

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	5
Abstract.....	9
1. Introduction: What Drives the Energiewende?	11
2. The Energy Transformation in Germany.....	41
2.1 What is the <i>Energiewende</i> ?	41
2.2 Milestones in German Energy and Climate Politics	43
2.3 Characteristics of the Energy Market.....	49
3. Theoretical Framework and Methods	53
3.1 Interest Groups, Lobbying and Advocacy Coalitions	53
3.2 Types and Modes of Policy Change.....	56
3.3 Resources of Interest Groups	58
3.4 Trust: The Forgotten Power Resource	64
3.5 Veto Points and Veto Players.....	69
3.6 Electoral Pressure.....	72
3.7 How to Lobby: Strategies, Channels and Instruments of Lobbying.....	75
3.8 The European Union: National Politics as Multi-Level Game.....	82
3.9 Path Dependence and Focusing Events.....	84
3.10 Methodological Approach: Qualitative Multi-Case Study	87
4. Actors and Institutions	95
4.1 The Political System in Germany	95

4.2 The Multi-Party System in Transition.....	106
4.3 Interest Groups.....	114
4.4 Public Opinion and Media Reporting.....	134
5. The Nuclear Phase-Out.....	141
5.1 The Rise and Fall of Nuclear Power in Germany	141
5.2 Constellation of Actors	144
5.3 The “Nuclear Consensus” (2000/2002).....	146
5.4 Policy Gridlock under the Grand Coalition (2005-2009).....	163
5.5 Lifetime Extension (2010): “Exit from the Exit”?	171
5.6 Post-Fukushima Nuclear Phase-Out (2011).....	199
5.7 Summary	249
6. The Renewable Energy Sources Act (EEG)	257
6.1 The EEG – Story of an Unlikely Revolution	257
6.2 Constellation of Actors	260
6.3 Historical Background: The Electricity Feed-in Act (1991)	264
6.4 The Renewable Energy Sources Act (EEG 2000).....	269
6.5 First EEG Revision (2004) and Provisional Acts (2003)	282
6.6 Second EEG Revision under the Grand Coalition (2009).....	304
6.7 PV Act (2010) under the CDU/CSU/FDP Government.....	329
6.8 Third Grand EEG Revision (2012) and Preceding PV Act (2011).....	342
6.9 PV Act (2012): “Solar Phase-Out”	361
6.10 Summary	381
7. The Carbon Aapture and Storage (CCS) Act	421
7.1 “Clean Coal” – a Chance for Climate Protection?	421
7.2 Constellation of Actors	424

7.3 <i>First Failure of the CCS Act (2009)</i>	431
7.4 <i>Second Failure of the CCS Act (2011)</i>	448
7.5 <i>“Non-CCS Act” (2012)</i>	455
7.6 <i>Summary</i>	457
8. The European Emissions Trading Scheme (EU-ETS)	465
8.1 Emissions Trading: Europe’s Flagship for Climate Protection	465
8.2 The Design of the Emissions Trading System	470
8.3 Constellation of Actors	476
8.4 Initiation Phase (2005-2007): Teething Troubles	481
8.5 Kyoto Phase (2008-2012): Lessons Learned?	508
8.6 Post-Kyoto Phase III (2013-2020): European Harmonization	533
8.7 Summary	545
9. Conclusions and Outlook	565
10. Appendix	573
10.1 Glossary	573
10.2 Abbreviations	583
10.3 Overview of Interviewees	585
10.4 List of Tables, Boxes and Figures	590
10.5 Acknowledgements	593
References	595