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Flaws in the EU 2030 Energy Policies: Stakeholder perception of the Clean Energy Package*

Michèle Knodt, Marc Ringel

Abstract

With the interinstitutional agreement of June 2018 on key directives of the EU Winter Package, the outline of the 2030 framework of EU climate and energy policies is clearly set. This contribution presents an overview on the outcomes of the negotiations in the fields of governance, energy efficiency and renewable energies. We review the supporting negotiation documents and present a screening of stakeholder reactions to the new 2030 framework. Our review of stakeholder positions shows an overall acceptance of the outcomes, combined with deception at the level of ambition of the results and highlighting several flaws in the new framework. The found compromise relies strongly on Member States to fulfil the EU 2030 objectives. The EU level will increase its weight in coordinating national energy policies in an enhanced model of soft governance.

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1. Introduction

The European Commission's package for "Clean and Secure Energy for All Europeans" (the so-called "Winter Package") of November 2016 comprised a set of legislative measures to define European energy and climate policies with a 2030 perspective (Turner 2015; Umpfenbach 2015; Turner et al. 2015). It is based on a comprehensive review of internal and external analyses (EC - European Commission 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d, 2016e, 2016f). The package codifies the politically agreed energy and climate targets of the EU and proposes a set of both regulatory and non-regulatory measures to reach the overall Energy Union objectives (EC 2016a). The regulatory measures notably comprise (i) energy efficiency policies via the recast directives on energy efficiency in buildings (Energy Performance in Buildings Directive, EPBD) and the energy efficiency directive (EED); (ii) the recast renewable energy directive; (iii) directives and regulations on the internal energy markets, which are still in the phase of negotiation; and (iv) the Governance Regulation. Whereas the sectoral policy directives update the existing EU energy policy acquis, the governance regulation is designed to streamline reporting and coordinate national energy and climate change policies through the open method of coordination (OMC) - see (Ringel and Knodt 2018; Meyer-Ohlendorf; Nesbit 2014; Slingerland et al. 2015). OMC was first installed with the economic governance and has been mainstreamed into all major EU policy fields (Stuchlik 2017; Hartlapp 2009; European Council 2000; EC - European Commission 2012b; Behning 2004). OMC has to be seen as an intergovernmental policy coordination instrument that rests on the principles of voluntarism, participation and convergence and works with the mechanisms of iteration and the setting of standards and learning processes. It uses instruments such as benchmarking, peer-review and best practice. As a horizontal coordination mechanism is not based on hierarchy and is not attributed with the possibility to use sanctions. Thus, it was criticised for not provoking profound learning, converging and integration effects (Hartlapp 2009). In order to create a more effective governance the Commission had introduced harder elements to the soft governance proposed (see Ringel, Knodt 2018), which have been overtaken partly in the trilogue.

With the political agreement of June 2018 between European Commission, Council and European Parliament on energy efficiency, renewable energy support and the governance regulation, the strategic EU energy policy framework for 2030 has been fixed. Further to demarcating European energy policies for the years to come this framework defines the EU's approach to deliver its commitment to the Paris Agreement on climate change. Earlier approaches followed a rather sectorial stance. This meant dealing with each policy field separately. The present comprise integrates these approaches. This however strongly complicates the understanding of EU energy policies for outsiders. Key regulations and principles on sectorial issues (say the EU objectives for energy efficiency or renewable energies) are codified in the governance regulation. This implies that all major elements of the Winter Package have to be juxtaposed to get a clear and coherent understanding of EU 2030 energy and climate policies.

2. Methodology

The aim of this contribution is twofold: (1) present a review of the emerging 2030 energy and climate policy framework of the EU; (2) advance an initial qualitative assessment based on a review of European stakeholder reactions following the political agreement.

Our primary approaches to the review (1) of the proposed governance are a content review (Mayring 2010) and literature analysis. This allows us to arrange content from different text sources (mainly primary sources such as EU official texts) and secondary sources, such as the academic literature and consultant studies, in a systematic and consistent manner. The documents and

information sources analysed include negotiation positions, European Parliament background papers, parliamentary hearings, policy reports and stakeholder position papers, as well as scientific articles on the larger EU energy and climate policy framework. This information is suitable to condense and present the key outcomes of the interinstitutional agreements, but do not allow for putting them into a policy perspective.

To obtain a well-reasoned and founded policy perspective (2), we draw on a content screening of position papers and press releases of 66 European stakeholders and associations (31 of which by means of one aggregating organisation) that have been closely following the negotiations and comment on ambition level and weak points in the newly found legislation. The stakeholders were identified on the basis of their earlier feedback to public consultations on the Clean Energy Package. Some 624 stakeholders replied to the consultation on the recast of the Renewable Energy Directive (further 191 anonymously), 315 and 308 to the recast Energy Efficiency and Energy Performance in Buildings Directive as well as 82 to the Governance Regulation (EC - European Commission 2016g). We estimate that roughly 20% of the feedback stems from European associations. In addition we draw on issues identified in a stakeholder workshop on EU energy governance, held in Berlin, Germany, 13 July 2017 and gathering 56 energy policy experts (Schwan et al. 2017). Table 1 sums up the material used for the policy evaluation.

Table 1: Empirical material used for the policy evaluation

Stakeholder Function/ Entity	No. of Associations represented	Policy background			Presentation of material	Date	Evaluation of material
		Industry/ Energy producers	NGO	Other			
EUROFER, the European Steel Association	1	X	X		Press release	06/07/18	Content analysis
European Alliance to Save Energy (EU-ASE)	4	X			Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
AIE – European Association of electrical contractors	1	X			Press release	11/06/18 13/07/18	Content analysis
BEUC	1			X (Consumers)	Press release	14/06/18	Content analysis
BPIE – Buildings Performance Institute	1		X	X (Institute)	Press release	12/07/18	Content analysis
CAN Europe	1		X		Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
CEEP	1	X	X	X	Policy Papers	19/07/18	Content analysis

Cefic – European Chemical Industry Council	1		X		Press release	27/06/18 10/07/18	Content analysis
Client Earth	1		X		Press release	27/06/18	Content analysis
Coalition for Energy Savings	31	X	X		Press release	19/06/18	Content analysis
Confederation of Paper Industries	1	X	X		Publication/Report	19/07/18	Content analysis
E3G	1		X		Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
EFIEES	1	X	X	X (Consumer)	Press release	07/06/18	Content analysis
Energy governance experts form EU and Germany	56	X	X	X	Workshop format (morning and afternoon session meetings in plenary and panel format)	13/07/17	Workshop evaluation and documentation
ENTSO-E	1				Press release	14/06/18 26/06/18 05/07/18 03/08/18	Content analysis
EREF	1	X	X		Press release	02/07/18	Content analysis
ESMIG- European Smart Energy Solution Providers	1			X (Cyber Security)	Press release	19/07/18	Content analysis
Eurelectric	1	X			Podcast/Press release	11/06/18 20/06/18	Content analysis
EuroACE	1	X			Press release	21/06/18	Content analysis
EuroCities	1			X (Cities)	Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
Eurofuel	1	X			Press release	05/07/18	Content analysis
Euroheat & Power	1	X			Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
European Biogas Association	1	X			Press release	26/06/18	Content analysis
European Copper Institute	1	X			Press release	12/07/18	Content analysis

European Environmental Bureau	1		X	Press release	19/06/18	Content analysis
European Federation of Energy Traders	1	X		Press Release	28/06/18	Content analysis
Eurosolar	1	X		Press Release	21/06/18	Content analysis
Friends of the Earth	1		X	Press release	20/06/18	Content analysis
Glass for Europe	1	X		Position paper	20/06/18	Content analysis
Greenpeace Europe	1		X	Press Release	11/06/18 14/06/18 12/07/18	Content analysis
Rescoop	1	X		Press release	14/06/18	Content analysis
Smart Energy Demand	1	X	X	News	08/06/18	Content analysis
Wind Europe	1	X		Press Release	21/06/18 27/06/18 29/06/18 03/07/18 10/07/18 20/07/18 26/07/18 01/08/19	Content analysis
WWF	1		X	Press release	13 and 19/06/18	Content analysis

Source: Authors' own compilation

3. EU 2030 energy policies

3.1. Objectives and governance

The overall structure of the clean energy objectives for 2030 follows the logic of the sustainable energy and climate goals for 2020 (20% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions; 20% share of renewable energies in final energy consumption; reduction of 20% energy consumption compared to 2020 baseline values; all to be achieved by 2020) (Helm 2014; da Graça Carvalho 2012; Liobikienė and Butkus 2017). By 2030, the EU strives to reduce EU greenhouse gases by 40%, cover a minimum share of 32% final energy consumption by renewable energies, and increase energy efficiency by minimum 32.5% compared to 2030 projections (Council of the European Union 2018a). Article 6 of the Governance Regulation installs these objectives as “headline objectives” at Union level (Council of the European Union 2018d). Unlike the 2020 objectives, they are not divided into national targets. Rather, Member States are requested to define national contributions that jointly achieve the EU headline targets. These contributions are defined at national level and legally not binding. The contributions cannot fall below the national objectives set in the 2020 context. In 2023, the European Commission will review the target framework. In case of considerable cost reductions or a shortcoming of reaching the international climate policy commitments this review opens the possibility to increase the respective targets. Concerning the objectives for renewable

energies and energy efficiency, further details for target formulation and target setting prevail. These will be discussed in the respective sections 3.2 and 3.3 below.

The coordinating mechanisms of the Governance Regulation align the post-2020 energy and climate change monitoring and reporting (EC - European Commission 2018; Karakas 2015). According to the European Commission, the regulation reviews over 50 individual planning, reporting or monitoring obligations (EC 2016f). The regulation synchronises the energy governance process with the macroeconomic coordination of the European Semester and the stocktaking exercises under the Paris Agreement. The Commission continues to follow the open method of coordination, using iterative processes and feedback loops to track progress towards the EU headline targets. A structured dialogue is set up between the Commission and Member States through the means of planning and reporting obligations. The coordination follows (i) strategic long-term energy and climate policy planning and (ii) short term reporting (see Ringel and Knodt 2018 for details):

Cornerstone of the long-term planning are *integrated National Energy and Climate Plans* (iNECPs) with a ten-year perspective, covering national objectives, strategies and policies in the clean energy and climate fields. The first draft plan is due at the end of 2018 for the period 2021 to 2030. It is complemented by periodically updated national *Low Emissions Strategies* (LES). The LES cover a fifty-year perspective and strongly focus on climate policy-related issues.

Member States have to hand in mid-term updates of the iNECPs in 2024. This allows aligning the iNECPs to the outcomes of the international climate policy stocktaking foreseen for 2023 under the Paris Agreement. The Commission considers the iNECP development as a tool of dynamic governance and coordination of national energy policies. The Governance Regulation asks the Commission to comment on the plans, “regarding the level of ambition of objectives, targets and contributions as well as on specific policies and measures included in the plan” (EC 2016b). However, the originally strong form of open coordination foreseen in article 28 of the regulation (Member States “shall take the utmost account of any recommendations from the Commission when finalising their integrated national energy and climate plan”) has been watered down to taking “due account”, thus limiting the sanctioning potential of the Commission.

Following pressure from the European Parliament in the negotiations, the Governance Regulation asks Member States to install a “multilevel climate and energy dialogue” (article 10a of the consolidated draft version). This dialogue needs to comprise local authorities, civil society organisations, business community, investors and other relevant stakeholders and the general public. Its key aim is to “actively engage and discuss the different scenarios envisaged for energy and climate policies, including for the long term, and review progress.” Recital 20bis of the draft regulation stipulates that the dialogues should follow the rules for transparency set up in the UN’s Aarhus Convention (UNECE - United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 1998). This implies a potentially strong inclusion of local stakeholders into national and European policy-making for the first time in its history. This would allow for a full-scale multi-level-governance from local to European level (Ringel 2018, 2016; Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen et al. 2012; Martinelli and Midttun 2012). Still, recital 20ter clarifies that “such dialogues may consist of any national structure, such as a website, public consultation platform or other interactive communication tools”, leaving the level of stakeholder integration to the Member States.

Starting March 2023 and every two years after, Member States have to provide the Commission with short-term progress reports on objectives and contributions to support the EU headline targets and policy measures to safeguard the achievement of these objectives. Again, the reporting is organised as structured dialogue, like in the case of the long-term strategy documents.

3.2. Renewable Energy policy

The Governance Directive and the recast Renewable Energy Directive (Council of the European Union 2018c) set out a series of obligations on Member States to track progress towards the clean energy objectives. The Regulation sets a binding target at EU level of at least 32% renewable energy in gross final consumption by 2030. Member States support this EU objective by setting indicative national contributions. In order to track Member States' efforts to increase the share of renewable energies, the national contributions have to be complemented by an indicative trajectory for the increase of these energy carriers. The trajectory starts at the level of either the binding national 2020 renewable energy target or the real value of renewable energy shares in gross final consumption, in case the real value surpasses the 2020 target. The regulation foresees that it reaches three reference points: 18% of the national contribution have to be met by 2022; 43% by 2025 and 65% by 2027 (article 5 of the draft Governance Regulation). The sum of these national reference points defines the EU reference points and allows the Commission to evaluate at the same time whether the EU objective is met or not.

The co-legislators have agreed on a "gap-filler mechanism", in case the EU share of renewable energies is below the reference points and thus in danger to miss the 2030 objective. Annex Ia of the Governance Regulation installs an algorithm which defines the allocation of the missing percentage points to the Member States. Relevant criteria are (i) solidarity (flat rate contribution); (ii) a GDP-per-capita-based contribution; (iii) a contribution based on the potential for further deployment of renewable energies and (iv) a contribution that reflects the level of grid-interconnection of the respective Member State (Council of the European Union 2018d). Member States falling below their national reference points will have to cover the gap by implementing additional measures within one year. This mechanism can be seen as a first attempt to introduce a stronger governance of national policies by the European level.

The recast Renewable Energy Directive focuses on policies and measures as well as the deployment of renewable energy sources throughout all energy uses. The Directive stipulates an annual increase of energy from renewable sources in heating and cooling for the Member States (1.3 percentage points indicatively, or 1.1 percentage points if waste heat is not taken into account). It aims to tackle the use of renewable energy in the transport sector via obligations on fuel suppliers. Its aim is to reach a share of renewable energies of at least 14% in transport fuel consumption by 2030.

Further key elements of the co-legislators' agreements comprise (Council of the European Union 2018c):

- A further alignment of national support schemes, while stopping short of overall harmonisation. The Directive opens the possibility of technology specific support. Support will stay national; opening support schemes for neighbouring member states rests on a voluntary basis. The Directive proposes an aspirational opening pace of at least 5% between 2023 and 2026 and 10% between 2027 and 2030.
- Member States will be obliged to issue guarantees of origin. Permit granting procedures should be simplified and streamlined with a maximum of two years for regular projects and one year in case of repowering, both extendable.
- Simplified state aid notification processes apply for small installations.
- An EU-wide cap for conventional biofuels is set at a maximum of 7%; additional Member State caps can apply below this figure.
- A framework for household self-consumption is put in place: Consumers with small-scale installations of up to 30kW will be exempt from any charges or fees. In case self-consumption grows to a point of affecting grid stability, Member States can apply national charges.

This densely-meshed legal integration between sectorial policies in the field of renewable energies and the Governance Regulation is mirrored in the field of energy efficiency.

3.3. Energy Efficiency policies

In legislating an “energy efficiency” objective (usually defined as energy intensity, that is energy consumption divided by GDP) rather than a consumption reduction target, the European Council (European Council 2014) has opted for a weak target formulation. While striving at a minimum 32.5% energy efficiency improvement, a growing GDP will contribute to reaching this overall objective (Kuebler 2018; Gillingham et al. 2009; Ringel et al. 2016). Whereas both the renewable target and the climate objectives are referred to as “binding” this specification is missing for energy efficiency. In this sense, the target formulation falls behind the specification of the original Energy Efficiency Directive of 2012 (EC - European Commission 2012a), which clarified that the 20% energy efficiency objective for 2020 was to be understood as aiming for an absolute reduction of the EU’s energy consumption.

Partly, the recast of the Energy Efficiency Directive (EED; (Council of the European Union 2018b; Sajn 2017)) patches this up. It puts forward clear energy consumption levels for 2030. EU energy consumption in 2030 has to be no more than 1,273 Mtoe of primary energy and/or no more than 956 Mtoe of final energy in 2030. This formulation still requires energy model projections to determine clear progress in terms of progress towards the target. However, recital 4 defines the consumption levels in relation to 2005 as base year (reduction by 26% primary energy consumption compared to 2005 levels; reduction by 20% final energy compared to 2005 levels). This latter formulation allows a clear tracking of progress at each point in time.

Linking to the Governance Regulation, the EED asks Member States to define indicative national energy efficiency contributions to reach the EU headline target. These contributions have to be formulated in both absolute level of primary and final energy consumption and include an indicative trajectory of reaching the 2030 contributions. Analogous to the Renewable Energy Directive, the Commission reviews the overall progress towards the EU headline target in 2023. However, no reference points are fixed and the co-legislators fell short of setting up a gap filling mechanism in this policy field. If the EU falls short of reaching its energy efficiency headline target, the Commission has to propose additional legislation in the sectors buildings, products and transport at EU level (Council of the European Union 2018b).

Regarding the implementation of policies and measures, the Governance Regulation installs the “energy efficiency first” principle (Rosenow et al. 2017). It asks Member States to consider “before taking energy planning, policy and investment decisions, whether cost-efficient, technically, economically and environmentally sound alternative energy efficiency measures could replace in whole or in part the envisaged planning, policy and investment measures, whilst still achieving the objectives of the respective decisions.” (Recital 39bis and definition 17a of article 2 of the draft Governance Regulation). This clear mandate for prioritising end use energy policies is a novelty in European legislation.

Both the recast Energy Performance in Buildings Directive (EPBD (EC - European Commission 2017)) and the Energy Efficiency Directive update existing policies and measures that aim at reaching the overall 2030 objectives. This comprises notably the continuation of energy efficiency obligation schemes or alternative measures: Member States have to achieve savings equivalent to 0.8% final energy consumptions annually for the period 2021-2030 (article 7a EED); the same amount can be achieved by alternative measures (article 7b EED). The sunset clause foreseen in the original EED for 2020 is lifted, turning energy efficiency obligations into a continuous scheme running until 2050 or unless a Commission review concludes that it is no longer necessary (Council of the European Union 2018b).

4. Policy perspectives on the EU 2030 energy policy framework

Section 3 reviewed the key outcomes of the inter-institutional agreements of four of the eight legal texts of the European Commission's Winter Package. These texts define the overall strategic objectives, EU policy measures and governance for the period 2021-2030 and beyond. This stock-taking needs to be put into a policy perspective. To this aim, we performed a content screening of position papers and press releases of European stakeholders and associations that have been closely following the negotiations. This allowed us to capture the direct feedback of 42 associations (31 of which by means of one aggregating organisation). Table 2 summarizes the key reactions and positions regarding the four legislative agreements (EED, EPBD, Renewable Energy Directive, and Governance Regulation).

Table 2: Overview on key stakeholder positions on negotiation outcomes on the clean energy package

Stakeholder Function/Entity	Date	Evalutation of Material
BEUC	14/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong support for rules on self-consumption in Renewable Energy Directive as means to lower citizens' energy bills.
CAN Europe	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low ambition level of objectives and "slack" rules for implementation fall short of EU climate commitments. Governance regulation is improved compared to original Commission proposal.
Coalition for Energy Savings	19/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher level of ambition for energy efficiency target could have been possible and cost-effective. Non-binding nature of target waters down stringency of EU clean energy commitments. Focus will be on measures, notably energy efficiency obligations or alternatives to deliver greenhouse gas reductions in compliance with EU pledge to the Paris Agreement.
E3G	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governance regulation defines "new rulebook" for energy coordination. Still Member States are accountable for delivering energy and climate objectives. "Some" requirements of the Paris Agreement have been reached.
EuroACE	21/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Higher energy efficiency target would have had positive economic impacts in terms of jobs and growth. The objectives do not put the EU on track to reach its commitments with the Paris Agreement.
EuroCities	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong support for dialogue with local level foreseen in the Governance Regulation. Translation into practice by Member States remains to be seen.
Euroheat & Power	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ambitious political agreement is endorsed.
European Environmental Bureau	19/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preference for 40% binding energy efficiency objective proposed by the European Parliament. Focus to deliver clean energy transition will rely on effectiveness of policy measures.
Friends of the Earth	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Objectives are not ambitious (reference to 40% energy efficiency objective proposed by the European Parliament).

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus to deliver clean energy transition will rely on effectiveness of policy measures.
Glass for Europe	20/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objectives fall below economic potential for energy efficiency deployment. • Measures foreseen in the various Directives strongly stick to business as usual rather than presenting new impetus.
Rescoop	14/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong support for the binding objective on renewable energies. • Strong support for clear rules on “energy communities” and “self-consumption” as a way to bring about the energy transition in a decentralized manner.
WWF	13 and 19/06/18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-binding energy efficiency target is a “missed opportunity”. • The renewables objective represents business as usual and is no trigger for raising ambition levels. • Rules for biomass and biofuels are not seen as effective.
Energy governance experts form EU and Germany	13/07/17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See workshop evaluation and documentation in annex.

Source: Authors’ own compilation

The feedback can be categorized into three main categories. These categories cover (i) the level of ambition and credibility of the objectives; (ii) the functioning of the coordination mechanisms; and (iii) the acceptance of the Member States to effectively make use of the new arrangements and policy measures.

Regarding (i) the level of ambition and credibility of the objectives, stakeholders do not question the overall combination of greenhouse gas, renewable energy and energy efficiency targets for the 2020 objectives set up originally in 2007. Likewise, no actors comment on the 40% objective for greenhouse gas reductions, underlining EU stakeholders’ support of for an ambitious climate change policy. In contrast, the level of ambition in terms of energy efficiency is broadly criticized, with many stakeholders rallying behind the European Parliament’s original proposal for 40% improvement of energy efficiency (E3G - Third Generation Environmentalism Ltd 2016; Wilson 2017; van Nuffel et al. 2016; EEB - European Environmental Bureau 2016). Likewise, the non-binding nature of the efficiency target and its only indirect definition in terms of energy consumption levels are criticized. Largely, stakeholder see the 2023 review as an option to reengage in this discussion.

As concerns (ii) the functioning of the coordination mechanisms, the co-legislators’ compromise on the Governance Regulation and its coordination mechanism receive widespread support. This mirrors a support which could be identified already in the feedback to the public consultation of the Clean Energy Package (EC 2016e; Ringel and Knodt 2018) and a stakeholder workshop discussing governance issues with all relevant parties during the negotiations (Schwan et al. 2017). This confirms that OMC is by now a well-established and well-accepted method of coordination in European energy policies.

The Commission’s proposal for the Governance Regulation was considerably weakened regarding EU sanctioning potential, despite a widespread support in the European Parliament for a harder form of governance. The original proposal of the Governance Regulation asked Member States to take “utmost concern” of Commission recommendations and installed follow-up sanctioning mechanisms. In contrast, the compromise text only asks for considering these recommendations in “due account”. All the same, the recommendations to Member States are public and have to be addressed by the president of the European Commission when publicly reporting the State of the Energy Union to the European Parliament and the European Council at annual basis.

As indicated in many position papers and feedbacks, the relatively broad margin in terms of setting national contributions and following up on Commission recommendations directly leads to the need for (iii) acceptance of the Member States to effectively make use of the new arrangements

and policy measures. In this category, it is remarkable that many stakeholders do no comment on the gap-filling mechanism that has notably been spelled out in detail for reaching the EU renewable energy objective. Given that the original proposal asked for compensation payments into an European renewable energy fund, the present compromise might be considered as second best. Still, the formula found is novel in European policies. A similar linking of objectives and measures can be found with the Energy Efficiency Directive, where the Commission is tasked to propose additional policies and measures in the building, product and transport sectors, once the objectives are not reached. In this sense, the overall feedback from stakeholders on putting higher objectives implies asking for further and more ambitious policy measures. This is especially the case concerning the energy efficiency obligations of the Energy Efficiency Directive.

Our first tentative conclusion on stakeholders' policy perspectives on the present approach seems to suggest a solid support for the new 2030 framework. This qualitative judgement is subject to a series of caveats: (a) As described above, reaching the EU headline targets will depend on the Member States willingness at a much stronger intensity than before. (b) This support needs to be continuous over a long time-span and translate into a series of policy actions. (c) The coordination function of the European Commission has grown, but at the loss of having sanctions for falling short of ambition at hand. This engenders the danger to turn the Energy Union governance into a bureaucratic monitoring machine - without the necessary national policy responses in terms of stepping up national energy and climate policy commitments.

5. Conclusions

This paper analysed the new legislative framework for EU 2030 climate and energy policies. With four of the eight legislative proposals of the European Commission's winter package agreed by co-legislators, the outlines of the future EU energy policy become clear.

Our review of stakeholder positions shows an overall acceptance of the outcomes, combined with deception at the level of ambition and highlighting several flaws in the new framework. Notably the missing sanction potential of the Commission and the non-binding nature of national contributions are highlighted as "missed opportunity". The found compromise relies strongly on Member States' national commitments to fulfil the EU 2030 objectives. The EU level will increase its weight in coordinating national energy policies in an enhanced model of soft governance. The division of labour between the European level (responsible for coordination and monitoring) and the Member States (responsible for delivery) advances the traditional method of open coordination. Hence, it remains to be seen whether this effort sharing will be suitable to deliver real energy policy impacts rather than turning into a simple monitoring machine.

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