Issues in Environmental Politics

series editors Tim O'Riordan, Arild Underdal and Albert Weale

As the millennium approaches, the environment has come to stay as a central concern of global politics. This series takes key problems for environmental policy and examines the politics behind their cause and possible resolution. Accessible and eloquent, the books make available for a non-specialist readership some of the best research and most provocative thinking on humanity's relationship with the planet.

already published in the series

Congress and air pollution: environmental politics in the US

Christopher J. Bailey

Sustaining Amazonia: grassroots action for productive conservation

Anthony Hall

The protest business? Mobilizing campaign groups

Grant Jordan and William Maloney

Environment and the nation state: the Netherlands, the European

Union and acid rain *Duncan Liefferink*

Valuing the environment *Raino Malnes*

Life on a modern planet: a manifesto for progress *Richard North*

Public purpose or private benefit? The politics of energy conservation *Gill Owen*

Environmental pressure groups in transition *Peter Rawcliffe*

Governance by green taxes *Mikael Skou Andersen*

European environmental policy: the pioneers

Mikael Skou Andersen and Duncan Liefferink (eds)

The new politics of pollution *Albert Weale*

European environmental policy

The pioneers

edited by

Mikael Skou Andersen and Duncan Liefferink

Manchester University Press

Manchester and New York

Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press

While copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in Manchester University Press, copyright in individual chapters belongs to their respective authors, and no chapter may be reproduced wholly or in part without the express permission in writing of both author and publisher.

Published by Manchester University Press
Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9NR, UK
and Room 400, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA

Distributed exclusively in the USA by
St. Martin's Press, Inc., 175 Fifth Avenue, New York,
NY 10010, USA

Distributed exclusively in Canada by
UBC Press, University of British Columbia, 6344 Memorial Road,
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
European environmental policy: the pioneers/edited by Mikael Skou
Andersen and Duncan Liefferink

p. cm.—(Issues in environmental politics)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-7190-5043-X

1. Environmental policy—Europe. I. Andersen. Mikael Skou.

II. Liefferink, Duncan. III. Series.

GE190.E95E855 1997

363.7'0094—dc21

96-40303

ISBN 0 7190 5717 5 *paperback*

First published in 1997

01 00 99 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Printed in Great Britain
by Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

Contents

List of contributors	viii
Preface	ix
Introduction: the impact of the pioneers on EU environmental policy	
Mikael Skou Andersen and Duncan Liefferink	1
<i>The new member states</i>	1
<i>The importance and role of pioneers in environmental policy-making</i>	3
<i>The role of domestic politics in EU policy-making</i>	7
<i>Understanding the domestic polity</i>	16
<i>Strategies at the European level</i>	21
<i>Bringing the two levels together: the dynamics of the pioneers</i>	31
<i>The contents of the book</i>	35
1 Sweden: setting a good example	
Annica Kronsell	40
<i>Introduction</i>	40
<i>Perceptions of environmental issues</i>	41
<i>The basic characteristics of the institutional context</i>	49
<i>Swedish political traditions and environmental policy</i>	54
<i>The relationship between the economy and the environment</i>	60
<i>Foreign environmental policy</i>	64

<i>The institutional context and policy style in foreign environmental policy-making</i>	70
<i>The debate about EU membership</i>	74
<i>Conclusions</i>	76
2 Austria: a latecomer which became a pioneer	81
Volkmar Lauber	81
<i>Historical overview</i>	86
<i>The institutional and political context</i>	90
<i>The main actors: parties, interest groups, citizens</i>	95
<i>National style and beliefs</i>	99
<i>Foreign environmental policy</i>	107
<i>The preparation of foreign environmental policy</i>	
<i>The debate on EU membership and environmental policy</i>	110
3 Finland: from local to global politics	119
Marko Joas	119
<i>Introduction</i>	121
<i>A short history of Finnish environmental policies and politics</i>	125
<i>Institutions in the environmental policy field</i>	136
<i>The environmental agenda today</i>	141
<i>Finland's foreign environmental policy agenda</i>	146
<i>Foreign (environmental) policy institutions</i>	151
<i>EU membership and environmental policy</i>	156
<i>Conclusions</i>	
4 Germany: domestic obstacles to an international forerunner	161
Heinrich Pehle	161
<i>A short review of the development of environmental policy</i>	168
<i>Institutional background</i>	180
<i>The tension between ecology and economy</i>	186
<i>Main points of German foreign environmental policy</i>	
<i>The institutional foundation of foreign environmental policy</i>	193
<i>Germany and the environmental policy of the EU</i>	199

5 The Netherlands: a net exporter of environmental policy concepts	210
Duncan Liefferink	211
<i>Environmental problems and policies in the Netherlands: an overview</i>	219
<i>The institutional context</i>	226
<i>Environment and economy in the Netherlands: an evolving relationship</i>	231
<i>The foreign environmental policy agenda</i>	238
<i>The institutional setting of foreign environmental policy</i>	
<i>The Netherlands, European integration and environmental policy</i>	241
<i>Conclusions</i>	245
6 Denmark: the shadow of the green majority	251
Mikael Skou Andersen	251
<i>Introduction</i>	252
<i>Environmental problems and policies in Denmark: an overview</i>	258
<i>Institutional context</i>	268
<i>The economy and the environment</i>	270
<i>Foreign environmental policy agenda</i>	
<i>Institutional framework for international environmental policy</i>	275
<i>The EU debate</i>	277
7 Norway: a case of 'splendid isolation'	287
Marit Reitan	287
<i>Introduction</i>	289
<i>The national environmental policy agenda</i>	296
<i>The institutional context</i>	307
<i>The integration of the environment and the economy</i>	312
<i>The foreign environmental policy agenda</i>	
<i>The institutional context of foreign environmental policy</i>	319
<i>European integration and environmental policy</i>	322
<i>Conclusions</i>	325
Index	331

List of contributors

- Mikael Skou Andersen*, Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark.
Marko Joas, Department of Public Administration, Åbo Akademi, Åbo, Finland.
Annica Kronsell, Department of Political Science, Lund University, Lund, Sweden.
Volkmar Lauber, Department of Political Science, Salzburg University, Salzburg, Austria.
Duncan Liefverink, Department of Sociology, Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen, the Netherlands.
Heinrich Pehle, Department of Political Science, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen, Germany.
Marit Reitan, Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway.

Preface

EU environmental policy was formally founded with the European Council declaration made in Paris in October 1972, and especially in the last decade its environmental policies have developed at an unexpected speed. While the Cechini White Paper from 1985 scheduled about 300 new directives for the creation of the single market, no one policy document foresaw that about 150 legal acts relating to environmental policy would be passed in the period from 1987 to 1994, further extending environmental protection and thus affirming the position of environmental policy as one of the key areas within the EU. One of the reasons for the rapid development of EU environmental policy has been the marked differences among the various member states; between the forerunners with relatively developed domestic environmental policies and the latecomers with little or no national environmental legislation. The differences have had to be levelled out, and in this process the administrative and technical policy experiences of the forerunners seem to have had an upper hand in the harmonisation process.

The title of this book, *European environmental policy: the pioneers*, is not meant as a bold claim regarding the sophistication of environmental policy in a certain part of Europe, nor can the countries covered by this book be regarded as having developed particularly 'sustainable' economies and societies. What we are interested in is their political role in EU environmental policy-making, where they often have pushed for higher environmental standards, on the basis of their domestic policies.

It is our view that we cannot understand the promotion of

strategies and concepts at the EU level without understanding their origin in the domestic context. The basic idea of the book is to provide the reader with a deeper insight into domestic environmental policy-making, to trace the internal conflicts and dynamics that have made these countries develop their notions of environmental policy, and select the issues which are brought to Brussels for 'Europeanisation'. We think that such insights may provide a useful tool for better understanding and analysing the internal environmental politics of other EU member states, and hence for better understanding the policies they promote at the EU level.

The enlargement of the EU in 1995 with Austria, Finland and Sweden provided the occasion for the focus on the 'pioneers' since these three new member states had relatively developed domestic environmental policies and were expected to provide a significant impetus to EU environmental policy-making. Because alliances are rather crucial to policy-making in the EU, where decisions can be taken by qualified majority in the Council of Ministers, we found it logical to explore the domestic environmental policies of the previous environmental pioneers (Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark) as well, to investigate the coherency of a potential 'green bloc' in EU environmental decision-making. Norway is also included in the book, because Norway was expected to become a member, and because Norway is linked to the EU policy-making process, both through the European Economic Area arrangement and through its traditional partnership with the other Nordic countries.

The dynamics of the enlargement have been further explored in another book, *The innovation of EU environmental policy* from Scandinavian University Press, as well as in the final report from the project 'New member states and the impact on EU environmental policy'. The project, from which this book also stems, was funded by the European Commission's Socio-Economic Environmental Research Programme (contract CT 94-0385), and additional support was obtained from the Nordic Academy for Advanced Studies (NorFa). We would like to express our thanks to both organisations for their generosity.

The individual chapters have been written using a common analytical framework and were first presented at a workshop in April 1995 at Sandbjerg Manor, the conference facility of Aarhus University. As editors of this volume, we would very much like to thank the individual chapter authors for their efforts. We are also grateful for the

linguistic assistance of Virginia A. Schildhauer, who translated the chapter on Germany into English, and of Judith Ugelow, who reviewed the remaining chapters, as well as for the skilful secretarial assistance of Anette Riber of the Political Science Department at Aarhus University. We would also like to express our thanks to Rebecca Crum from Manchester University Press for a pleasant and fruitful co-operation and to the series' editors, in particular Albert Weale, for their supportive attitude to this book.