



Exporting the Energiewende?

German Leadership and Renewable Energy Policy
Transfer to Morocco, South Africa and California

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MOTIVATION

„With the Energiewende, we wanted to generate followers. Of course we did not want to do climate protection in Germany, but motivate others to join us.“

Sigmar Gabriel, 2014

- Energiewende as a policy experiment
- Unilateral and active leadership
- Usual indicator in literature: diffusion of feed-in tariffs
- But: When is Energiewende leadership „effective“?
- PhD research at FU Berlin & Harvard Kennedy School, field research in Morocco, California and South Africa



THREE VARIANTS OF POLICY TRANSFER

“Consideration”

- Taking into account foreign experience

“Utilization”

- Using evidence in debates and policy processes

“Reflection”

- Influence on policy decisions



CASE SELECTION



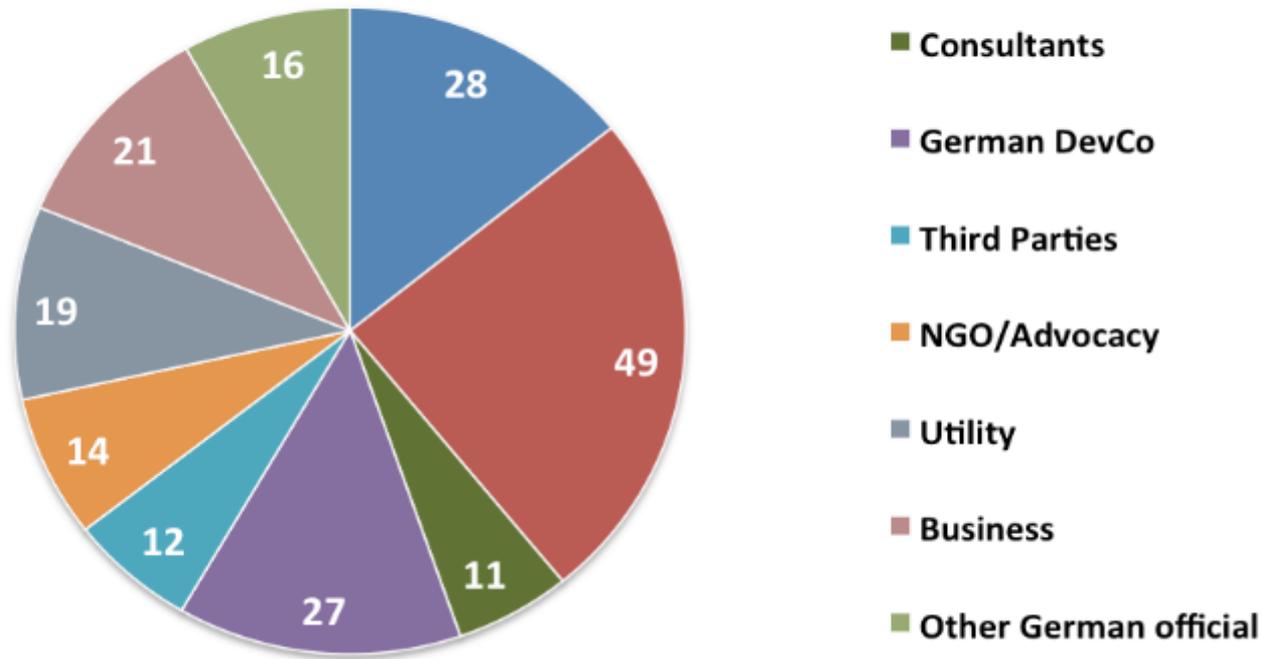
- Diversity
- Target countries
- “Negtive“ cases



METHODS TO ASSESS TRANSFER

Interviewees per sector

(n=197, incl. 16 background, all cases combined)



Combined with document analysis, ranking exercises, analysis of 110 Bundestag debates.



MOROCCO

*“We want to do it like Germany and **there is no reason that we couldn’t do it as well, especially if, in addition, we have the sun.**”*

- Impact on long-term renewables goals
- Negative lesson-drawing regarding FiT
- Long-term cooperation and trust, “privileged Energiewende partners”
- Critical view of German role in decision for CSP & export vision





SOUTH AFRICA

*“[...] you think, ‘Man, I don’t know how we’re gonna do this here’. And **then when you see that it can actually be done**, you think ‘What do we need to do to get there?’”*

- REFIT inspired by Germany, catalyzes policy change
- Technical-level support to REIPPPP to prepare long-term transition
- Agenda-setting and managing concerns
- Transition remains fragile





CALIFORNIA

*“Germany has always been, on renewables, it’s always been **the test case**. We’re always watching to see what would happen.”*

- Strategic use of policy evidence
- Effective transfer depends on policy level
- Co-leadership as powerful political argument
- Bi-directional transfer





KEYS TO EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

“Let’s say Germany had done nothing, where would we be today? And I think the answer is: nowhere near as far along.”

- Perceived political will & willingness to lead
- Negative lessons valuable; challenges can be resolved
- Costs lead to legitimacy
- Long-term presence & trust
- “Neutral broker”, perceived lack of economic interest
- Diversity of Energiewende transfer agents
- Obstacles to transfer: politics of energy transition, redistributive effects, decentralization



POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

“Do Germans tell me what they want? [...] Do they tell themselves ‘we’d like other countries to do the same thing we do and we start with Morocco’? I don’t know, do you?”

- Leadership by example necessary, but insufficient
- Strengthen capacities for transfer
- Transparent agenda for Energiewende export
- Tailor outreach to local targets & interests
- Leadership changes as Energiewende policies do



“The first ones, leaders, don't always get it perfectly right, but it's always valuable because then the people coming next can try to avoid the same problem.”

Relevant publications

Steinbacher, K. (2016) Exporting the Energiewende? German Energiewende leadership and renewable energy policy transfer to Morocco, South Africa, and California. Doctoral thesis, Freie Universität Berlin.

Steinbacher, K. (forthcoming) Exporting the Energiewende. Springer VS.

Steinbacher, K. Pahle, M. (2016) Leadership and the Energiewende: German Leadership by Diffusion. Global Environmental Politics, Vol. 4, pp.70-89.

Stiftung Neue Verantwortung (2017) Eine Globale Energiewende? <https://www.stiftung-nv.de/sites/default/files/snv.globale-energiewende.pdf>

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Backup slides



RANKINGS



Vgl. auch Joas, Pahle & Flachsland 2014, 2016



RANKING ERGEBNISSE

Marokko

1-Unabhängigkeit von Importen

2-Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen

3-Leistbare Strompreise

4-Industriepolitik

5-Investoren anziehen

6-Klimaschutz

7-Leadership

8-Gesellschaftsprojekt

9-Stromexport

Südafrika

1-Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen

2-Versorgungssicherheit

3-Industriepolitik

4-Investoren anziehen

5-Klimaschutz

6-Leistbare Strompreise

7-Wettbewerb im Energiesektor

8-Erwartung der intl. Community

9-Erwartung der Gesellschaft

Dezentralisierung | Atomausstieg, Vermeidung von Nuklearenergie



CODIERUNG

EW solar economy

0:00:00 / 00:00:00

de System

- Transfer Outcome 207
 - Reverse transfer 25
 - Differentiated transfer, localization 28
 - General statements on transfer 31
 - PE of transfer 55
 - High-level inspiration negative 8
 - High-level inspiration positive 30
 - Concrete positive lesson drawn 14
 - Concrete negative lesson drawn 16
- Transfer Process 199
 - Reaction to use of German example (2nd set ...) 10
 - Further diffusion 4
 - Other sources than GER 37
 - Strategic Use of EW Info \Strategic use as ne... 19
 - Strategic Use of EW Info \Strategic use as X; ... 10
 - Strategic Use of EW Info 18
 - Entrepreneur 37
 - Example as threat 3
 - Competition with Ger triggers action 6
 - Example triggering action 9
 - German support as empowerment 0
 - German outreach triggering action 0
 - Example is empowerment 25
 - Info used to inform debate 14
 - Info used to solve problem 7
- Transferability 99
 - No lessons can be / were drawn 12

Document Browser: YAMOUT

No lessons can be / were drawn
Examples of active GER outreach or ..Leadership in CA
General statements on transfer

General statements on transfer
GER LS crucial

No lessons can be / were drawn
Differentiated transfer, localization

EW Cost issue
High-level inspiration negative

Competition with GER recognized
No lessons can be / were drawn

- 1 When I was with the Gov over more than once, a co general I think people in C single idea.
- 2 Of course it's a conventio: prices for photovoltaics ar development. But the poli quite attached to doing the
- 3 So yes, there was quite a l and Germany, but in the e
- 4 One of the main points of view Germany was more way round.
- 5 Competition with German played a role in speeches : would say, hey let's do thi
- 6 As far as the drivers for R



ENERGIEWENDE LEADERSHIP IM BUNDESTAG

Alle sagen uns: Wenn die Energiewende bei euch nicht geht, dann geht sie nirgends. Also haben wir die verdammte Pflicht und Schuldigkeit, etwas zu tun. (Eva Bulling-Schröter, Die Linke)

Der nächste Schritt wird das Marktmodell sein. Wenn das Marktmodell funktioniert, werden wir es schaffen, dass erneuerbare Energien zu einer tragenden Säule und auch wettbewerbsgerecht werden. Wenn wir das geschafft haben, dann wird auch unsere Energiewende ein Exportschlager sein.

(Thomas Bareiß, CDU)

Sie sagen, Deutschland sei Vorreiter. Ich sage: Nein, Deutschland war einmal Vorreiter, aber inzwischen steigen die Emissionen wieder, und der Ausbau der erneuerbaren Energien wird ohne Not ausgebremst. (Katrín Göring-Eckhardt, B90/Die Grünen)

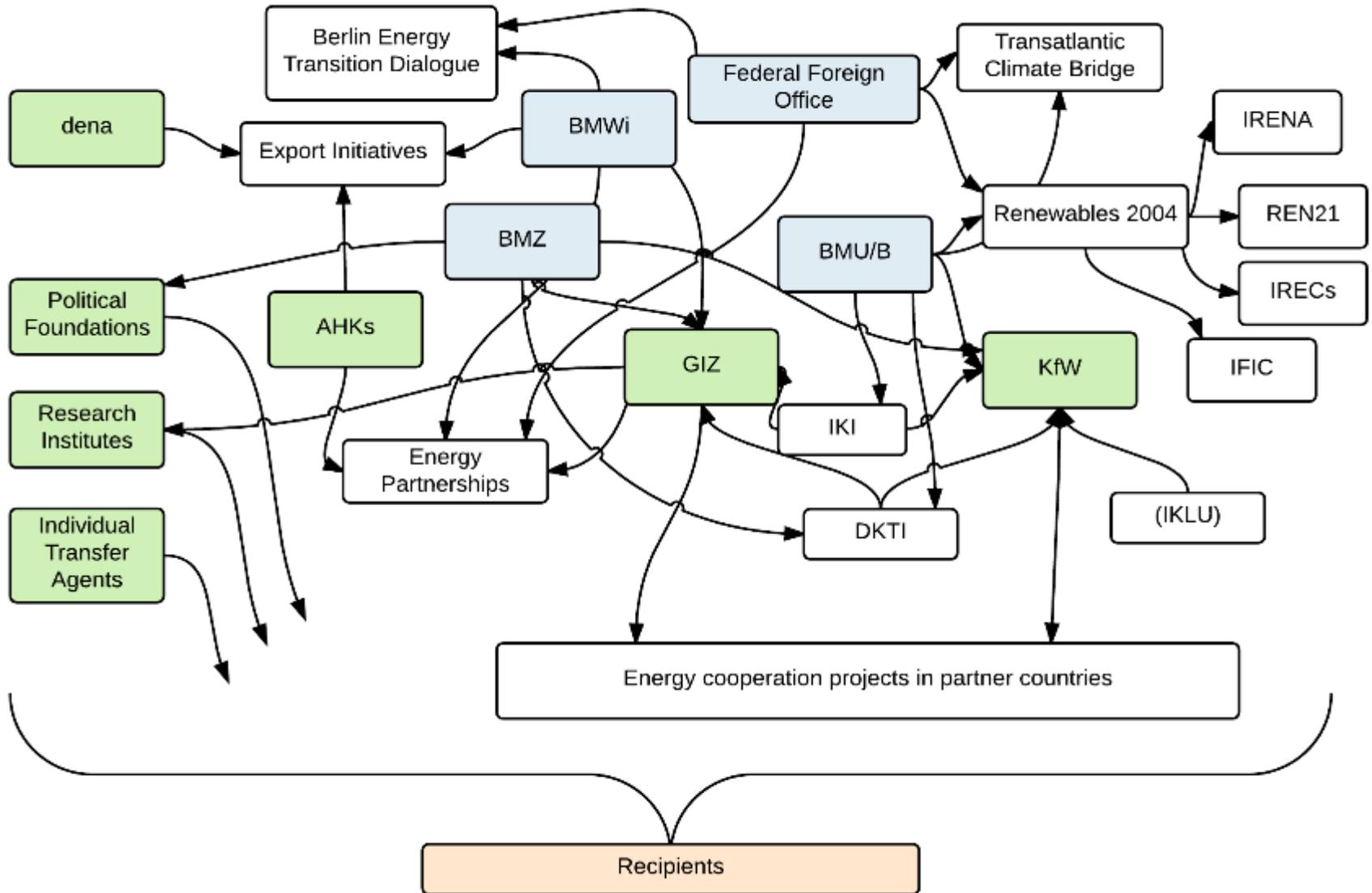


BUNDESTAGSDEBATTEN 2013-2015

Code	N° of coded Segments, n=512
Implementation of leadership (LS)	2
LS = Economic advantages	8
GER is Energiewende leader	58
External perception	34
LS aim	37
LS threatened/in danger or maybe lost	33
LS in Europe	12
LS aim refused/critical of LS aim	12
LS - development nexus	5
Leadership is/has been success if/because (general)	25
If climate protected-> followers	31
If also eco success -> follower	28
Moral obligation / "natural" LS	23
LS for climate reasons	54

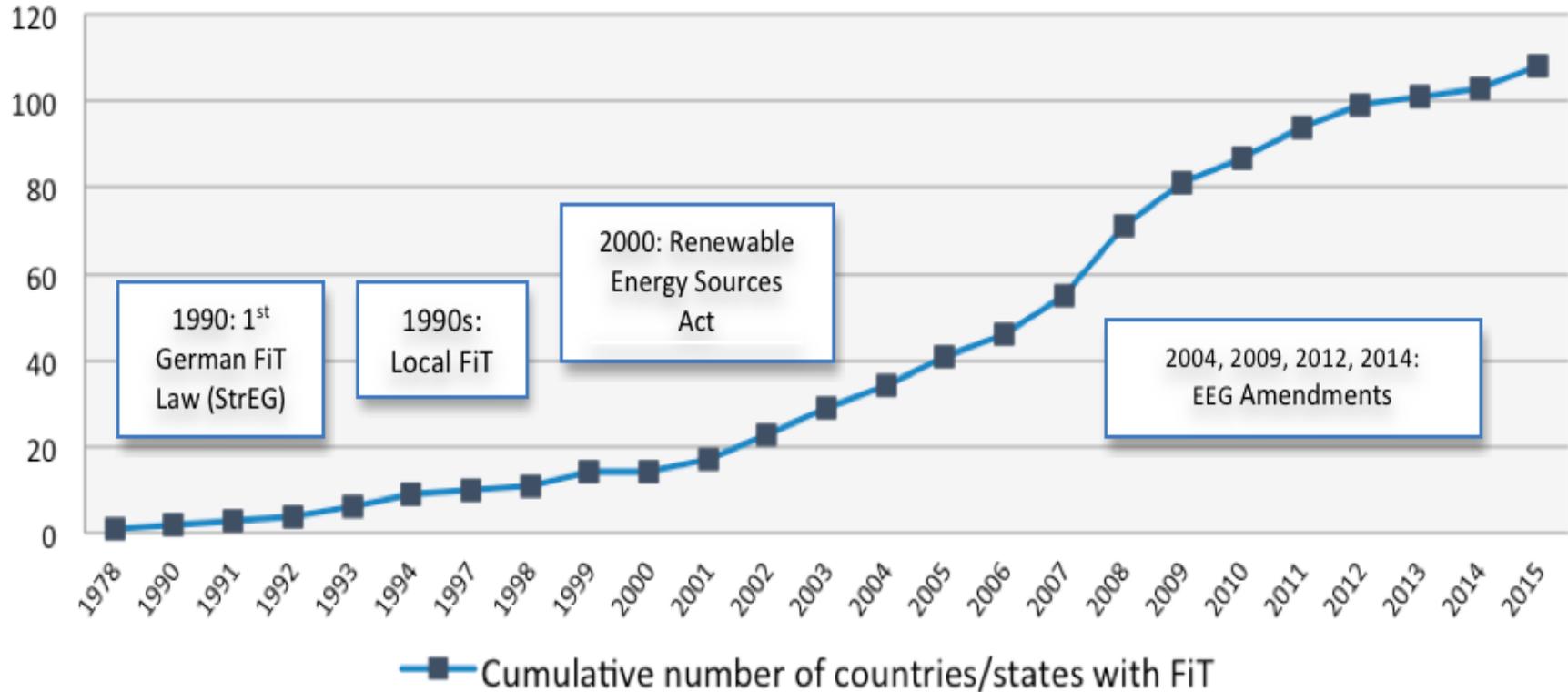


INTL. ENERGIEWENDE NETZWERK DEUTSCHLAND



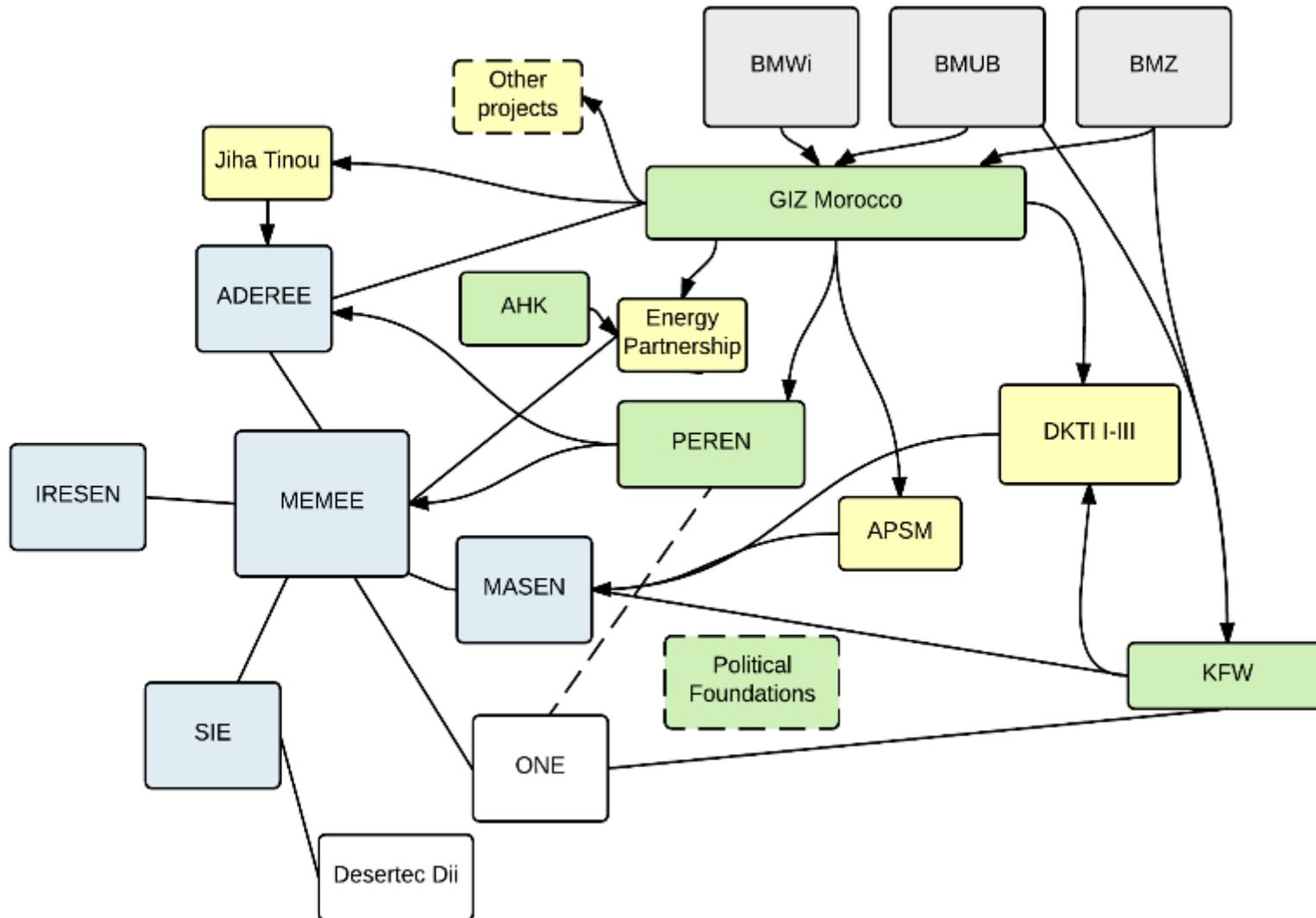


Globale Diffusion von Einspeisetarifen



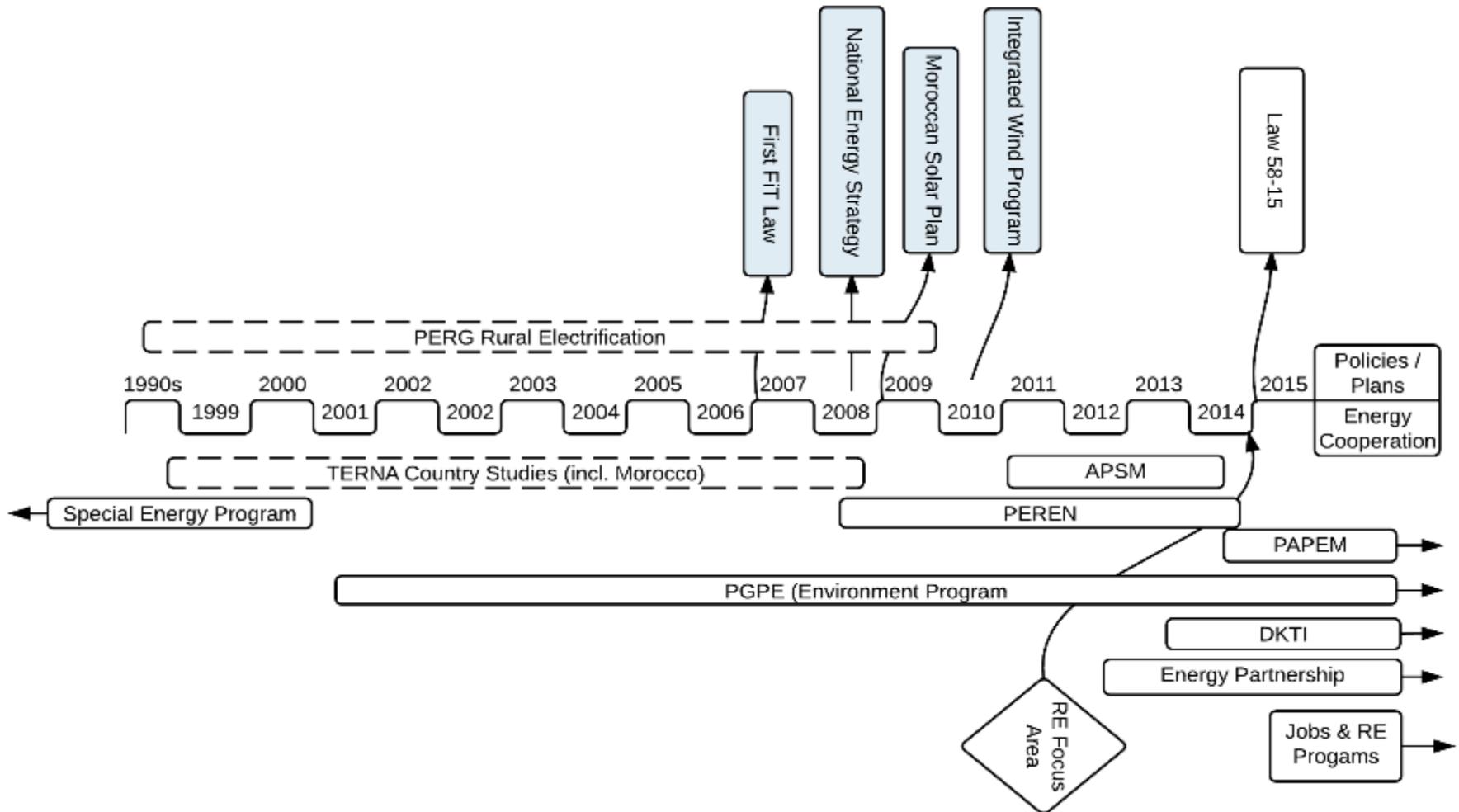


TRANSFERNETZWERK MAROKKO



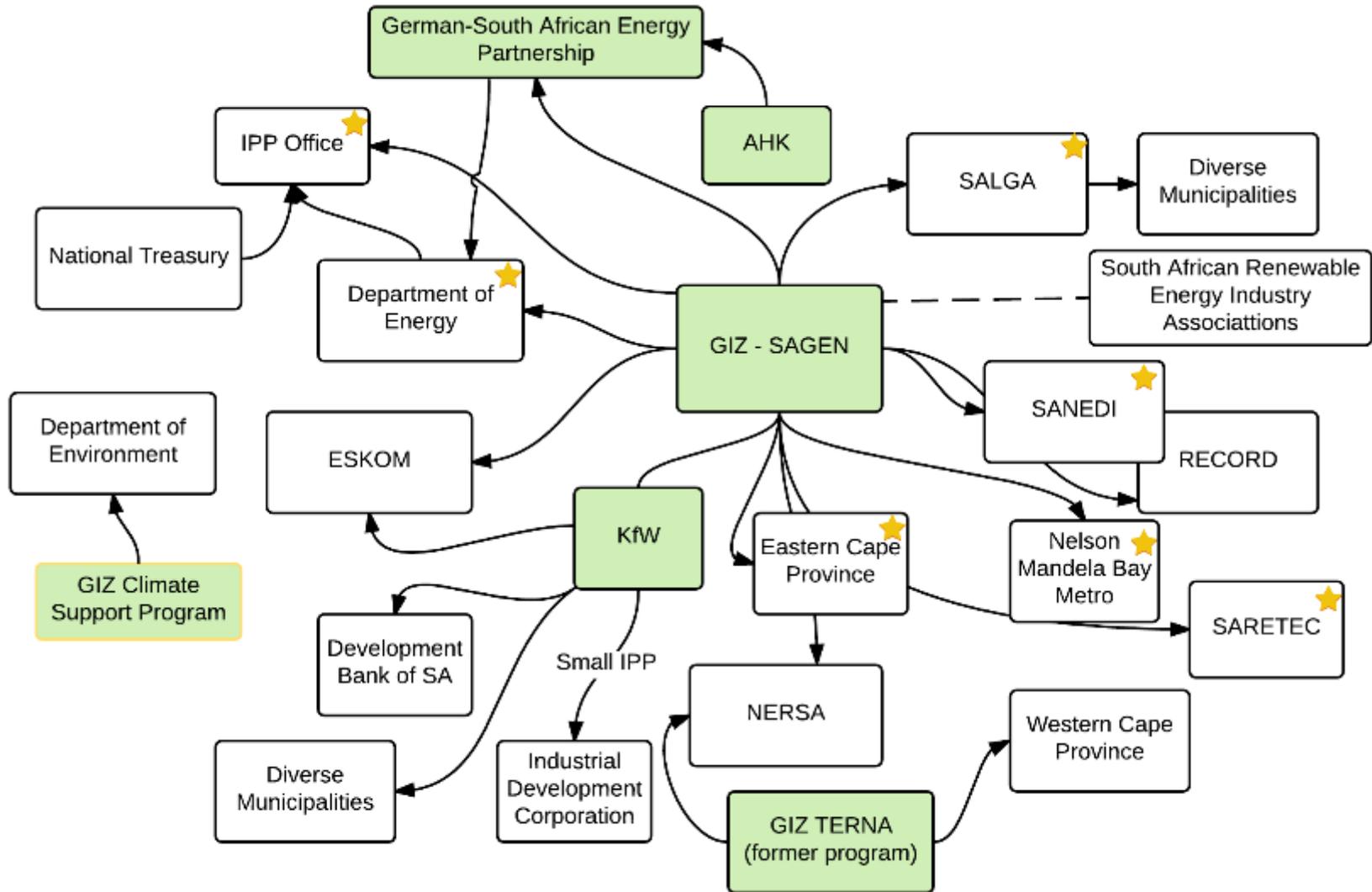


POLITIKPROZESSE MAROKKO



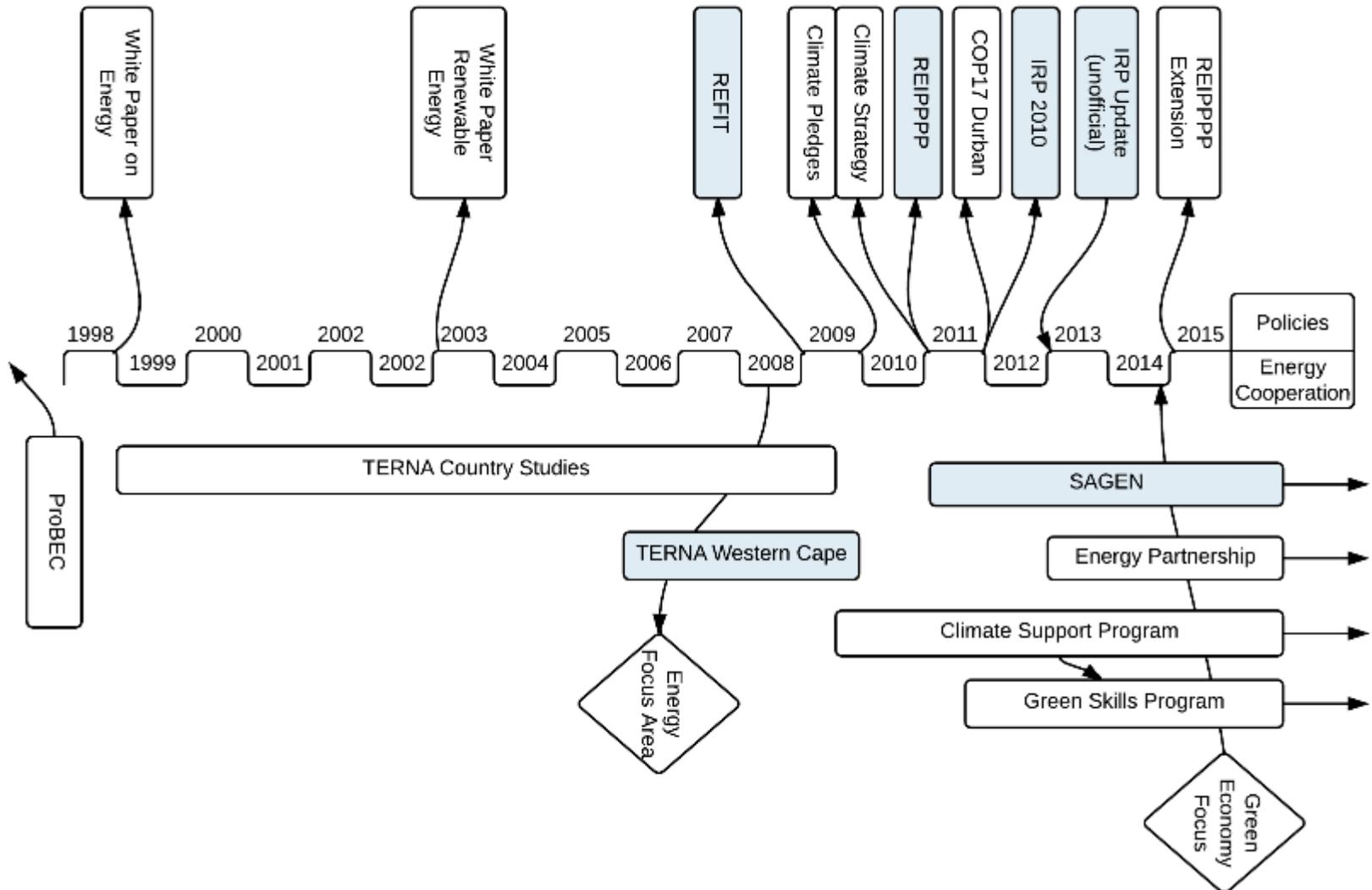


TRANSFERNETZWERK SÜDAFRIKA



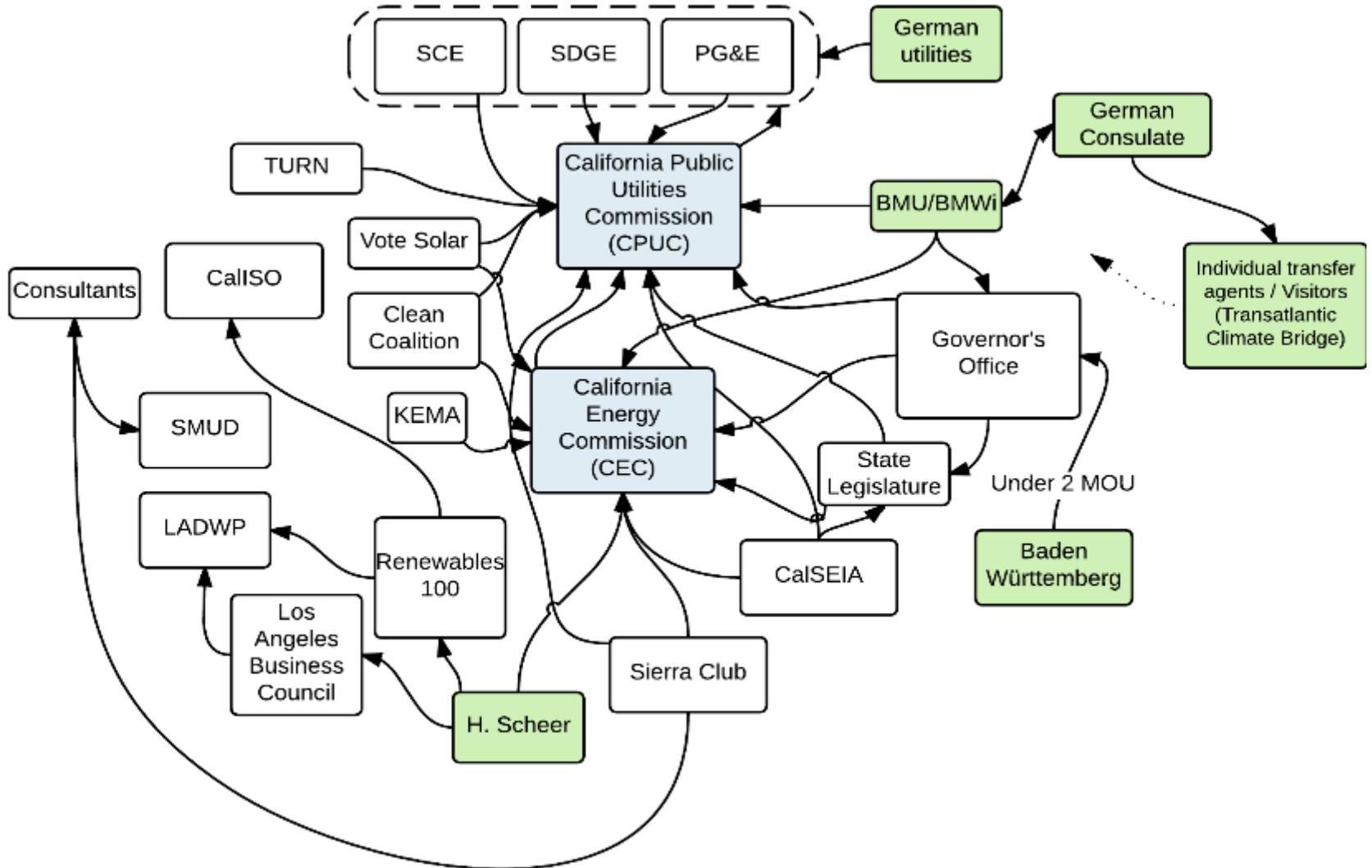


POLITIKPROZESSE SÜDAFRIKA



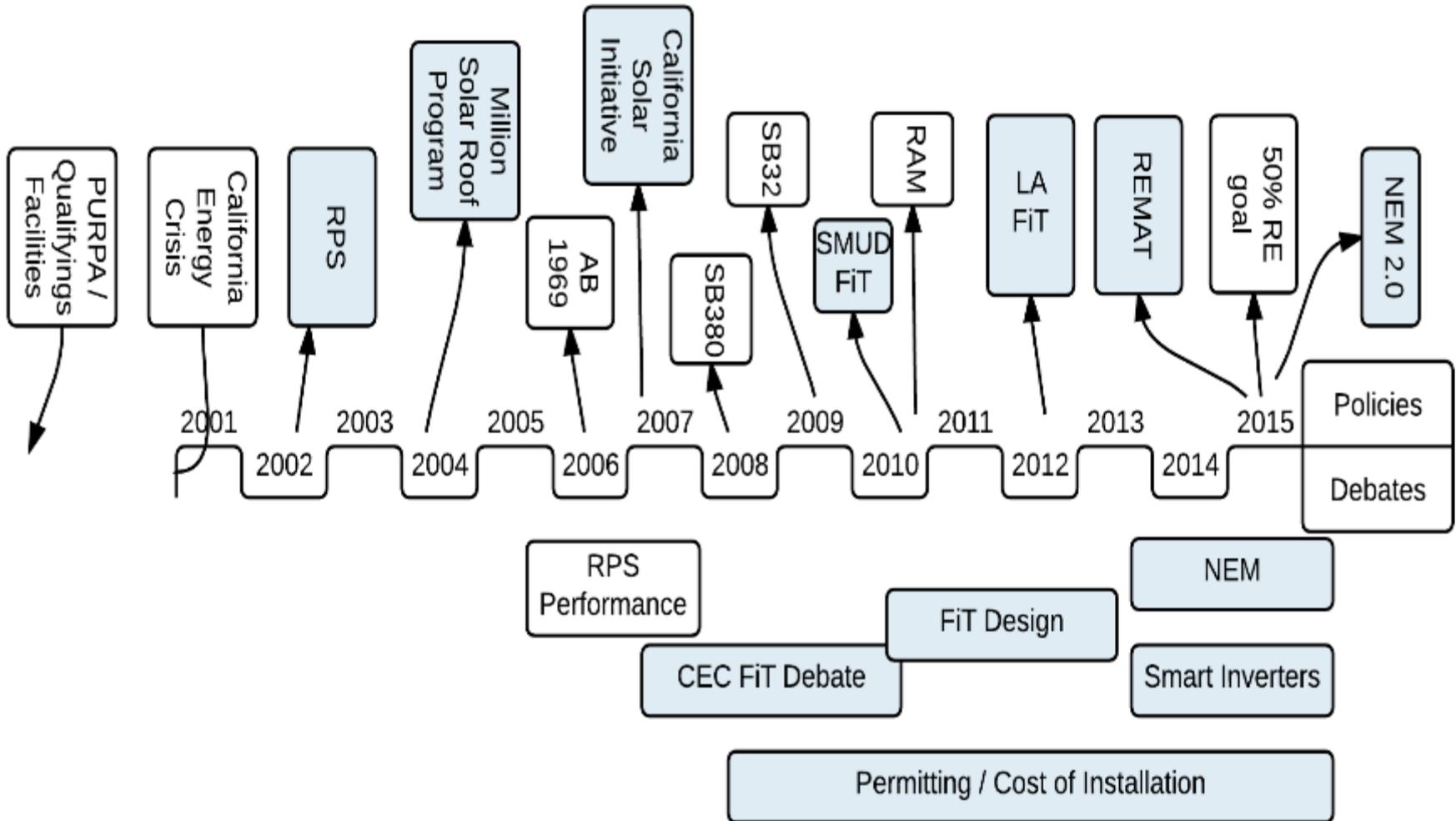


TRANSFERNETZWERK KALIFORNIEN



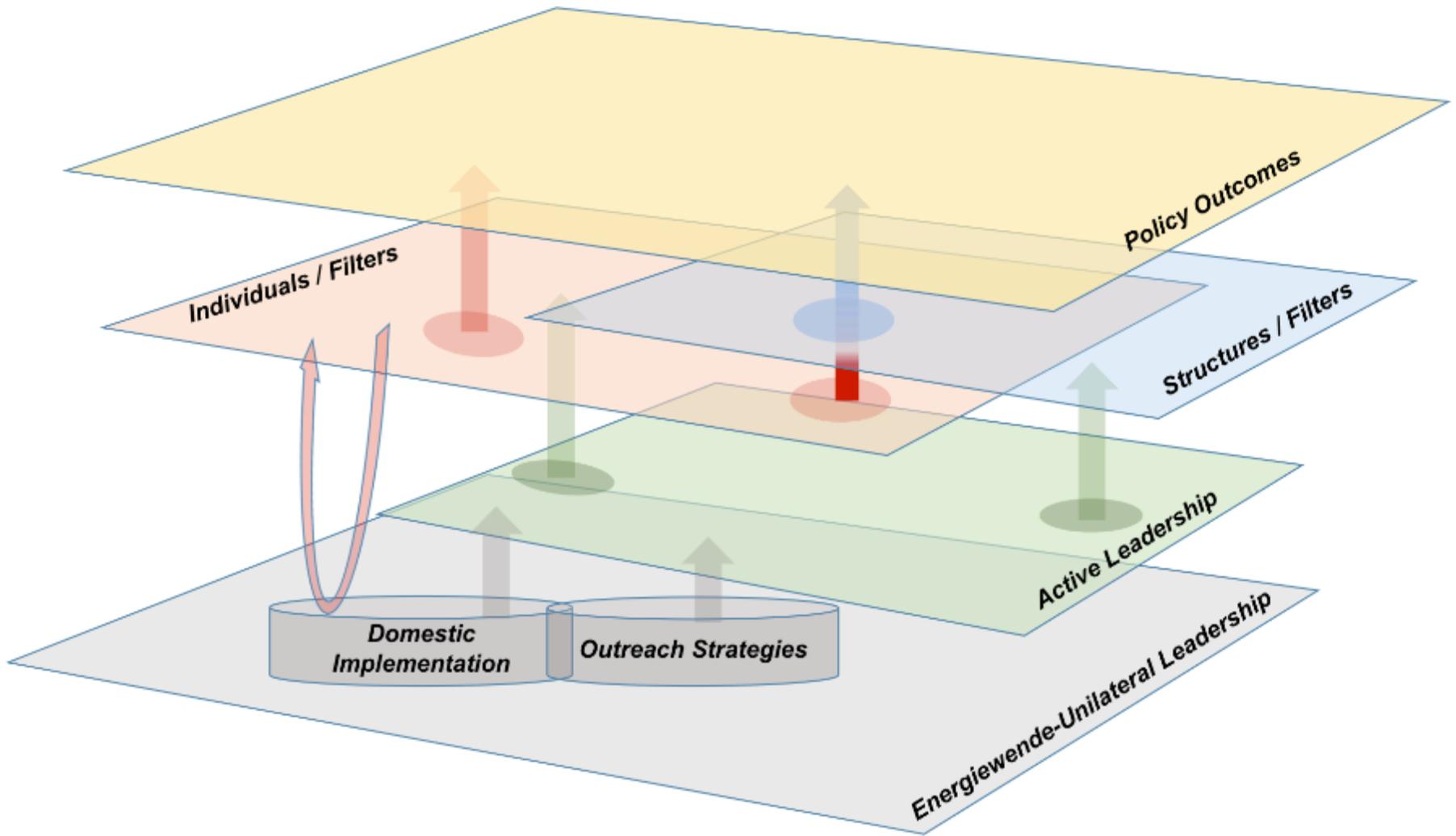


POLITIKPROZESSE KALIFORNIEN





EBENEN DER ENERGIEWENDE-LEADERSHIP





	Clu	EP	IKI	IKI*	Other	FIT
Algeria						
Angola						
Argentina						
Bosnia and Herzegovina						
Brazil						
Burkina Faso						
California						
Chile						
China						
Costa Rica						
Denmark						
Dom. Republic						
Ecuador						
Egypt						
France						
Ghana						
India						
Indonesia						
Japan						
Jordan						
Kazakhstan						
Lebanon						
Libya						
Malaysia						
Mexico						

	Clu	EP	IKI*	IKI**	O.	FIT
Mongolia						
Morocco						
Namibia						
Nigeria						
Norway						
Palestine						
Philippines						
Russia						
Senegal						
Serbia						
South Africa						
Syria						
Thailand						
Tonga						
Tunisia						
Turkey						
Turkmenistan						
UAE						
Uganda						
UK						
Ukraine						
Vietnam						

AUSWAHL „NEGATIVER“ FÄLLE