

Contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations	11
Foreword and Acknowledgements	15
INTRODUCTION. Rationale of the Study	17
The EU, Climate Change and Global Climate Politics.....	21
The Structure of the Study.....	23
CHAPTER 1. Analytical Framework: Studying the European Union's Influence on the Global Climate Regime	27
Building the Key Concepts: Influence Attempts and Influence.....	27
Setting the Theoretical Scene: Insights from EU Foreign Policy Analysis and Regime Theory.....	33
Methodological Bases: Analysing and Determining Influence.....	42
CHAPTER 2. Historical Foundations (1980s–1995): EU Influence on the Set-up of the Global Climate Regime	47
The Pre-negotiation Phase: From Scientific Circles to First Political Negotiations.....	47
The EU's Influence on the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (1991–1992).....	52
The Road to COP 1 (1992–1995).....	64
CHAPTER 3. From the Berlin Mandate to the Kyoto Protocol (1995–1997): EU Influence on the First Development of the Global Climate Regime	67
The Context: Major Developments in Global Politics and Climate Science.....	67
Key Actors in the Global Climate Regime and their Positions.....	68
The Negotiation Process and the EU's Influence Attempts.....	76
The Outcome: the Kyoto Protocol.....	95
The EU's Influence Attempts: Extracting Patterns.....	98

The EU's Influence in the Kyoto Protocol Negotiations.....	101
Explaining the EU's Influence during the Period 1995 to 1997.....	109
CHAPTER 4. From the Buenos Aires Action Plan to the Year 2007 (1998–2007): EU Influence on the Consolidation of the Global Climate Regime.....	113
COP 4 to COP 7: From the Buenos Aires Action Plan to the Marrakech Accords (1998–2001).....	113
After the Marrakech Accords: Ensuring Ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (2002–2004).....	127
Towards a Post-2012 Regime: Loose Talks on the Way to Bali (2005–2007).....	134
Determining and Explaining the EU's Influence during the Period 1998 to 2007.....	147
CHAPTER 5. From the Bali Roadmap to the Copenhagen Accord (2007–2009): EU Influence on the Post-2012 Global Climate Negotiations.....	151
The Context: Major Developments in Global Politics and Climate Science.....	151
Key Actors in the Global Climate Regime and their Positions.....	154
The Negotiation Process and the EU's Influence Attempts.....	170
The Outcome: the Copenhagen Accord.....	222
The EU's Influence Attempts: Extracting Patterns.....	225
The EU's Influence in the Post-2012 Climate Negotiations until 2009.....	231
Explaining the EU's Influence during the Period 2007 to 2009.....	244
CHAPTER 6. Gradually “Back on Track” (2010–2012): EU Influence on the Resumed Post-2012 Global Climate Negotiations.....	251
The Context: Major Developments in Global Politics and Climate Science.....	251
Key Actors in the Global Climate Regime and their Positions.....	252
The Negotiation Process and the EU's Influence Attempts.....	257

The Outcomes: the Cancun Agreements, the Durban Package and the Doha Gateway.....	265
Determining and Explaining the EU’s Influence during the Period 2010 to 2012.....	269
CHAPTER 7. Explaining EU Influence on the Global Climate Regime.....	275
Patterns of EU Influence across Time.....	275
Comparing EU Influence Attempts to its Actual Influence: the “Goodness of Fit” Puzzle.....	283
Determinants of EU Influence over Time: Propositions on Causal Mechanisms and their Scope Conditions.....	287
Conclusion.....	301
Major Findings of the Study and their Significance.....	301
Research and Normative Implications of the Study.....	303
References.....	311
Annexes.....	361
Index.....	365
Tables	
Table 1: Toward a Typology of Influence.....	33
Table 2: How the EU Can Exert Influence – EU Foreign Policy Acts.....	36
Table 3: Establishing EU Influence – Constitutive Dimensions.....	45
Table 4: The Negotiations of the Copenhagen Accord.....	217
Table 5: EU Influence on the Global Climate Regime over Time.....	276
Table 6: EU Influence Attempts and their Success in the Global Climate Regime (1991-2012) – a Compilation of Instruments.....	285

