

Polish Transition towards Renewable Oriented Society - Theoretical Approach

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Advocacy coalition framework

- **policy subsystem:** Polish renewable energy policy in electricity sector
- **policy system:** energy and climate change policy in Poland
- **period of time** – last 10 years – adequate to advocacy coalition framework

Problem explanation I

- 15% renewables of brutto energy consumption until 2020 (EU Commission 2008b)
- 2,97% of electricity in 2005 (Information about the electricity production – December 2005, Agency of Energy Market Jsc.)
- 4,8% - share of renewable energy in the primary energy consumption in 2005 in Poland (Eurostat 2005)

Renewable energy in Poland- installed capacity in 2009 (*URE*)

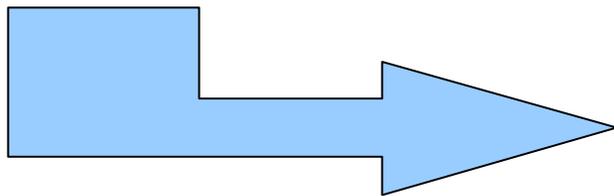
Installation type	Number of installations	Installed capacity MW
Biogas power plants	117	65,42
Wind power plants	253	552,8
Co-combustion power plants	35	0***
Biomass power plants	11	231,99
Hydroelectric power systems	724	944,08

Problem explanation II

- 90 % of the electricity produced from coal, which in 2050 covers to 50 % of the electricity demand
- until 2021 – first two nuclear power plants
- increase in the electricity consumption till 2020 (2008, Energy policy of Poland till 2030)
- Poland can cover 26% of electricity demand till 2020 and 80% till 2050 by renewables
- in 2050 only 6% of electricity is produced from coal
- in 2050 lignite is not used any more ([R]ewolucja energetyczna dla Polski; Scenariusz zaopatrzenia Polski w czyste nośniki energii w perspektywie długookresowej, Greenpeace, EC BREC, 2008)

Problem explanation III

- different kind of restrictions for renewable energy in Poland (legal, political, economical, cognitive)
- uneffective system of support of RES in comparison to the majority of EU-countries
- Polish energy policy in electricity sector **captured** by conventional energy sector (**capture theory**)



amendment to full auctioning of emissions allowances from 2013, claim for several years of derogations

Previous findings

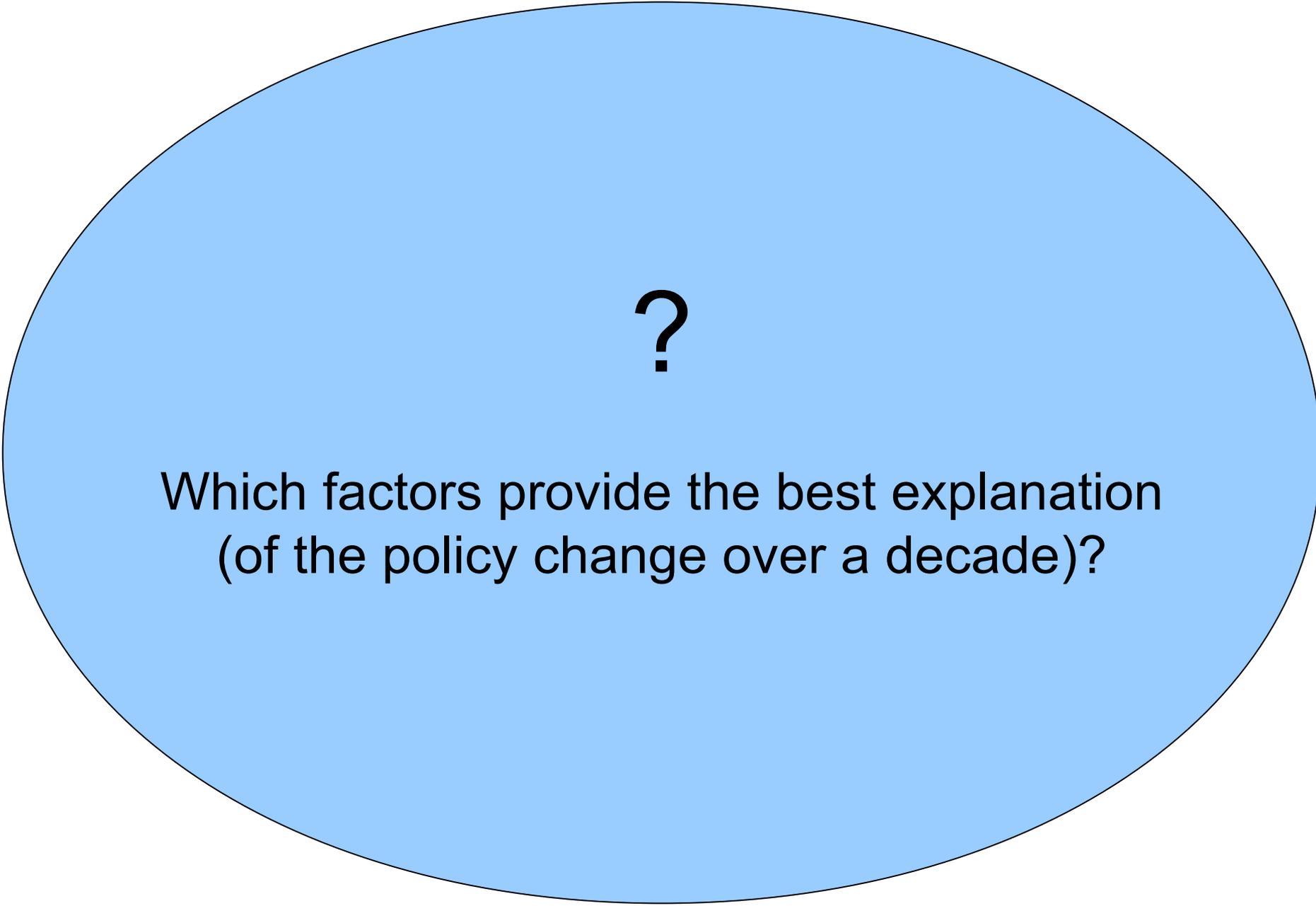
- *Macht und Einfluss des Kohlesektors sind in fast allen Interviews bei der Frage nach den Restriktionen für erneuerbare Energien in Polen in erster Stelle genannt werden (Reiche 2003, 123)*
- *Die sich an dieser Stelle offenbarende Nähe zwischen dem Wirtschaftsministerium und dem konventionellen Stromsektor wird auch von der Regulierungsbehörde offen ausgesprochen. So heißt es in einer öffentlichen Stellungnahme, der Wirtschaftsminister übernehme zu häufig kritiklos die Wünsche des Stromsektors (Podrygała 2008, 96 – 97)*
- *Einige (aus dem universitären Raum stammende) Gesprächspartner sprachen dabei auch gezielt von einer „**captured regulation**“ (gefangen genommen Regulierung) (Interviews Raczka, Żylicz). Damit nahmen sie bezug auf die **Capture Theory (CT)** (Reiche 2003, 123)*
- *Nicht bestätigt hat sich jedoch die Erwartung, Interessenverbände des konventionellen Stromsektors seien entschieden gegen die Förderung der regenerativen Stromerzeugung vorgegangen. (Podrygała 2008, 96)*

Problem explanation IV - What has changed?

- Poland has agreed to relatively ambitious target in the new EU-Directive – 15% of brutto energy consumption until 2020
- interests for renewable energy has increased
- number of different local, national or cross-countries initiatives has increased (some municipalities are attempting to become energetically independent – Kisielice, Niepołomice, Polkowice, Klaster 3x20, Organisation of Polish Municipalities, programmes: National Programm for Sustainable Development of Local Communities „Gaspol kibitzs climate“...)
- higher number of applications for grid connection in 2008 than the grid capacity can actually allow (wind energy)

Problem explanation V

1. Although climate change poses a huge environmental threat which requires decisive action in every state and
2. the European Union has a power to force its members states to implement particular policies and support their realization,
3. these facts in itself are insufficient to explain the growing number of actors supporting and working towards development and growing role of renewable energy in Poland.



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Which factors provide the best explanation
(of the policy change over a decade)?

Research design

dependent variable - policy

policy change in Poland in the field of
renewable energy

independent variable - politics

hypotheses

Further questions

- What are the successful strategies of actors?
- Whether, why and to what extent a „**positive captured regulation**“ has taken place (by renewable energy supporting actors)?
- Where are the barriers to „**positive capture**“?
- What meaning has it all for the use of renewables in Poland?
- How to facilitate the Polish transition to renewable oriented society?

Capture theory

- George Stigler, M. Bernstein, S. Huntington
- branch of public choice, economics of regulation
- regulatory agency acts in favour of the commercial or special interests that dominate in the industry or sector it is charged with regulating
- the regulatory agency loses its sovereignty
- informal and personal dependences
- minimalising the political conflict potential

Advocacy coalition framework

- Sabatier, Jenkins-Smith 1993
- policy oriented-learning
- at least one policy cycle
- **policy subsystems**
- intergovernment. nature of policy subsystems
- actors from different levels
- actors share the same belief systems
- policy brokers – acceptable limits of conflict

Factors affecting policy making within systems and subsystems

- relatively stable parameters
- dynamic system events - serve as major stimuli to policy change

Relatively stable parameters (within and/or external to the policy subsystem)

- basic attributes of the problem area (or „good“)
- basic distribution of natural resources
- fundamental cultural values and social structure
- basic legal structure

Dynamic system events

- socioeconomic conditions and technology
- systemic governing coalitions
- policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems

Features of subsystem actors

- constraints and resources of subsystem actors

Structure of belief systems of policy elites

- **deep (normative) core** - fundamental normative and ontological axioms that define a person's underlying personal philosophy
- **near (policy) core** - basic strategies and policy positions for achieving deep core beliefs in the policy area or subsystem
- **secondary aspects** - multitude of instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement the policy core in the specific policy area

Policy change within a subsystem

1. Attempts to translate the **policy core** and **secondary aspects** of the belief system into governmental programs.
2. The effect of **system wide-events alterations** of thought or behavioural intensions, **attainment** or **revision** of the precepts of the belief system (**policy-oriented learning**).

Hypotheses

1. On major controversies within a policy subsystem when core beliefs are in dispute, the lineup of allies and opponents tends to be rather stable over periods of a decade or so.
2. Actors within an advocacy coalition will show substantial consensus on issues pertaining to the policy core, although less on secondary aspects.
3. An actor (or coalition) will give up secondary aspects of a belief system before acknowledging weaknesses in the policy core.
4. The core (basic attributes) of a governmental program is unlikely to be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition that instituted the program remains in power.
5. The core (basic attributes) of a governmental action program is unlikely to be changed in the absence of significant perturbations external to the subsystem, that is, changes in socio-economic conditions, system-wide governing coalitions, or policy outputs from other subsystems.

Hypotheses – conditions facilitating policy-oriented learning across coalitions and belief system

- 6. Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there is an intermediate level of informed conflict between the two.**

7. Learning across coalitions is facilitated by an issue that is **analytically tractable** (i.e. has widely accepted theories and quantitative indicators).

8. Policy-oriented learning across belief systems is most likely when there exists a forum that is:

- Prestigious enough to force professionals from different coalitions to participate.
- Dominated by professional norms.

Main hypothesis

9. In Poland the policy change in the field of renewable energy is more a result of attempt of advocacy coalition of supporters of renewable energy to **translate** the **policy core** and **secondary aspects** of their belief system into **policy (EU, national, regional)** than of the perturbation external to the subsystem (dynamic system events).

Research stages and aims

- dependent variables

- To define a policy subsystem as the set of actors who are involved in dealing with a renewable energy policy (also potential „latent” actors).
- To explain reasons of emergence of a subsystem of renewable energy policy in Poland.
- To reconstruct key events in the Polish renewable energy policy since it started.
- To reconstruct the impetus for those events, their outcomes and the core ideas involved
- To identify the advocacy coalitions and policy brokers in the field of renewable energy policy in Poland
- To identify the deep cores, policy cores and secondary aspects of the belief systems of different advocacy coalitions of the renewable energy policy in Poland.

Research stages and aims

- independent variables

- To identify relatively stable parameters of the policy subsystem (renewable energy policy).
- To identify external factors (system events) to this policy subsystem .
- To identify the role of policy-learning in the policy subsystem..
- To examine empirically the extent to which changes in belief systems occurred over time.
- To use the structure of belief systems to predict changes in beliefs and attempted changes in renewable energy policy in Poland over time.

Thank you for your attention!

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