

**„BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY CLUJ-NAPOCA
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THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Scientific coordinator:

Prof. Univ. Dr. Habil. Melania-Gabriela CIOT

PhD student:

Luciana-Mirela BUTIȘCĂ

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ABSTRACT

With the launch of the European Green Deal (EGD), the European Commission placed Europe in the position of global leader in achieving the goal of climate neutrality, through an integrated strategy aimed at reaching record targets in sectors such as: industry, energy, mobility, international trade, economy and finance. It is a certainty that the EGD and the new industrial strategy represent only the beginning of necessary changes that must be undertaken equally by all Member States, at all levels of government. Or, the next period must come with a set of measures, correlated with a feasible operational dimension for EGD, given the dynamic changes at the international level. The present scientific approach proposes an analysis of the evolution of industrial policy at the European and national level, and of the manner in which it will be redefined, in a wider framework, marked by EGD, and the double transition - ecological and digital. For this purpose, a qualitative research strategy was used, with the following methods: document analysis, discourse analysis, respectively, the semi-structured interview. The results of the research showed that with the adoption of the EGD, there was a need for a reconsideration of the strategies regarding the industrial sector, and not only, with an emphasis on ensuring the fulfillment of the objective of climate neutrality, respectively facilitating the transition to a net-zero industry. Also, at the national level, there will be a need for a definition of the industrial policy with an emphasis on: outlining a political and regulatory framework for the industrial sector; the establishment of an intermediate body to manage the transition of the industrial sector; facilitating ecological and digital skills-qualification/retraining; strengthening cooperation between regions; respectively, the establishment of a progress reporting/evaluation system.

Keywords: European Union, Romania, European Green Deal, Green Deal Industrial Plan, industrial policy, ecological transition, climate neutrality, net-zero industry, recommendations.

Summary

The present scientific approach, entitled „European Green Deal and Industrial Policy” proposes an analysis of the evolution of industrial policy at the European level, and of the manner in which it will be redefined, in a wider framework, marked by the European Green Deal (EGD), and the double transition - ecological and digital. Also, the research considers the analysis of the coordination at the level of the member states (case of Romania) of the activity in the field of European affairs (coordination of strategies on European issues – industrial policy), offering at the same time a series of recommendations for (re)defining the industrial policy at the national level, starting from the actions provided by the EGD, respectively the new Industrial Plan, proposed by the European Commission. The research will address the current gap in the implementation of

EGD measures in the industry sector, and will improve the specialized literature by focusing attention on the sustainable effects of EGD implementation, the contribution of epistemic communities on this topic being quite limited. Empirical analysis will facilitate the strengthening of national and local administrations` capacity to implement the EGD, as well as a better understanding of the EU`s industrial strategy.

The present research considers an analysis of the decision-making process, using a top-down approach: from the strategic level (decision), to the local level (results), the analysis model developed based on a combination of the key elements of the EGD, and the coordination system of European affairs at the national level. The analysis is intended to be a useful tool for decision-makers because it provides an answer to the effects of decisions regarding the definition of an industrial policy at the national level, and opens new paths for other investigations in the field of industry, circular economy, digitalization, sustainability, climate change, and European affairs.

The present scientific approach aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the specificity of industrial policy at the European level, and how is it (re)defined starting from the targets and regulations supported by the EGD?
2. What are the main policies, mechanisms, targets and regulations supported by EGD?
3. What steps should Romania undertake to promote the concepts of the new industrial policy, part of the EGD?

Since in the framework of the research it was proposed to clarify some aspects with a high degree of complexity, both from a theoretical and practical point of view, the development of the research process is conditioned by the setting of general and specific objectives. The general objective of the study is to provide an analysis of the challenges in the transition of the industrial sector, with an emphasis on the identification of policy options, which can determine the acceleration of the evolution towards a sustainable development at the national level, taking into account the own public policies, but also the evolution of European strategies circumscribed by EGD. In order to achieve this objective, both a theoretical research based on the analysis of documents and specialized studies relevant to the fields circumscribed by the EGD area: industry, environment, energy, transport, agriculture, etc., as well as empirical research, whose purpose will be to propose recommendations for redefining the industrial policy at the national level, was carried out. Derived from the general objective, the specific objectives are the ones that will guide the research step by step. Among the specific objectives are: carrying out analyses in order to provide an extensive image of the measures provided by the Pact; identifying the nature of possible problems that could prevent the implementation of certain measures at the national level in the industrial sector (description of the problem sometimes generating discussions from several perspectives: actors, conditions, causes, constraints, conflicts, interests and values of the actors

involved, roles and responsibilities, results or impact); the elaboration of industrial policy recommendations, resulting from the consultation of political, economic and social actors whose activity is circumscribed by EGD.

The present doctoral thesis is among the first researches whose object is the redefinition of the EU's industrial policy starting from the integrated strategy of the European Union, respectively EGD. The contribution of the thesis to the field of International Relations and European Studies is significant, precisely because of the novelty of the theme it proposes, the current interest in industrial policy and EGD, being significant, especially, due to the complexity and multiple facets it presents. Also, the research opens new perspectives for research and debate, providing important answers, which could be used to deepen the study, and continue the investigation in the next period. The research will lead the way for further research, in order to identify the most effective ways of implementing the measures provided for by the EGD, in the national and local policies in Romania, also offering some recommendations regarding the future of the industrial policy. It is among the few contributions that address the Romanian decision-making process for the implementation of the EGD, at this moment, being extremely few studies on the implementation of the policies with which it interacts.

The scientific approach was designed with reference to the standards in the field of social sciences. During the research, a qualitative research strategy was used. The study period for the present investigation is 2019-2023. This interval was taken into account because in 2019 the first discussions on the EGD started, discussions which were preceded by a series of actions, both at European and national level - reforms and investments to support the green transition and digitalisation, industrial development, smart growth, resilience and policies for future generations. Qualitatively speaking, the following research methods were used: document analysis, discourse analysis, respectively the semi-structured interview. In order to reach relevant data regarding the research object, one of the research methods used is document analysis. The analysis started from the observation and analysis of the phenomena, so that later the results are interpreted, it is an empirical approach that is based on the investigation of sources, such as the official documents adopted at the European and national level. Also, the following were reviewed: studies, reports of European and national institutions, policy notes, scientific volumes, scientific articles or statistics. Discourse analysis (political/public speeches, mass media representations) was also used, as an investigative approach that aims to analyse the causes and effects of the various problems identified in the area of application of the EGD, respectively the industrial policy. Through this method, certain nuanced layers of meaning can be understood, which are complemented by social or institutional aspects. The analysis focused on the speeches of the European leaders: the president of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, respectively the first vice-president of the

European Commission, Frans Timmermans, from the period 2019-2023, which had as a topic the EGD, respectively the industrial policy. Last but not least, the semi-structured interview was used. The research interview is considered a very useful analytical tool for identifying problems, solutions or evaluating implementation. The value of the interviews contributes to the possibility to see the problems in the practical context and, at the same time, to the possibility to obtain information about the practical solutions that have already been identified at the level of several institutions. Moreover, it is considered one of the best tools to capture the position of important officials, main institutions, social partners, in order to create an overview of the proposed theme. A semi-standardized interview guide was developed: for national and local public authorities, for market structures, for stakeholders from the sphere of non-governmental organizations, but also for epistemic communities. The interview guide includes 12 questions, which oriented the discussions around the European Green Deal and the new Industrial Plan of the European Commission.

The work was analysed through the lens of international relations theories. Special attention was paid to multi-level governance, a theoretical current at the intersection of intergovernmentalism and supranationalism¹. The significance of the concept of multi-level governance consists in recognizing the existence of an increased number of actors who participate in decision-making, in exercising influence for their adoption, the competences of each level being recognized through their participation in the elaboration and implementation of European, national, regional and local policies².

The research was organized in the form of five chapters.

The approach undertaken begins with the introductory chapter, which considers the formulation of the general framework of the thesis, as well as the motivation of the scientific approach.

The first chapter considers the conceptualization of industrial policy and its evolution at the European level - from definition, typologies, instruments, institutional positions and sharing of competences, to the governance of the industrial sector. Also, the chapter takes into account the structural changes and the shaping of the industrial policy in Romania - from the period of the pre-accession process to the European Union, and until now, against the background of assuming the transition to a net-zero industry. The European industrial policy had a dynamic evolution, marked by multiple transformations – from a sectoral and interventionist approach, to a horizontal and competition-focused approach. Europe experienced a period of extensive interventions in the industrial sector, especially after the Second World War, but nevertheless there was no specific

¹ Michael O'Neill, *The Politics of European Integration: a reader*, Londra: Routledge, 1996, pp. 99-108.

² *Ibidem*.

model or general strategy for an industrial policy uniformly adopted by all Member States. Gradually, at the European level, a consensus was built around a holistic, integrated and horizontal approach to industrial policy, but limited to a role of ensuring the appropriate framework conditions. The analysis of scientific literature highlighted the existence of several approaches to industrial policy – from a green or ecological policy to a systemic industrial policy. According to the new approaches, industrial policy must be forward-looking, it must favour competition, and most importantly, it must support community needs. It should be integrated or systemic, and should create synergies with the other policies with which it is closely related, rather than being an isolated policy component in conflict with other policies. With the outline of the first economic development strategy, and in the context of the reforms preceding the accession negotiations to the European Union, it is possible to discuss for the first time the creation of an industrial policy for Romania, and, subsequently, a more systematized and compact approach to it. However, Romania will have to redefine its industrial policy in terms that meet the main objectives of the European Union in the sector, and having as a starting point both the EGD and the newer Industrial Plan, as well as the mechanisms, targets and regulations assumed together with them.

The second chapter places the EGD in the wider context of EU climate governance, and presents the main strategies, mechanisms, targets and associated/subsequent regulations, the aim being to highlight the opportunities and challenges generated by the Pact. The chapter also analyses the context that led to EGD becoming the main priority of the European agenda, as well as a number of gaps identified in its design. Last but not least, the chapter presents the SWOT analysis of EGD as a whole, thus providing an extensive image of it, through the prism of its performances. After a long period of stagnation in the European policy-making process, the European Commission restored the trajectory for a more integrated environmental and climate change agenda - already developed policy ideas gained momentum, and the issues of the ecological and digital transition became topics of priority interest at the level of political discussions from 2019 until now, being addressed in the form of a comprehensive package of measures, respectively, the European Green Deal. The Pact highlights the need for a holistic approach, where all relevant policy areas must contribute to the ultimate goal of climate neutrality. The strategy contains actions targeting measures in distinct areas - from climate change and the environment, to energy, mobility, industry and agriculture, all of which are strongly interconnected. The analysis of the specialized literature showed that the EGD represents a mix of five political projects: European (debates on the future of Europe), climate (street movements/citizens` concerns), economic (EU consolidation to cope in an economy with zero carbon emissions), social (skilling/reskilling), and international (cooperation, assuming common targets) - each with its own targets, delimitations, risks or success factors. The comprehensive analysis of all areas of application of the EGD has

shown that its implementation will require: firstly, the review of the legal and action framework in all areas with which it intersects, so that synergies are created between areas, secondly, the application of innovation and new technologies for all areas covered by it, thirdly, the large-scale application of the principles of the circular economy and sustainability, and last but not least, the dialogue and involvement of all interested parties. Even if the EGD is one of the most complex strategies developed at the European level, the analysis of the Communication on the European Green Deal, noticed a series of gaps in its design, in the form of a lack of mandatory objectives, concrete measures or even in terms of defining some concepts, and ignoring or politicizing these differences can have a negative impact on implementation, and can even reduce the perceived legitimacy of the strategy.

The third chapter presents the paradigm changes in the industrial policy of the European Union in the context of the European Green Deal, and also provides an analysis of the new Industrial Plan, both from the point of view of the content and from the point of view of the political communication behind it (linguistic register). The chapter also presents the SWOT analysis of the Industrial Plan, to provide an extensive image of it, as well as a series of recommendations for a successful transition of the industrial sector. The European Green Deal and the double transition – ecological and digital, determined the adoption of new strategies, designed to ensure a more complex and efficient framework for European industry. Currently, the objective of the European industrial policy is to ensure the competitiveness of the industrial sector, so that it can maintain its role as a leader in sustainable growth and employment, and it mainly aims to adapt the industry to structural changes, to develop the business environment, especially the entrepreneurial one and the cooperation between enterprises, and to ensure a better connection of innovation, research and development policies with the industrial one. Industrial policy is a transversal policy, well-integrated into other European policies such as trade, internal market, research-development and innovation, employment, environmental protection, defence and public health. Regarding the governance of industrial policy, the European Union has already favoured a strategic change, promoting a more integrated industrial policy, which emphasizes both cooperation and coordination of efforts between the European Commission and the Member States, as well as the existence of synergies with other European policies, from R&D and innovation policy, to competition policy, trade or energy policy. Although with the EGD, there was talk of creating a green industrial policy, and this phrase became more and more used, the new EU industrial strategy is not a green industrial strategy per se, but rather a general one; it does not even mention the concept of green industrial policy, but specifies a set of green objectives. The impact of COVID-19 and the Russian aggression in Ukraine also generated new reflections on the European economic recovery, reconstruction and strengthening of resilience, which led to new steps in the

industrial sector, respectively to the adoption of the Green Deal Industrial Plan (GDIP). The GDIP promises a multitude of actions – regulation, finance, skills, trade, and supports the wider ambition of the EGD, to make Europe the first climate-neutral continent, and to facilitate the transition to a net-zero industry. The linguistic analysis of the Communication on GDIP showed that the EU constructed a discourse on „net-zero industry”, and used certain keywords, pre-established expressions and grammatical patterns, to support its traditional agenda, and prioritize the subject of net-zero transition.

The fourth chapter summarizes the design of the research, presenting in detail the research strategy that was opted for, as well as the research methods that were used to outline the scientific approach (it is about a qualitative research strategy, with the following research methods: document analysis, discourse analysis, as well as semi-structured interview).

The fifth chapter summarizes the analysis and interpretation of the data collected in the qualitative research. This chapter presents an analysis of the speeches of the European leaders, Ursula von der Leyen and Frans Timmermans, in an attempt to provide a complex picture of the strategies for communicating messages regarding the transition of the industrial sector, and the climate transition in general. The chapter also presents the qualitative analysis of the interviews, generally focused on the transition of the Romanian industrial sector, offering at the same time five recommendations to consider for the reconfiguration of Romania`s industrial policy. The analysis of the speeches of European leaders, on current topics such as GDIP or industrial policy, demonstrated the way in which they, using language and a series of persuasive strategies, but also thanks to the ability to nuance the language, easily communicate their messages and ideologies to a heterogeneous audience. All elements from the internal and external environment (political, cultural or social experience) influence them, and influence the decisions they make, from professional to everyday ones. At the national level, it will be necessary to strengthen the coordination of activity in the field of European affairs (coordination of strategies on European issues - industry sector). Special attention will have to be paid to the fulfillment of the *acquis* of the European Union, but also to the development of synergies between industrial policy and other policies with which it intersects, regardless of direct or indirect influence. The analysis of the interviews pointed out that in order to facilitate the transition to a net-zero industry, it will be necessary to update the national legal framework by including the best practices, and considering the cost-benefit perspective in the decision to invest in new technologies. Romania`s degree of readiness in terms of implementing the new industrial policy framework will also be strongly influenced by the available European funding. In order to successfully achieve the transition of the industrial sector, Romania`s industrial policy should be redefined taking into account several recommendations such as: the outline of a political and regulatory framework for the industrial

sector; the establishment of an intermediate body to manage the transition of the industrial sector; facilitating ecological and digital skills - qualification/retraining; strengthening cooperation between regions; respectively, the establishment of a progress reporting/evaluation system.

The research ends with the conclusions part, which proposes a discussion on the results obtained in this scientific work, as well as future research perspectives.

The work started from the following working hypotheses: the European Green Deal and the new industrial plans and strategies, will determine the transition to a net-zero industry; the coordination of national and European strategies in the field will facilitate the transition of Romania`s industrial sector. Both working hypotheses were validated.

The limits of the scientific research are: although the scientific approach focuses on the analysis of the European Green Deal, it did not offer a comprehensive analysis of the financing framework of the European Green Deal, limiting itself to a brief presentation of the financing instruments; research concentrates an extensive analysis of the transition in the industrial sector, but it was limited to an overall approach to the sector, and not, separately, to each area; also, in terms of discourse analysis, research has focused especially on language analysis, figures of speech, persuasive techniques, rhetorical elements, etc., and has not considered other models (for example, Norman Fairclough`s three-dimensional model: discourse as text; discourse as discursive practice; discourse as social practice); last but not least, the number of interviews carried out is reduced, and at the same time restricted to professionals from the sphere of public authorities and the academic environment, although other categories of actors were also taken into account, such as economic ones, stakeholders from the sphere of non-governmental organizations, interest groups or the media.

The scientific enterprise also presents a series of future research perspectives, respectively: after the planning period for the implementation of the EGD strategy and the actual implementation of the specific actions, both at European and national level, it will be necessary to measure the effectiveness and efficiency of the initiatives undertaken, which will undoubtedly be a new direction of research; the implementation of the framework provided by the Green Deal Industrial Plan, will require an analysis from the perspective of results and impact, which also could be a new direction of research; for the member states of Central and Eastern Europe, the increase in the share of renewable energy (42.5%) represents a first signal of some possible initiatives to outline more specific policies adapted to the national framework or even some derogations from the established terms, from this perspective, in the future, it could be analysed the extent to which these states will be able to achieve or not, the objectives agreed at the European level; last but not least, through the European Green Deal and the new Industrial Plan, the EU seeks to strengthen its position in the field of clean technologies, from this perspective, in the

future, the extent to which the EGD and the GDIP will really determine a repositioning of the EU, in relation to other powers, in the sector of clean technologies could be investigated.

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