its member states to quickly follow suit on Community ratification before the World Summit on Sustainable Development in order to send a signal showing that the EU as whole has managed to ratify the Protocol, providing an example for others to follow

⁴⁴ As seen in the quotes put forward in note 42, sustainability is clearly projected as an overall guiding principle and primary objective for all EU internal and external policies.

Further to this, is a mention of how the EU considers a moral responsibility for addressing the global sustainability challenges and thus refers to interregional justice. It is written:

“UNDERLINES that developed countries, in particular, have responsibilities to assume in order to live up to present and future sustainability challenges and to assist developing countries in their efforts to achieve sustainable development. At the same time, developing countries’ internal policies and an effective contribution to international institutions are vital in this context” (European Council 2002a)

Furthermore, as seen in the quotes in note 44, early ratification of the Kyoto Protocol is still an overall important objective.

⁴⁵ No direct mention of leadership in relations to climate change as such, but a reference to EU leadership in the promotion of sustainable development.

“...the European Council has[...]renewed its commitment to stronger cohesion across the Union and the Union’s leadership in promoting sustainable development around the world.” (European Council 2003a)

Further to this it is stated that:

“Economic and social development will not be sustainable in the long run without taking action to curb environmental pressures and preserve natural resources within the framework of the comprehensive sustainable development strategy launched at Göteborg. This must include action aimed at decoupling environmental degradation and resource use from economic growth.[...]Against this background the European Council:[...]Invites Member States to accelerate progress towards meeting the Kyoto Protocol targets, including the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the increase in the share of renewable energy...”(European Council 2003a)

In relations to the leading position of the EU in relations to promoting sustainability on a global scale, the European Council states that:

“Bearing in mind the need for overall coherence between its internal and external policies, the European Council underlines that the Union is actively committed to keep its leading role in promoting sustainable development on a global scale by translating into concrete actions the political ambitions agreed in Johannesburg, Doha and Monterrey...” (European Council 2003a)

As part of doing this it is mentioned that the European Council is: *“urging other Parties, in particularly the Russian Federation, to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, so as to permit its timely entry into force.”* (European Council 2003a)

⁴⁶ In relations to the leadership agenda, the European Council stresses the need to strengthen the directional element in terms of setting an example by improving its road towards meeting the Kyoto targets, as it is stated:

“Despite some progress, the worrying trends observed when the Strategy was launched have not been reversed, and a new impetus must therefore be given. Against this background, the European Council: - invites Member States to accelerate progress towards meeting the Kyoto Protocol targets, including the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, the increase in the share of renewable energy, setting an EU-wide indicative target for renewable energy of 12% of primary energy needs and of 22% of electricity needs by 2010 and encouraging national targets; increased energy

efficiency, inviting the Environmental Council to examine setting indicative targets in a cost-efficient manner and with minimum distortionary effects; and achieving a final agreement on the emission trading Directive;" (European Council 2003a)

⁴⁷ As can be deduced from the quotes in note 45 and 46, sustainability is an overall guiding principle for EU action in dealing with climate change.

It should be noted that, in the quote put forward in note 46 cost-efficiency is introduced as a principle to which the Environmental Council must adhere when examining possible avenues for dealing with climate change.

⁴⁸ It should be noted though that although climate change is not mentioned in these Conclusions, the notion of "Green Diplomacy" is mentioned, which can have important influence for the ability of the Union to pursue instrumental leadership in its external dealings on climate change.

As put forward:

"The European Council reaffirms its commitment to integrate the environment into external relations by promoting a European diplomacy on environment and sustainable development. In this context, it welcomes the establishment of a network of experts under the aegis of the Presidency, in full association with the Commission, as foreseen in the strategy endorsed at Barcelona on environmental integration in the external policies of the General Affaris Council." (European Council 2003b)

⁴⁹ Climate change is mentioned in relations to EU competitiveness, in that the Council calls on the Commission to investigate further cost-efficient ways to implement EU decisions in relations to climate change, out of a concern to EU competitiveness.

"In this context further cost-effective ways of implementing EU decisions in the field of climate change, and the potential costs of inaction should be considered" (European Council 2003c)

⁵⁰ No mentioning of leadership. However, the notion of Green Diplomacy is mentioned, and as stated:

"The European Council welcomes the definition of the scope and the activity of the modus operandi of the "Green Diplomacy Network"..." (European Council 2003c)

⁵¹ As seen in the quote in note 49, cost-efficiency is mentioned in relations to climate change.

⁵² There is no direct mention of EU leadership role, however, there is in relations to climate change a mention of the European Council looking forward to considering medium and long-term strategies on climate change, which are seen as essential for the Union's global efforts in this sphere.

"As a contribution to global efforts, the European Council looks forward to considering the medium and longer term emission reduction strategies, including targets, at the 2005 Spring Council. In preparation for this discussion, it invites the Commission to prepare a cost benefit analysis which takes account both of environmental and competitiveness considerations" (European Council 2004a)

Also, in general the Council emphasizes the importance it attaches to the multilateral efforts of dealing with global climate change:

"The European Council reaffirms the Union's commitment to delivering on the Kyoto Protocol target; underlining the importance the Union attaches to the ratification process of the Protocol and its early entry into force, it urges countries that have not yet ratified, including the Russian Federation, to do so in a timely manner" (European Council 2004a)

⁵³ As shown in the first quote in note 52, the intention of the EU to further develop medium- and long-term strategies on emission reduction, can be seen as reflection an intention to strengthen a directional element of leadership, in that it will strengthen its efforts and credibility in negotiations to put forward such strategies.

⁵⁴ The notion of sustainable development as a guiding principle is clear, in that the Council states:

“Growth, to be sustainable, must be environmentally sound. Through better policy integration and more sustainable consumption and production patterns, growth must be decoupled from negative environmental impacts” (European Council 2004a)

Further to this is stated a need for cost-efficiency as a guiding principle

“Improvement in energy efficiency and increased use of renewable energy sources are essential for environmental and competitiveness reasons[...] Further cost effective ways of implementing EU decisions in the field of climate change and the potential costs of inaction should be considered” (European Council 2004a)

Lastly, as emphasized in the second quote presented in note 52, the objective of a quick ratification for an early entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol is still an important objective, thus putting pressure on particularly Russia.

⁵⁵ No direct mention of EU leadership, however the European Council stresses the importance of getting Russia to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, and calls upon the Commission to engage with Russia to bring about such ratification.

“Reiterating its call for early ratification by Russia of the Kyoto Protocol, and following President Putin’s commitment to speed up movement towards ratification, the European Council invites the Commission to engage with the Russian authorities on the benefits which ratification will bring within Russia as well as more widely” (European Council 2004b)

⁵⁶ Based on the quote in note 55, it can be argued that the European Council appeals to a notion of instrumental leadership, in that it actively calls for diplomatic efforts to be employed in getting Russia to ratify the Protocol.

Furthermore, the Council emphasizes progress made, and work needed for the EU to be able to reach its Kyoto targets, and live up to its goal of promoting sustainability, thus calling for initiatives that have the potential of supporting the EU for strengthening the directional element of leadership.

“...the European Council wishes to highlight major progress in the following areas:[...]Environmental protection, through measures on[...]climate change, including putting in place all necessary mechanisms for the EU’s Emissions Trading Scheme to facilitate compliance with the Kyoto Protocol Goals” (European Council 2004b)

In light of the good initial work carried out on proposals and initiatives that will further contribute to sustainable growth and development, the European Council urges that work proceed quickly, inter alia on the following: [...]Further work on emission reduction strategies in the context of climate change, and on the promotion of environmental technologies” (European Council 2004b)

⁵⁷ Based on the quotes put forward in note 55 and 56, it becomes clear that sustainability is an important guiding principle for EU action. Furthermore, that an important objective guiding the EU is the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by Russia.

⁵⁸ There is no direct mentioning of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however there is a clear indication of the European Union wanting to be actively engaged in ensuring the reinvigoration of the international climate change agenda, and the European Council puts forward several points that will be guiding the EU in this endeavour.

“The European Council emphasizes the EU’s determination to reinvigorate the international negotiations...” (European Council 2005a)

Furthermore, its commitment to the climate change agenda is emphasized by the European Council when stating that:

“The European Council will keep this issue [climate change] under regular review” (European Council 2005a)

⁵⁹ The intention put forward of reinvigorating the international climate change negotiations are reminiscent of notion of instrumental and directional leadership.

Firstly, the European Council states that it wishes to reinvigorate negotiations by:

“Exploring options for a post-2012 arrangement in the context of the UN climate change process, ensuring the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response” (European Council 2005a)

It is clear from this that the Union puts upon itself to look into ways of ensuring a broad coalition for a future design, which is the goal of instrumental leadership. Thus, a clear intention of such endeavour is present.

Secondly, the notion of directional leadership is present, in that it is put forward that a way to reinvigorate international negotiations will be by developing strategies to combat climate change, which can serve as an example for others to follow and ideas that can be discussed.

“The European Council emphasises the EU’s determination to reinvigorate the international negotiations by: - developing a medium and long-term EU strategy to combat climate change consistent with meeting the 2°C- objective. In view of the global emission reductions required, global joint efforts are needed in the coming decades, in line with the common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, including significantly enhanced aggregate reduction efforts by all economically more advanced countries. Without prejudging new approaches for differentiation between parties in a future fair and flexible framework, the EU looks forward to exploring with other parties strategies for achieving necessary emission reductions and believes that, in this context, reduction pathways for the group of developed countries in the order of 15-30% by 2020, compared to the baseline envisaged in the Kyoto Protocol, and beyond[...]should be considered ” (European Council 2005a)

⁶⁰ As reflected in the second quote in note 59, the European Council, puts forward a 2°C- objective to be a guiding principle of for EU action. In fact the Council states:

“The European acknowledges that climate change is likely to have major negative global environmental, economic and social implications. It confirms that, with a view to achieving the ultimate objective of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the global annual mean surface temperature increase should not exceed 2°C above pre-industrial levels” (European Council 2005a).

Furthermore, as seen in the second quote in note 59, the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities is put forward as an important guiding principle for reaching a new international agreement, meaning that all will have to take part in the efforts of dealing with global climate change, nonetheless the share of the burden shall respond to the capabilities available for each party.

As reflected in the second quote in note 59, the European Council further more states an objective of working towards a post-Kyoto agreement in which emission reductions for developed countries would centre around 15-30% by 2020.

Lastly, the principle of cost-efficiency is put forward as well as being an important variable, in that a reinvigoration of international negotiations is seen to be dependent also on the ability of the EU to

“- promoting cost-efficient measures to cut emissions” (European Council 2005a)

⁶¹ However, it should be noted that there is a great emphasis on sustainability:

“The European Council reiterates its attachment to sustainable development as a key principle governing all the union’s policies and activities” (European Council 2005b)

Furthermore, the European Council puts forward a *“Declaration on Guiding Principles for Sustainable Development”* (European Council 2005b)

⁶² No direct mention of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however there is a reference to the build-up of capacity for pursuing directional leadership, as well as a reference to the progress made within the EU in relations to reinvigorating international negotiations.

“The European Council welcomes the progress made during 2005 in developing a medium and long-term EU strategy and re-invigorating the international negotiations on climate change recalling its conclusions of March 2005. In this context, the European Council welcomes the positive outcome of the UN Climate Change Conference in Montreal, which advances the work under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, including the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and its flexible mechanisms, and initiates discussions on long term cooperative action to address climate change that will help ensure the widest possible cooperation by all countries and their participation in an effective and appropriate international response. The European Council looks forward to further developing the EU’s medium and long-term strategy to contribute to these discussions, and to considering this strategy during the second half of 2006, as appropriate” (European Council 2005c)

Especially this last reference to the development of strategies that will enable the Union to contribute to the discussions includes a notion of directional leadership.

⁶³ Besides from the arguments put forward in note 62 on the notion of the EU’s intention for being able to exert directional leadership, the European Council also stresses the intention of being able to provide instrumental leadership, in that diplomatic talks with major energy-consuming countries is seen as desirable:

“In support of this work, the European Council also underlines the importance of the implementation of the Gleneagles Plan of Action with its strong emphasis on technology transfer and managing the impacts of climate change, and taking forward the dialogue and technological co-operation agreed with India, China, and Russia, including future summits, while working to develop partnerships with all major energy-consuming countries” (European Council 2005c)

⁶⁴ It is put forward by the European Council that an integration of energy, climate and competitiveness objectives in one approach is important.

“The European Council stresses the importance of an integrated approach to climate change, energy and competitiveness objectives and underlines that strategies to invest in cleaner and more sustainable energy both in the EU and more widely can support a range of policy objectives, including energy security, competitiveness, employment, air quality, and reduced greenhouse gas emissions. In this context, the European Council welcomes the launch of the second phase of the European Climate Change Programme and the commission’s intention to develop an Action Plan on energy efficiency” (European Council 2005c)

⁶⁵ Leadership is not mentioned in direct connection to climate change, however leadership is mentioned as a role for the EU in relations to considerations of an Energy Policy for Europe (EPE) made by the Council, in which three main objectives for such policy are mentioned, one of which is “*promoting environmental sustainability*”. To this, the Council states, that the EU can promote environmental sustainability by:

“strengthening the EU leadership by adopting an ambitious and realistic Action Plan on Energy Efficiency bearing in mind the EU energy saving potential of 20% by 2020...[...]Strengthening EU leadership by continuing the EU-wide development of renewable energies(road map) on the basis of an analysis by the Commission...[...] In the context of development of a medium- to long-term EU strategy to combat climate change, completing the review of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme as an instrument to achieve climate change objectives in a cost-efficient manner, providing medium and long-term certainty to investors and assessing the potential of various sectors with respect to these objectives” (European Council 2006a)

⁶⁶ As seen in the quote in note 65, concrete measures to strengthen EU leadership in the promotion of environmental sustainability are put forward, thus putting forward a notion of the EU wanting to lead by example (ie. directional

leadership). In the adoption of the concrete measures, the position of the EU in climate change will be strengthened due to the close connection between energy and climate.

The notion of instrumental leadership is also present in that the European Council states:

“following up the Montreal Climate Action Plan under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, preparation of options for a post-2012 arrangement consistent with meeting the 2°C objective without delay through the constructive engagement in a broad dialogue on long-term cooperative action and at the same time through a process under the Kyoto Protocol” (European Council 2006a)

Thus, it clearly emphasizes the importance of wanting to gather a coalition around a post-Kyoto strategy which endorses the objective of 2°C, in order to bring forward the regime.

Instrumental leadership is also put forward as an aim of the Union when it is stated:

“In its energy dialogue with third countries, the EU should facilitate the development of sustainable and efficient energy systems and assume a more proactive approach in combating climate change, promoting renewables, low emissions technologies and energy efficiency and the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol mechanisms” (European Council 2006a)

Thus, it is clear, that the EU sees itself in a position where it should be instrumental in gathering support around the abovementioned objectives, such as combating climate change, when dealing with third countries.

⁶⁷ As seen from the quote in note 65, environmental sustainability is projected as the overall guiding principle for EU action. Cost-effectiveness is also projected as an important principle in climate change policies in the same quote.

⁶⁸ There is no direct mention of EU leadership in relations to climate change, however, the European Council projects a clear image of the Union as taking on an important and active part in pushing forward negotiations in the realm of the UNFCCC

“Climate change is a global problem requiring global solutions. The European Council therefore looks forward to a successful continuation of the discussions in the framework of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and under the Kyoto Protocol to arrive at a timely post-2012 arrangement consistent with the Council’s objective of a maximum global temperature increase of 2°C above pre-industrial levels. The Council will therefore push in all relevant multilateral fora, including with all Parties to the UNFCCC, for a full and open dialogue on future action and on agreeing an international goal.” (European Council 2006b)

⁶⁹ Based on the quote put forward in note 68, the notion of instrumental leadership seems to be present, in that there is an emphasis on how the Union should gather support for parties to engage in a full and open dialogue on future action and future objectives post-kyoto, specifically the goal of gathering support around the Union’s own 2°C-objective.

⁷⁰ Sustainability is projected as the overall guiding principle, as it is stated in relations to sustainable development: *“It is a fundamental objective of the European Union”* (European Council 2006b)

As well, as reflected in the quote in note 68, the 2°C-objective as clearly an overall guiding objective for the Union.

⁷¹ Leadership is directly mentioned in relations to climate change:

“Given the urgent need for energy investments in the coming years, the upcoming Spring European Council will discuss an integrated approach for a secure, environmentally friendly and competitive energy policy. This would demonstrate the European Union’s leadership in integrating climate change objectives into other sectoral policies and measures” (European Council 2006c)

Furthermore, the European Council clearly states that not acting on climate change can no longer be justified in that:

“The challenge of climate change is assuming ever greater importance as its long-term consequences become clearer and new information from recent studies shows that the costs of inaction for the global economy will significantly outweigh the costs of action” (European Council 2006c)

⁷² Based on the quote put forward in note 71, it is clear that the Council projects an image of the Union as a directional leader in climate change, in that it by considering an integration of climate concerns into other policies, provides important examples for others to follow in order to deal with climate change.

This directional element is further reiterated by the European Council when stating that:

“Bearing in mind the crucial role of a global carbon market and the need for long-term certainty, the European Council looks forward to the forthcoming revision of the Emissions Trading Directive, which should take effect at the start of the third trading period beginning in 2013. It confirms the crucial role and the long-term ambition of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme” (European Council 2006c)

It is clear that European Emissions Trading Scheme is considered to be an example for others to follow, and through a revision, the functioning is sought to be optimized, strengthening its virtue as an example for others to follow in their endeavour to deal with global climate change.

⁷³ The objective of 2°C is put forward as the main guiding objective when developing EU strategies on climate change.

“Reiterating that climate change is a global problem that requires global solutions and encouraged by the EU’s recent meeting with third countries, the European Council will consider at its Spring 2007 meeting options for a global post-2012 agreement consistent with the EU’s objective of a maximum global temperature increase of 2°C above pre-industrial levels” (European Council 2006c)

Furthermore, great importance is given to the integration of climate and energy in dealing with these issues. As it is stated:

“In light of the political, economic and external impact of energy and climate change policies, the European Council looks forward to an integrated debate on these issues at the Spring 2007 meeting” (European Council 2006c)

⁷⁴ The European Council clearly combines the notion of EU leadership in relations to climate change:

“The European Council underlines the leading role of the EU in international climate protection. It stresses that international collective action will be critical in driving an effective, efficient and equitable response on the scale required to face climate change challenges. To this end, negotiations on a global and comprehensive post-2012 agreement, which should build upon and broaden the Kyoto Protocol architecture and provide a fair and flexible framework for the widest possible participation, need to be launched at the UN international climate conference beginning at the end of 2007 and completed by 2009” (European Council 2007a)

⁷⁵ As reflected in the quote above in note 74, the notion of instrumental leadership clearly is present in that the European Council stresses, after having underlined EUs leading role, that negotiations now should gather around the objective of coming to an agreement on a comprehensive, global, and inclusive post-Kyoto deal, thus putting such endeavour in its own leading hands.

As is seen below it is clearly projected that the Union wishes to take on a directional leadership role, in that it by committing to overall reduction targets, as well as targets for renewable energy, the EU shows how the climate change challenge can be tackled, providing important visionary leadership.

Furthermore, the European Council agrees to a unilateral reduction target independent of the outcome of international negotiations, as well as putting forward the willingness to increase such reduction target, if other negotiating parties commit to similar targets. Thus, the Union clearly puts forward a notion of directional leadership leading by example.

“The European Council reaffirms that absolute emission reduction commitments are the backbone of a global carbon market. Developed countries should continue to take the lead by committing to collectively reducing their emissions of greenhouse gasses in the order of 30% by 2020 compared to 1990.[...]In this context, the European Council endorses an EU objective of a 30% reduction[...]as its contribution to a global and comprehensive agreement for the period beyond 2012, provided that other developed countries commit themselves to comparable emissions reductions and economically more advanced developing countries to contributing adequately according to their responsibilities and respective capabilities. It invites these countries to come forward with proposals for their contribution to the post-2012 agreement. The European Council emphasises that the EU is committed to transforming Europe into a highly energy-efficient and low greenhouse-gas-emitting economy and decides that, until a global and comprehensive post-2012 agreement is concluded, and without prejudice to its position in international negotiations, the EU makes a firm independent commitment to achieve at least a 20% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions by 2020 compared to 1990.” (European Council 2007a)

Furthermore, it should be noted that the European Council explicitly commits to an integrated energy and climate approach, providing important directional leadership, by showing a comprehensive example of how to deal with climate change

“The challenges of climate change need to be tackled effectively and urgently[...]The European Council underlines the vital importance of achieving the strategic objective of limiting the global average temperature increase to no more than 2°C above pre-industrial levels.

Given that energy production and use are the main sources for greenhouse gas emissions, an integrated approach to climate and energy policy is needed to realise this objective” (European Council 2007a)

Also a number of initiatives related to energy efficiency and renewable energies are suggested to support such approach, and thus supports a notion of directional leadership:

“The European Council is aware of the growing demand for energy and increasing energy prices as well as of the benefits of strong and early common international action on climate change, is confident that a substantive development of energy efficiency and of renewable energies will enhance energy security, curb the projected rise in energy prices and reduce greenhouse gas emissions in line with the EU’s ambitions for the period beyond 2012, and underlines that the energy savings objective and targets for renewables and biofuels referred to below should be achieved with a view to sharing efforts and benefits fairly and equitable among all Member States taking into account different national circumstances, starting points and potentials” (European Council 2007a)

A clear notion of instrumental leadership is also present in the conclusion in that the European Council stresses the importance of dialogue with others in an attempt to create a coalition around the objective of reducing greenhouse gasses, as well as consider new ways of thinking energy:

“...the European Council emphasises the following as essential elements when further developing the common voice of the EU...[...]strengthening partnership and cooperation building on the bilateral energy dialogues with the USA as well as with China, India, Brazil and other emerging economies, focusing on the reduction of GHG, energy efficiency, renewables and low-emission energy technologies, notably CCS” (European Council 2007a)

⁷⁶ As reflected in the second quote in note 75, the 2°C-objective is projected as the overall guiding principle for EU action, and all strategies and targets put forward are created on the basis of such objective. Furthermore, as reflected in the third quote in note 75, in the name of sustainability, the integration of climate and energy into one approach is considered vital for the Union’s efforts towards dealing with climate change.

As reflected in the quote put forward in note 74, the objective of reaching a post-Kyoto agreement is considered an all important step towards dealing with the climate change challenge on a global level. To this, the European Council stresses that the backbone of any approach is emission reduction:

“The European Council reaffirms that absolute emission reduction commitments are the backbone of a global carbon market. Developed countries should continue to take the lead by committing to collectively reducing their emissions of greenhouse gasses...”(European Council 2007a)

Furthermore, the principle of common but differentiated responsibility is emphasized, and as reflected in the above quote the developed countries are projected as being the ones to take the lead. However, as is noted:

“The European Council notes the increasing share of greenhouse gas emissions from developing countries and the need for these countries to address the increase in these emissions by reducing the emission intensity of their economic development, in line with the general principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” (European Council 2007a)

And thus developing countries are considered to contribute in a fair manner as well.

⁷⁷ No direct reference to EU leadership in relations to climate change, however the European Council recalls its conclusions from the March 2007 European Council and the importance of an integrated climate and energy approach, thus indirectly referencing to the important role for the EU to play, and welcomes the signals sent by other parties.

“The European Council recalls its conclusions of March 2007 on an integrated climate and energy policy. It welcomes the important signal sent by the G8 Summit at Heiligendamm. The clear reference to at least halving emissions by 2050, the commitment to the UNFCCC process (UN Framework Convention on Climate Change) and to achieving a comprehensive post 2012-agreement by 2009 provide an encouraging basis for the upcoming UNFCCC negotiations which should be launched in Bali in December 2007. The European Council encourages all parties to actively and constructively participate in an urgent and global response to the challenge of climate change on the basis of the principle for common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” (European Council 2007b)

It should as well be noticed that the European Council mentions how climate change is considered to have an impact on international security issues. As it is stated:

“It is becoming increasingly evident that climate change will have a considerable impact on international security issues. The European Council invites the high Representative and the European Commission to work closely together on this important issue and to present a joint report to the European Council in Spring 2008.” (European Council 2007b)

⁷⁸ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 77, a notion of instrumental leadership is put forward, in that the European Council encourages all parties to participate in the discussions all respecting and adhering to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, thus referring to building a supporting coalition around such principle.

The strengthening of policy measures is mentioned as important, and in the light of a leadership discussion, the position of the EU in terms of directional leadership would be strengthened.

“It stresses the importance of implementing effectively and speedily all aspects of the comprehensive energy Action Plan with a view to taking forward the Energy Policy for Europe. On climate protection, the European Council looks forward to the timely presentation by the Commission of a proposal to amend the directive on the EU Emissions trading Scheme based on the review process and the Council recommendations” (European Council 2007b)

⁷⁹ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 77, the objective of reaching a post-Kyoto agreement by 2009 is put forward as an important objective for the Union, stressing the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities in such an approach.

Lastly, it should be noted that the European Council has agreed to include combating climate change as a specific objective of the treaty

“In article 174 (environment), as amended in the 2004 IGC, the particular need to combat climate change in measures at international level will be specified” (European Council 2007b)

⁸⁰ The European Council set forward an "EU Declaration on Globalisation", in which EU leadership in relations to climate change is specifically put forward and emphasised:

"The EU agreed very ambitious commitments on climate change and energy at the Spring 2007 European Council. We will deliver on our promises and show global leadership in these fields. Yet we know that without major partners tackling with us the challenges of climate change, our efforts would remain incomplete. The Union insists on the need for a global and comprehensive post-2012 agreement involving most notably the U.S, Russia, China, India, and Brazil to be agreed at the latest in 2009" (European Council 2007c)

⁸¹ As reflected in the above statement, the European Council is quite confident that it will provide directional leadership, in that it is emphasised that it intends to deliver on its promises as projected in the decisions made at the Spring 2007 European Council.

Instrumental leadership is as well indirectly emphasised in that it stresses the importance of getting other parties onboard for a 2012 agreement, but it clearly is an ambition for the EU to reach an agreement by 2009, indirectly giving itself such responsibility for ensuring this participation.

Further to this, as reflected in the quote below, the European Council recalls council conclusions in which a detailed compilation of objectives and elements believed to be important for a global deal is made and which will guide the EU in the negotiation process, thus indicating the Union taking on an instrumental leadership role.

"The Bali Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change must respond to the urgent need for global action as identified by the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and agree to launch negotiations leading to a global, comprehensive and effective post-2012 agreement by 2009. In this connection the European Council recalls the Council conclusions of 30 October 2007, which set out in detail the objectives and elements which the Union is convinced should form part of the future agreement and which should guide the negotiation process. [...] The European Council also recalls the Council conclusions of 19-20 November on Global Climate Change Alliance between the EU and developing countries which will provide a platform for dialogue and cooperation in the areas of adaptation to climate change and promoting disaster risk reduction and integrating climate change into poverty reduction efforts in the most vulnerable countries" (European Council 2007c)

⁸² As reflected in the quote put forward in note 80, a post-Kyoto agreement is an all important objective of Union efforts in international negotiations.

Sustainability is reiterated as a core objective of the Union, when the European Council emphasises:

"Sustainable development is a fundamental objective of the European Union. [...] The EU's integrated climate and energy policy [...] are among the drivers for achieving objectives under both the SDS[sustainable development strategy] and the Lisbon strategy" (European Council 2007c)

⁸³ The European Council specifically emphasises its commitment to international leadership on climate change.

Last year the EU made firm and ambitious commitments on climate and energy policy; now in 2008, the challenge is to deliver. In December of last year the Bali Climate Conference made an important breakthrough and launched an inclusive international negotiating process set out in full in the Bali roadmap. The EU is committed to maintaining international leadership on climate change and energy and to keeping up the momentum of negotiations on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol in particular at the next Conference of the parties in Poznan" (European Council 2008a)

⁸⁴ As reflected in the quote put forward in note 83, the European Council clearly shows that it considers directional leadership important in that it states that on the basis of the firm and ambitious commitments made in 2007 on the development of a climate and energy policy that can support the ambitious targets it has set forward as guiding principles for negotiations, the task is now to deliver on these promises.

As further stressed by the European Council in relations to delivering on its promise:

“The ambitious package of proposals proposed by the Commission to implement the conclusions of the Spring European Council 2007 provides a good starting point and basis for agreement. The European Council invites the Commission to continue to support Member States’ efforts to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases through comprehensive and ambitious Community policies and measures. Comprehensive deliberations by the Council, working closely with the European Parliament, should result in an agreement on these proposals as a coherent package before the end of 2008 and consequently allow for their adoption within the current legislative term, at the latest early in 2009” (European Council 2008a)

As shown in the above quote, the Council gives great importance to a relatively quick adoption of a climate and energy package, with set deadlines that match the negotiation framework at the international level, thus supporting a directional element of leadership.

A notion Instrumental leadership is as well projected in the quote presented in note 83, in that it is stated that the Union is committed to keeping up the momentum of negotiations in the realm of the UNFCCC, thus implicit making reference to the ambitions of the Union to be a main driver for securing that the negotiations keeps driving forward.

⁸⁵ The European Council stresses the objectives of reaching a post-Kyoto agreement and the 2°C-objejective as guiding principles for its actions.

“The objective is to secure an ambitious, global and comprehensive post-2012 agreement on climate change at Copenhagen in 2009 consistent with the EU’s 2°C- objective. By delivering on all the targets set by the 2007 Spring European Council, the EU will make a major contribution to this objective” (European Council 2008a)

Cost-efficiency is as well still put forward as a guiding principle for EU action in terms of the development of internal policies that are directed at combating climate change.

“It should be taken into account Member States’ different starting points, circumstances and potentials as well as achievements accomplished, and respect the need for sustainable economic growth across the Community with all sectors contributing. A cost-effective and flexible way should be followed as well when developing market-based instruments to reach energy and climate policy objectives, so as to avoid excessive costs for Member States” (European Council 2008a)

⁸⁶ The European Council specifically emphasises EU commitment to international leadership on climate change.

“The EU remains committed to maintaining international leadership on climate change and energy. The European Union welcomes the progress made on an ambitious, global and comprehensive post-2012 agreement on climate change at the negotiations in Bangkok in April, and in Bonn in June 2008. The pace of negotiations needs to accelerate in order to come to an agreement in Copenhagen in 2009 consistent with the 2°C limit” (European Council 2008b)

⁸⁷ The European Council specifically refers to the notion of directional leadership, in that it gives importance on agreeing on policies to sustain its credibility.

“In order to maintain international leadership and credibility the European Union must rapidly reach an agreement on its climate and energy package” (European Council 2008b)

It also makes references to a notion of structural leadership, in that it emphasises EU ambition to help developing countries to move towards sustainable economic growth.

“The EU is determined to provide an effective collective response to the new challenges to development posed in particular by climate change and high food prices. With regard to climate change, the EU is determined, where relevant to help developing countries, particularly poor developing countries most vulnerable to climate change, to move towards sustainable economic growth and to adapt to climate change in line with the agreement reached in Bali

to launch negotiations aimed at securing a global agreement on climate change in Copenhagen 2009” (European Council 2008b)

This represents a notion of structural leadership in that such efforts resemble the use of positive incentives provided by the Union in order to get potentially reluctant developing countries on board for a comprehensive post-Kyoto agreement.

⁸⁸ The European Council stresses the objectives of reaching a post-Kyoto agreement and the 2°C-objective as guiding principles for its actions.

“The pace of negotiations needs to accelerate in order to come to an agreement in Copenhagen in 2009 consistent with the 2°C limit. With the aim of agreeing on an EU position at the Spring 2009 European Council, the Commission is invited to present a comprehensive strategy for scaling up finance and investment flows for both mitigation and adaptation in response to the Bali Action Plan...”(European Council 2008b)

⁸⁹ The commitment to EU leadership is reiterated by the Council with reference to the final agreement reached on the climate- and energy package.

“The European Council also reached agreement on the energy/climate change package which should enable this package to be finalised with the European Parliament by the end of the year. This decisive breakthrough will enable the European Union to honour the ambitious commitments entered into this area in 2007 and maintain its leading role in the search for an ambitious and comprehensive global agreement at Copenhagen next year” (European Council 2008c)

⁹⁰ Based on the quote put forward in note 89, it becomes clear that the Union strives towards exerting directional leadership by giving weight to its proposed reduction targets.

⁹¹ As reflected in the quote presented in note 89, the European Council stresses the objectives of reaching a post-Kyoto agreement.