

Abstract: "Political Determinants of the Energy Transition in Poland, 2004–2020"

The subject of this dissertation is an analysis of the political determinants of the energy transition in Poland between 2004 and 2020. The main objective of the study was to examine the energy policy formulated and pursued in Poland during the period under study and to assess the degree of its implementation by identifying and explaining the significance of internal and external factors shaping the pace, direction, and effectiveness of the energy transition. The dissertation was prepared within the discipline of political science and public administration.

The dissertation consists of five chapters. The first chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework, combining the assumptions of new institutionalism, theories of European integration, and the concept of Europeanisation. The second chapter reconstructs the evolution of Polish energy policy from the post-war period to 2020. The third chapter analyses the ways in which Polish political parties articulated challenges related to the energy transition in their party programmes and in the policy statements delivered by successive Prime Ministers. The fourth chapter discusses the evolution of EU energy policy and the EU's climate and energy policy, with particular emphasis on the mechanism of growing adaptational pressure exerted on Member States. The fifth chapter concerns the Europeanisation of Poland's energy policy in the years 2010–2020. It discusses the European Semester as an instrument for coordinating energy policy and then analyses the degree to which three objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy were achieved: increasing the share of energy from renewable sources, reducing greenhouse gas emissions in non-ETS sectors, and limiting primary energy consumption.

The dissertation advances five research hypotheses concerning domestic and European factors that influence the course of the energy transition and the degree to which climate and energy policy objectives are achieved. The dissertation is analytical and empirical, while its descriptive and explanatory components serve to verify the underlying research assumptions. The study employs several complementary methods, including institutional and legal analysis, comparative analysis, and systems analysis.

The analysis demonstrates that the energy transition in Poland between 2004 and 2020 proceeded gradually and selectively. Its pace and direction were shaped by the interplay between domestic priorities — the centrality of the coal sector, national security, and the

interests of political and economic actors — and the adaptational pressure resulting from Poland's membership of the European Union. Energy policy therefore extends beyond the management of the energy sector and constitutes an important area of public policy in which interdependencies between the state, political actors, sectoral interests, and European commitments become apparent.

Keywords: energy transition, energy policy, Poland, European Union, Europeanisation, energy security, climate and energy policy, European Semester.