



# Ecological Modernization of the Energy Sector in Germany and Spain

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Energiepolitik und Klimaschutz  
Energy Policy and Climate Protection

RESEARCH

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# Die politische Ökonomie der Energiewende

Deutschland und Spanien im Kontext  
multipler Krisendynamiken in Europa



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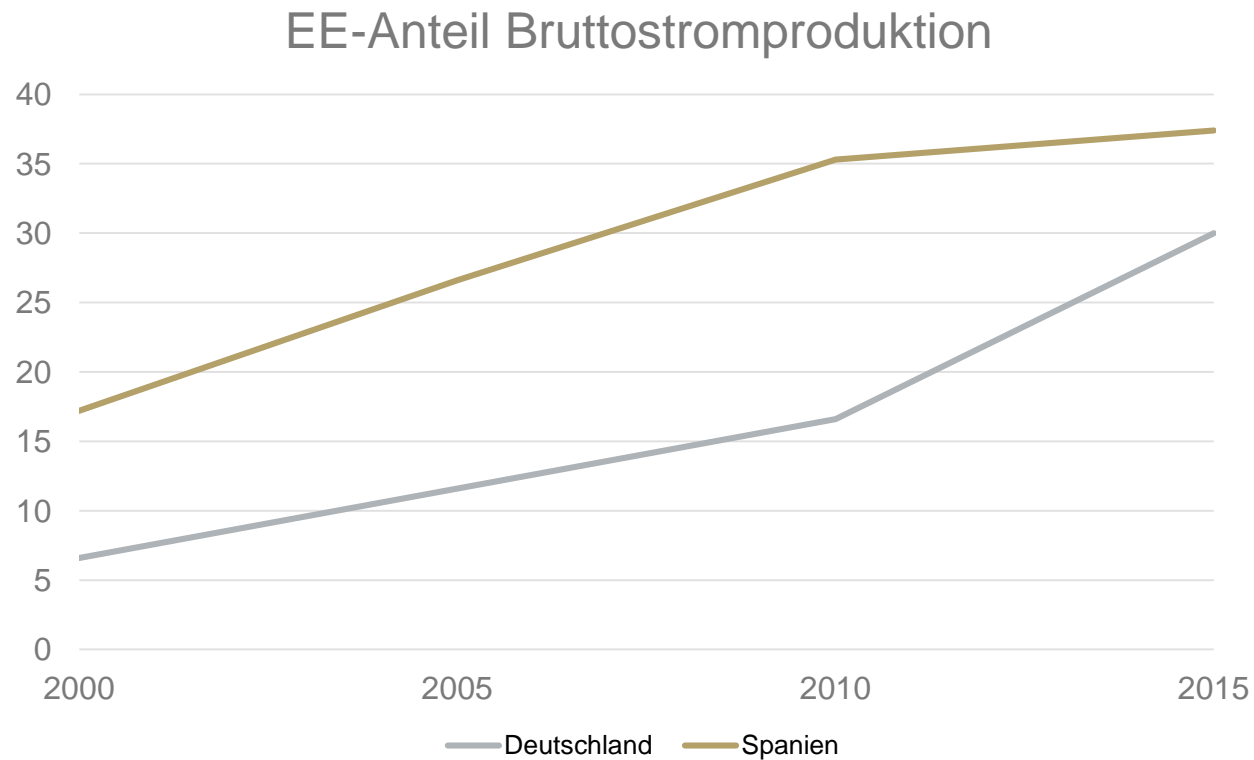
## Structure

1. Empirical findings
1. Analytical Perspective
1. Characteristics of the Energiewende
1. Characteristics of the transición energética
1. Comparison of Germany and Spain
1. Conclusions



## Empirical findings

Shift to renewables (FiTs):





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## Empirical findings

- fast development of renewables until 2010
- after that: diverging trends
- why?
  1. argument: economic context (financial and economic crisis)
  2. argument: mediation with social struggles (civil society and the state)



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## Analytical perspective

### Regulation Theory

- reproduction of capitalist societies
- focus on national level
- Joachim Becker: axes of accumulation
- productive vs. financialized
- intraverted vs. extraverted (active or passive)



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## Analytical perspective

Regulation Theory

Germany: productive, active extraverted regime of accumulation

Spain: financialized, passive extraverted regime of accumulation

Asymmetrical Integration within the EU



## Analytical perspective

Gramsci: hegemony (material and ideological dimension)

– universalizing particular interests

– state in a narrow sense and civil society

– energy struggles are mediated with the overall conditions of social production





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## Germany

- Economy: regime of accumulation, stable demand for electricity
- Civil society: strong support for Energiewende
- decentralized character
- new actors push the Energiewende
- heavy social conflicts, active consent
- State: divided responsibility (BMWi and BMU), relatively high transparency and responsiveness (legislative power)



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## Spain

- Economy: regime of accumulation, volatile demand for electricity (2 phases)
- Civil society: weak anchorage of the transición energética
- largely centralized character
- participation of the big electricity companies
- passive society, passive consent
- State: responsibility of the Ministry of Industry (MINETUR), low transparency and responsiveness (executive power)



## Germany and Spain in Comparison

	Germany	Spain
Economy	Stable context	Volatile context
Civil Society	Active consent, intense struggles	Passive consent, few struggles
State	Relative high responsiveness	Low responsiveness



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## Conclusions

- Articulation of economic developments and struggles within civil society and the state are key to understand diverging development paths in Germany and Spain
- Overall economic developments are very important
- No „real“ transition without conflicts
- Policies and institutional configurations of the state are of high importance



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## Conclusions

Recent developments:

Germany

- restraining of the Energiewende (BMW, corridors, tenders, no coal phase out, export world champion in electricity, failing 2020-targets...)

Spain

- formation of civil society actors for energy democracy in Spain (Som Energia, FR, ANPIER, Px1NME)
- renewal of Spanish democracy?



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Thank you very much for your attention!