

Report of the field research in Brussels (From Sept 2010 to Dec 2010)

I am second year PhD student within PAiS, University of Warwick and I have been awarded a travel bursary of 750£ by the Steering Committee of the PEEER network. Given the topic of my research—the EU-Russia energy relations from a European perspective- I decided to conduct my field research in Brussels which is the heart of the EU. Brussels is a lively city where many EU institutions are based, and where many EU's agencies and associations deal with energy policies.

Research theme

Broadly speaking, my research focuses on the EU external energy policy. In particular, it looks at the EU-Russia energy relations through a discursive and European policy- analysis approach. My aim is to map and contextualize the meaning of the on-going energy debate between the EU and Russia. In order to proceed along these lines, I employ the layered structure of meaning elaborated by Ole Wæver. My research proposes to build a three-layered structure to map and contextualize the meaning of the EU-Russia energy relations. Layer 1 is called "*Basic constellation of Europe held by EU and Russia*". It explores the concepts or projects on Europe held by the West (EU) and Russia. It also examines how the West and Russia have represented themselves throughout the centuries. Layer 2 is called "*EU's and Russia's projects on energy governance in Europe*", and explores how the EU and Russia intend to govern energy in their mutual relations and in the European continent. Layer 3 is called "*EU's and Russia's policies on energy governance in Europe*". It switches the analytical strategy from general discourses (of Layers 1 and 2) to key texts. From Layer 3, it becomes possible to locate EU's and Russia's energy policy within the broader framework as outlined in the previous. Therefore, the Layer 3 focuses on concrete energy policies in Europe.

The ultimate goal of my research is to demonstrate how the inception of specific energy policies by the EU and Russia are understandable only by mapping and contextualizing the meaning of their relations, that is, by taking into account both basic discourses and narratives (Layer 1) and energy paradigms adopted to govern energy in Europe (Layer 2).

In particular, my fieldwork in Brussels helped me to conceptually complete Layer 2. As said, this Layer refers to EU's and Russia's concepts of energy governance in their mutual relations and in the European continent. It investigates how the historical narrative of the upper Layer 1 –which refers to narratives employed throughout the history by West and Russia to identify themselves-

are reflected in the contemporary energy debate and paradigms between the EU and Russia. Given the purpose of Layer 2, the following questions have been addressed to structure this Layer: What is EU's and Russia's project on energy governance in Europe? Also, how EU and Russia aim to govern energy in Europe? In the attempts to answer these questions, the literature conceptualises two theoretical paradigms to frame EU's and Russia's discourses and actions concerning Europe's Layer 2 energy governance, that of 'Market and Institutions' and 'Regions and Empire'. During time in the field, however, my analysis found these paradigms represent two different theoretical patterns through which energy relations in the European continent can be governed

Access to the Library of the EU Commission

During my stay in Brussels, I was given the opportunity to access the Library of the EU Commission. This was a privilege given to me since the Library is private and general access is given to EU civil servants and researchers. For researchers to gain access and receive library member, one has to go through an interview process. After a successful interview, I was granted a one-year member to the library. The Library of the EU Commission contains every official texts produced by the EU since its inception, as well as official review of the activities of the EU Commission, records of Commissioners' speeches and interviews, articles, books and a daily review of major newspapers across the EU. These sources are, of course, a good fit for my methodology according to which EU official texts and Commissioners' speeches represent a primary sources, while I utilized articles and newspapers review as secondary sources. Therefore, studying in the Library of the EU Commission was a fantastic opportunity for me which, I think, had the effect of enhancing the quality of my research. Thanks to the sources available at the Library, I found empirical examples demonstrating how the EU discursively utilized -in its relations with Russia- the liberal energy paradigm "Market and Institutions" (Layer 2). Similarly, I found empirical evidence of a paradigmatic process of liberalism that was consistent with (or justified through discourses in a way that looks consistent with) the basic discourse and narrative of "Civilian Power West" (Layer1).

For example, the newspaper article *"Approval in principle to Russia-Poland Gas Agreement"* (05/11/2010) regarded the Russia-Poland gas agreement. This article reported that the European Energy Commissioner G. Oettinger, approved, in principle, the new gas contract between Poland and Russia. Quoting from Oettinger: *"We(The EU Commission) welcome the agreement between*

Yamal-owner EuROPol-Gaz, and the future operator of the pipeline, Gaz-System...The Polish will confirm in writing their commitment to ensure compliance with Polish and EU law through these implementing decisions". It was also added that, "We manage to ensure that the intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Poland was brought into line with EU law. This means in particular that Gaz-System as pipeline operator will be responsible for concluding transmission contracts on a non-discriminatory basis and that Poland can re-export Russian gas delivered in Poland"

Statements like these provide strong empirical evidence for my research. In fact, the stated emphasis of the EU Commissioner Oettinger on the necessity to comply with the EU law turns out to be consistent with the narrative of "Civilian Power EU (West)". In fact, moving in the framework of this narrative, it emerges that the EU (and the West) aims to *civilize* the entire European continent, and to recognize states or agreements as civilian on condition that they comply with EU standards. Oettinger's statement also demonstrates that the civilization ambition of the EU occurs also in EU external energy policy.

Another relevant find during my time at the library was the article called "*Russia invited to contribute to European Security*" in the journal *Bulletin Quotidien Europe No10251*. This journal deals with the daily review of the EU Commission's activities. This article reported on a meeting between the Russian deputy prime minister, Igor Sechin, and the European energy Commissioner, G. Oettinger, which focused on the preparations for the next session of EU-Russia Energy Dialogue that is now ten years old.. The article reported that: "*Oettinger invited Russia to take part in drafting the EU's long-term energy strategy and he stressed that European energy strategy with a view to 2050 should, to his mind, take account of the mutual interests of both parties as well as Russia's experience in this field*".

In the context of my research, this demonstrates how the EU, in its relations with Russia, aims to govern energy on the basis of the liberal energy paradigm "Market and Institutions". In fact, Oettinger stated the relevance of mutual interests and cooperation between parts in the institutional framework of the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue

Interviews

As part of my fieldwork I have also conducted interviews at the European Wind Energy Association (EWEA) with Jacopo Moccia (Regulatory Affair Advisor), and at Euroelectric with Susanne Nies (Head of Unit, Energy Policy and Generation) and Olga Mikhailova (Advisor). The

interviews were not aimed at knowing the interviewees' point of view but I consider them as spokespersons of the body they represent. My aim was to analyze the debate on renewable energy within the EU –thus, non official- and to detect the voice of EU energy agencies and associations regarding the paradigm that the EU should support in its external energy policy. I tried to assess the extent to which the debate on external energy paradigm of EU associations and agencies reflect or conflict from the official EU paradigm. The outcome of the interviews led me to elaborate a further paradigm which lies at the level of Layer 2, which can be called “Renewable and climate change”. This paradigm can be seen as a ramification of the liberal paradigm, as it includes elements of “Market and Institutions” but adding a greater emphasis on renewable, diversification of sources, environment and climate changes. In fact, from the outcome of interviews and publications of EWEA and Euroelectric, it emerges that, as for external energy policy, the actions that the two organisation wish to see support the EU in its direction to spread EU standards outside the EU's official borders. This is in line with the liberal energy paradigm “Market and Institutions”. However, EWEA and Euroelectric also strongly promote the exploitation of renewable energy in order to decrease dependence on Russia and diversify supplies, but also preserve the environment controlling climate changes. The detection of a new paradigm in Layer 2, led me to reshape and broaden its scope and to consider a sub-level within Layer 2 that can be called “European project on world's energy governance”. EU's promotion of the Kyoto agreement and of the Copenhagen forum are proves of the existence of this level of discourse.

Conference

As part of my fieldwork, I have also attended the Conference on “The Fossil Energy Coalition Conference - From FENCO-ERA to FENCO-NET” on the 3rd & 4th November 2010. FENCO-ERA is a key component of an overall carbon management strategy and is a European Research Area Network with the overall aim of networking the national R&D activities in the field of fossil fuels energy conversion and CO₂ Capture and Storage (CCS). The Conference discussed the aims of FENCO-ERA to strengthen European research skills in this field and Europe's ability to compete in world markets against increasingly fierce international competition, through the coordination between national funding agencies and governments and the enhancement of the cooperation between National RTD Programmes. Participants at the Conference included: Public Authorities and Agencies, Industrial and Other Stakeholders, NGOs and researchers. In attendance were

Raphaël Laurent from European Commission, DG Research; Nikolaos Koukouzas – Director of Research, CERTH ISFTA, Greece; Vassilios Kougionas, European Commission DG RTD. They all delivered very interesting presentations which are available at <http://www.fenco-era.net/index.php?index=185>.

I was personally impressed by the presentation of Kai Tullius from the European Commission, within the office of *Directorate Generale* (DG)-Energy. His explanation of EU policy goals about fossil fuels emissions and CCS technology were concise perspective into the legislative and financial frameworks, and broaden the scope of my research interests. Also from the European Commission's DG-Energy office, Vassilios Kougionas delivered a very interesting presentation. He explored EU strategic policy objectives, the technology pillar of EU energy and the climate change policies. Also, Kougionas explained the European Industrial Initiative and its three-levels of governance. He, finally, put emphasis on the EU as an actor that is involved in the international cooperation on the hand and an actor that attempts to promote cooperation through the establishment of bilateral agreements in the other.

Robert Shuman Scholarship of the European Parliament

Thanks to all these activities and contacts, I had the possibility to share information with many people working for EU institutions. In particular, I heard of the call for applications for the "Robert Shuman Scholarship" of the European Parliament and I applied. My application was successful and I secured a further grant that will extend my staying in Brussels. In fact, I will be hosted at European Parliament, Directorate-General (DG) for Internal Policies, Unit for Science and Technology Options Assessment (STOA) from 01/03/2011 to 31/07/2011. As STOA's website shows, this DG has a strong interest in energy policy. A recent STOA event was focused on energy policy (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/stoa/events/annuallecture/2010/default_en.htm) as well as many research projects (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/stoa/archive/default_en.htm). I am sure that this experience will enrich my practical knowledge on European energy policy and will allow me the opportunity to work in a highly professional environment.

In conclusion, for this formative experience, I thank the PEEER network and its Steering Committee. Given that the specific aim of the PEEER grant was to facilitate early career energy

research abroad, I feel that my fieldwork was consistent with this purpose: I increased my knowledge on energy policy and advancing the scope of my doctoral research. I do think that my fieldwork in Brussels also enhanced the contribution to knowledge of my thesis. Finally, I have made very useful contacts in Brussels that will be of use in my future professional endeavors.

Domenico Ferrara