

# The Political Careers of Tradeable Green Certificates in the EU, the UK and Sweden

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# 1) Research Questions

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- 1) Why do certain **ideas** make it on the **EU-agenda** and others don't?

# 1) Research Questions

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- 1) Harmonisation discussion at the **EU-level**:
  - Appearance and failure of idea of TGCs in 2000/2001
  - Re-Appearance and failure of idea of TGCs in 2008

# 1) Research Questions

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- 1) Why do certain **ideas** make it on the **EU-agenda** and others don't?
- 2) What are the **repercussions of EU-policy making** on the member states and vice versa? (Europeanisation)

# 1) Research Questions



- 1) Harmonisation discussion at the **EU-level**:
    - Appearance and failure of idea of TGCs in 2000/2001
    - Re-Appearance and failure of idea of TGCs in 2008
  
  - 2) Influence of EU-policy making on **Member States**:
    - Appearance of idea of TGCs in **S and GB** (Policy transfer?)
    - Choice/Implementation of idea of TGCs in **S and GB**
- Diagrammatic flow:
- From point 1, an arrow points to "4-fold comparison of public policy making".
  - From the first sub-point of point 2, an arrow points to "4-fold comparison of public policy making".
  - From the second sub-point of point 2, an arrow points to "Europeanisation Policy Transfer".



## 2) Analytical framework

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„If politics is concerned with who gets what, or with the authoritative allocation of values, one may be pardoned for wondering **why it involves so much talk.**“

(Edelman 1964, 114)

## 2) Analytical Framework

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### **Main sources of inspiration:**

- Post-structuralist discourse theory / discourse analysis
  - Glynos and Howarth (2007)
- Discursive Institutionalism
  - Schmidt (2008)
- Culturalistic approaches
  - Hajer (1993; 1995; 2005)



## 2) Analytical Framework Discourse

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- Discourse is **representing ideas**
  - Expression of Values and Interests
- Discourse is an **interactive process**
  - Arguing and Bargaining about the meaning of phenomena
- Discourse may be **manipulative**  
(Schmidt 2008, 312)

## 2) Analytical Framework Ideas



- Ideas at different levels:  
(Schmidt 2008, Hall 1993, Sabatier 1993)

a) Philosophical	a) Paradigm	a) Macro-level
b) Programmatic	b) Policy field	b) Meso-level
<b>c) Specific policy</b>	<b>c) Policy instruments</b>	<b>c) Micro-level</b>

- Ideas at different levels are related to each other

## 2) Analytical Framework

### Three logics



<b>Social Logics</b>	<b>Political Logics</b>	<b>Fantasmatic Logics</b>
Substantive rules of a practice or regime	Process of installation or contestation of regime	Why regimes ‚grip‘ subjects
Pre-conditions	Political Contestation	Explanation of behavior

## 2) Analytical Framework Political Logics / Tools

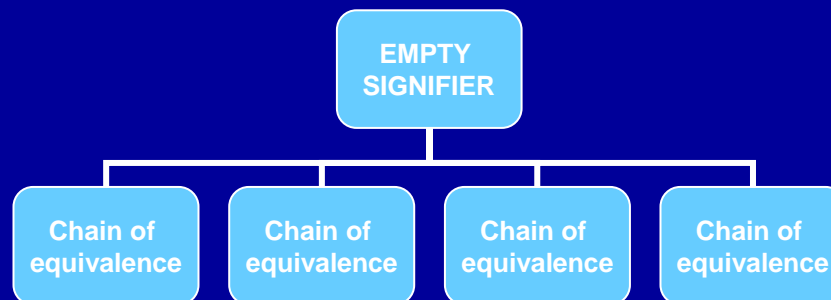


**Marten Hajer (1993, 1995, 2005):**

- **Discourse Coalition:** actors sharing a storyline
- **Storyline:** argumentative strategy

**Glynos and Howarth (2007):**

- Chain of equivalence / difference



## 2) Analytical Framework

### Three logics



<b>Social Logics</b>	<b>Political Logics</b>	<b>Fantasmatic Logics</b>
Substantive rules of a practice or regime	Process of installation or contestation of regime	Why regimes ‚grip‘ subjects
Pre-conditions	Political Contestation	Explanation of behavior

## 2) Analytical Framework Fantasmatic Logics / Tools



### Motivations of actors:

- **Endogenous** identity set
  - „Like-minded people“
  - Values, Beliefs
- **Exogenous** identity set
  - Common situation
  - (Cognitive) interests

A **discourse coalition** can comprise of actors with **endogenous AND exogenous identity sets**

(Griggs & Howarth 2002)

## 2) Analytical Framework

### Two Assumptions

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- 1) The success of an idea is dependent on the **framing of the problem**
- 2) An idea is more likely to come to the fore if it is in line with **the dominant social logics**

## Macro-level:

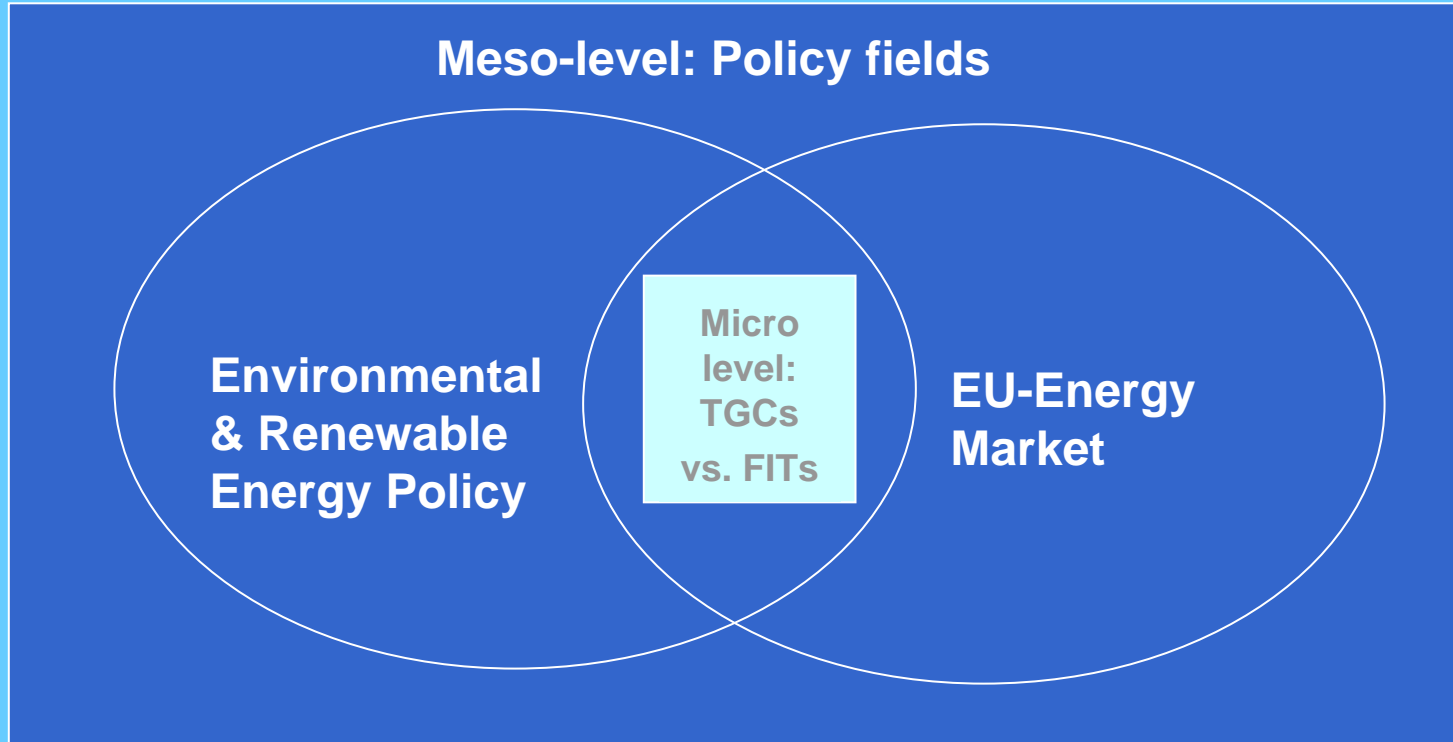
Dominant 'philosophy' underlying EU-policy making

### Meso-level: Policy fields

Environmental  
& Renewable  
Energy Policy

Micro  
level:  
TGCs  
vs. FITs

EU-Energy  
Market





# 3) Sketch of Analysis Political Logics

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## **TGC-Discourse Coalition**

- Storyline (dominant)
  - Market perspective
  - Aim: Undistorted energy market
  - Argument: Theoretical superiority

## **FIT-Discourse Coalition**

# 3) Sketch of Analysis Political Logics / TGCs



Market-Based  
Instrument  
( = TGCs)

← **EMPTY SIGNIFIER**

**CHAIN of EQUIVALENCE**

Compatible with  
the liberalisation of  
the EU-Energy  
Market (No  
distortions)

Incites competition  
&  
Fosters  
technological  
innovation

Most effective and  
efficient (according  
to economic  
theory)

Different from non-  
MBI and  
Command&Control  
instruments  
(=FITs)



# 3) Sketch of Analysis Political Logics



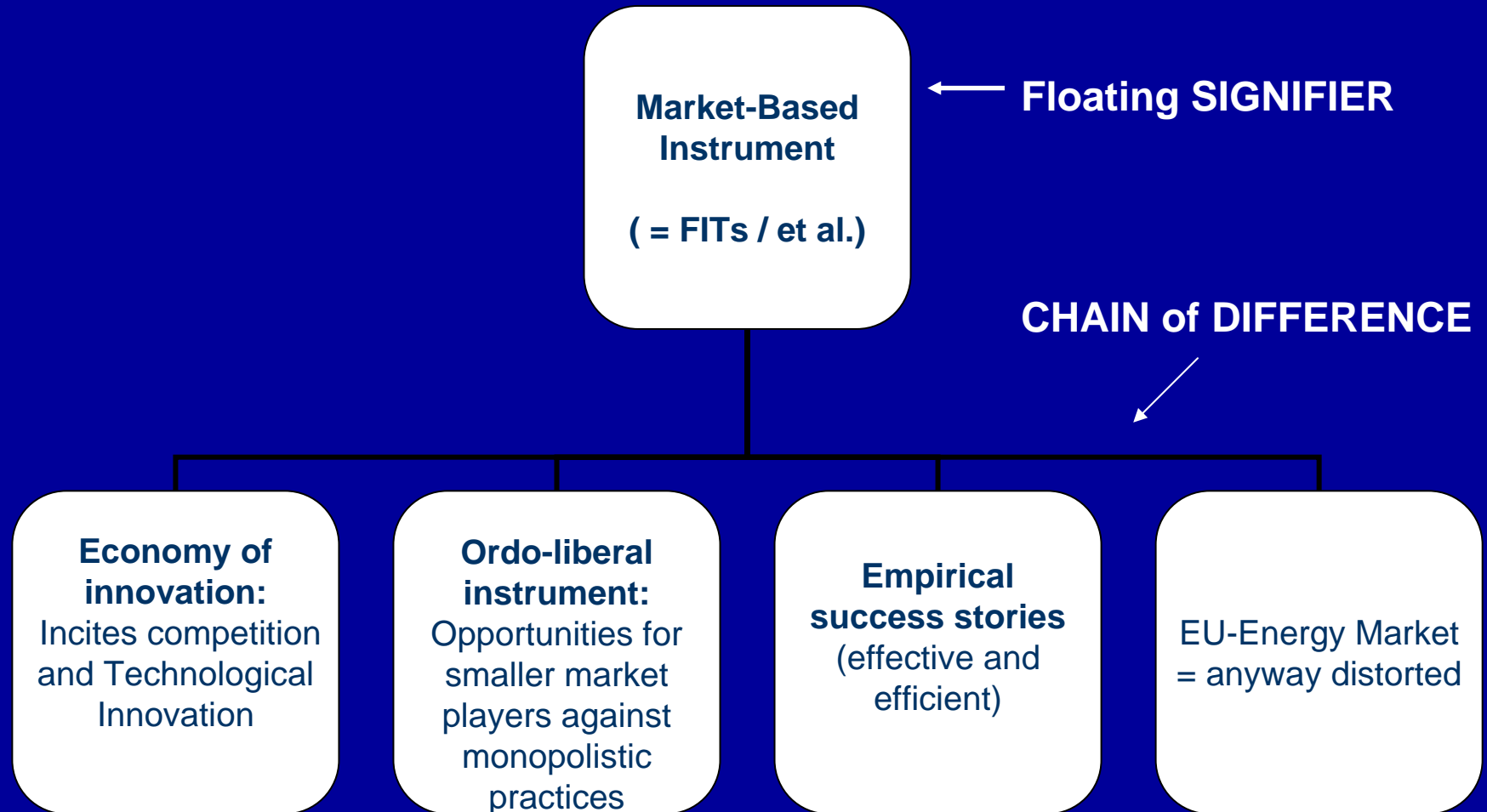
## TGC-Discourse Coalition

- Storyline (dominant)
  - Market perspective
  - Aim: Undistorted energy market
  - Argument: Theoretical superiority

## FIT-Discourse Coalition

- Storyline (challenging)
  - ENV perspective
  - Aim: More green electricity
  - Argument: Empirical success

# 3) Sketch of Analysis Political Logics / FITs



# 3) Sketch of Analysis



- Reason for re-appearance of discussion 2007/2008:
  - (Bad) Luck; Window of Opportunity
- What is different?
  - Circumstances: RES more important
  - Problem Definition: Target achievement
  - Problem Solution: „Flexibility“ / „Non-Trading flexibility“

# 4) Problems & Open Questions

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- How to couple discourse analysis with other approaches, which?
- How to integrate the role of institutions, knowledge and individuals?
- Still missing: theoretical hook > a theory of policy (instrument) change
- ...

# Mentioned Literature



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