



# Comparing nuclear trajectories of Germany and the UK: exploring drivers behind socio-technical transitions and discontinuities

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# Introducing Governance of Discontinuity in Technological Systems (DiscGO)



DDT led by Pierre Benoit-Jolie INRS, Paris



Combustion engines, Sebastien Hoffman, Dortmund.



Incandescent light bulbs, Stefan Kulmann, Peter Stegmaier @ Twente



Nukes –Stirling, Johnstone (SPRU), Geels (Manchester)

**Research puzzle:** comparative approach. Germany and the UK the most divergent nuclear policies in Western Europe but what are some of the drivers to these radially differing technological trajectories?

**Germany:** attempted discontinuation of nuclear power by 2022 (with 9 reactors still to close)

**UK**: The most ambitious nuclear new build programme (16GW) in Europe, if not the developed world as a whole.

**Comparing 9 criteria** based around literatures from 'innovation theories' broadly understood, and nuclear-specific factors.

Exploring qualities of democracy, incumbency, and more recent anomalies in UK energy policy

## <u>Perspectives from innovation theory and transitions: defining the 'focal regime configuration'</u>

Background literatures adopt distinct overlapping frameworks: innovation dynamics (Freeman, Dosi); innovation journeys (Scot, Geels); transition studies (Rip, Schot, Kemp, Geels), functions (Hekkert, Jacobsson); STS (Bijker; Feenberg; Jasanoff, Wynne, Williams); destabilisation (Turnheim, Penna, Geels); discontinuity (Stegmaier, Kuhlmann); discursive struggles (Hajer, Kern, Geels); political contestation (Meadowcroft, Berkhout, Smith, Stirling)

Emergent processes many mechanisms entrench pathways: autonomy (Winner); lock in (Arthur); path dependency (David); lock-out (Unruh); entrapment (Walker); obduracy (Hommels); imaginaries (Jasanoff); expectations (van Lente); shaping (Bijker); framing (Benford, Snow); civic epistemologies (Miller); increasing returns (Cowan), learning by doing (Rosenberg), scale / scope economies, sunk investments (MacKerron); research infrastructures (ESFRI); advocacy coalitions (Sabatier)

<u>Deliberate</u> social agency further reinforces trajectories: incumbent strategies (Geels, Hekkert); regulatory capture (Sabatier)

### **Developing Core Criteria: internal/external**

#### Specific analysis of dynamics of nuclear incumbency

Attention to climate; energy security and policy; public opinion.

- Much earlier literature on nuclear vested interests (Blowers, Hoffman, Kitschelt, Massey, O'Riordan, Purdue, Schrader-Frechette, Wynne, Grove White, Walker).
- But rather little recent analysis of specific dynamics (Sovacool, 2011)

#### Potentially related performance criteria

'actual sustainability' (Verbruggen); energy security (Jewell, Cherp); acceptability (Pidgeon); dimensions (Hultman; Sovacool); ordinary asset (Kahn, MacKerron, Bradford).

#### Other areas of analysis relevant to broader criteria

negative learning experience (Grubler); renewable revolution (Mitchell, Rifkin, Gonzalez); military nuclear complex (Hecht, Cowan, Arnold, Barnaby, Elbaradei, Hultman); political opportunities (Kitschelt); tools of democracy (Asdal); social movement studies

- 1:0 General Market Conditions In The Two Countries
- 2:0 Degree of penetration of nuclear in the electricity generating mix
- 3.0: the relative strengths of the nuclear engineering sector in terms of performance in manufacturing and operational equipment supply and associated industrial lobbies
- 4.0: Relative magnitudes and costs of available national renewable resource potentials
- 5.0: The scale of national industrial capacities and interests to address renewable energy supply
- 6.0 relative scales of military-related nuclear activities and associated industrial interests
- 7.0: Relevant characteristics of general national political institutions and elite cultures
- 8.0: Broader Presence and activity levels of relevant social movements
- 9.0 Qualities of democracy

- 1:0 General Market Conditions In The Two Countries
- 1:1 Market coordination
- 1.2: General public spending
- 2:0 Degree of penetration of nuclear in the electricity generating mix
- 2.1: Top ten nuclear generating countries
- 2.2: Dependency on Nuclear power

- 3.0: the relative strengths of the nuclear engineering sector in terms of performance in manufacturing and operational equipment supply and associated industrial lobbies
- 3.1: Performance of plants
- 3.2: Comparison of constitution of respective nuclear industries in Germany and the UK
- 3.3: Research and Development in nuclear power
- 3.4 Share of global nuclear Patents (national aggregate and by company)
- 4.0: Relative magnitudes and costs of available national renewable resource potentials
- 4.1 Overall renewable Resource

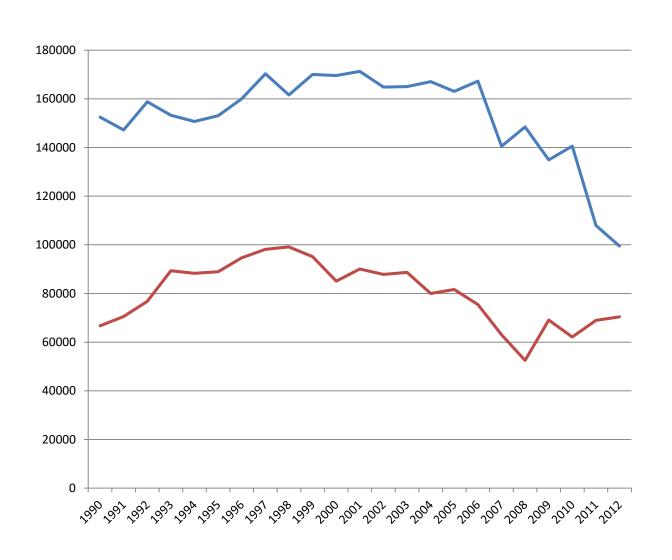
- 5.0: The scale of national industrial capacities and interests to address renewable energy supply
- 5.1: Overview of renewables growth in Germany and the UK
- 5.2: Research and development
- 5.3: General Narratives of renewables policy
- 5.4: Industrial strength equipment supply industries
- 6.0 relative scales of military-related nuclear activities and associated industrial interests
- 6.1 nuclear weapons capabilities
- 6.2 Nuclear Ballistic Missile Infrastructure
- 6.3 Nuclear propelled submarines
- 6.4 Military-related equipment supply industries
- 6.5 Stated future plans for military renewal

- 7.0: Relevant characteristics of general national political institutions and elite cultures
- 7.1: centralisation 'hierachy / consensual, decentralised
- 7.2: Prominence of Green Party
- 7.3: prominence of consensus/deliberative-style politics
- 8.0: Broader Presence and activity levels of relevant social movements
- 8.1: generalised public opinion on nuclear power
- 8.2: Baseline in public attitudes on nuclear: confidence in nuclear industry
- 8.3 Baseline in public attitudes on nuclear: perception of nuclear risk
- 8.4 Maximal Scale of protests
- 8.5 intensity of public debate including media mentions
- 9.0 Qualities of democracy
- 9.1 consensus vs majoritarian
- 9.2 Proportional representation vs winner takes all
- 9.3 rankings in qualities of democracy indexes

criterion	GENERAL MARKET CONDITIONS (GMC)
- Germany	<ul><li> 'coordinated economy'</li><li> more state intervention</li><li> higher public spending</li></ul>
- UK	<ul><li>- 'market economy' neoliberalism</li><li>- less public spending</li></ul>

criterion	GMC
locus drivers / regime	in
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK

# **DEPENDENCY ON NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY** (DNE)



**Production: GWh** 

criterion

**DEPENDENCY ON NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY** (DNE)

### **Top 10 Nuclear Generating Countries**

2013, Billion kWh



### criterion **DEPENDENCY ON NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY** (DNE)

	GERMANY	UK
World ranking in nuclear electricity production (2010)	5 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>
Total nuclear capacity MWe (2010)	20,339 MW	10,038 MW
Historic maximum nuclear production in one year (GWh)	171,305 (in 2001)	99,486 (in 1998)
% share of electricity generation in overall mix (2010)	22.2%	16.27%
Historic maximum % share of nuclear in generation mix	31%	28%
Number of reactors in 2010	17	16
Average size of individual reactors (MW)	1048 MW	581 MW

criterion	DEPENDENCY ON NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY (DNE)
- Germany	<ul> <li>higher proportion of electricity generated (25%)</li> <li>greater total amount of nuclear electricity</li> <li>home based dedicated nuclear utilities</li> </ul>
- UK	<ul> <li>lower proportion of electricity generated (19%)</li> <li>half as much nuclear power as in Germany</li> <li>foreign-based nuclear utility</li> </ul>

criterion	GMC	DNE
locus drivers / regime	in	in
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK

### criterion STATUS: NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INDUSTRY (SNI)

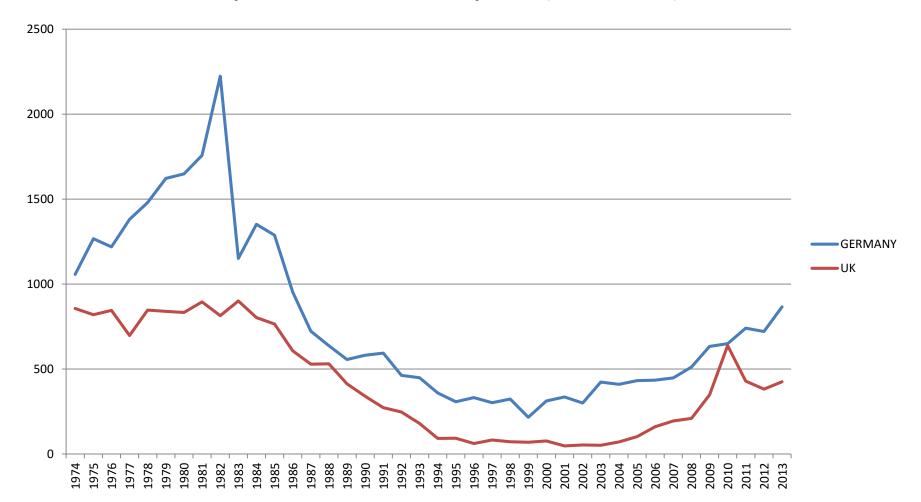
case

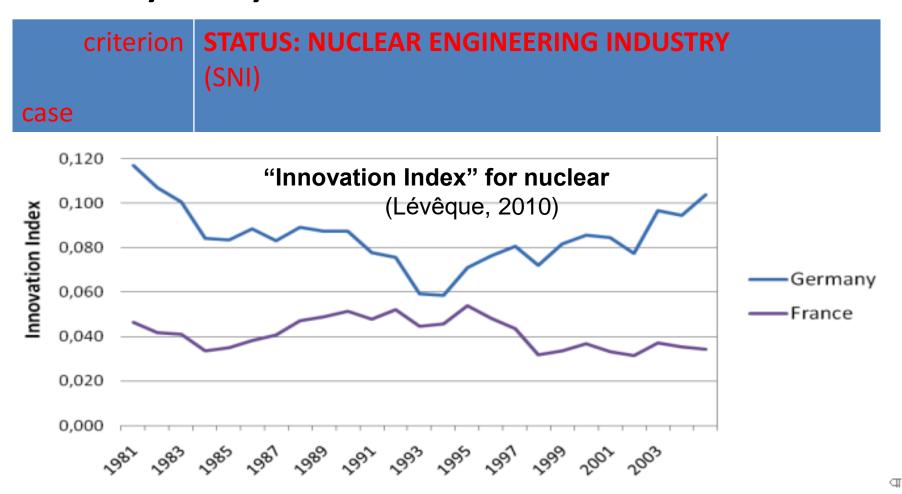
	Germany	UK
Reactor Vendor companies	Siemens one of the most successful reactor vendors in world, annual turnover in 2000 of £70 billion. Reactor sales to Brazil, Iran, Argentina and Eastern European states until abandoning nuclear operations in 2012	No nuclear reactor vending since the 1960s when UKAEA sold a total of 2 reactors to Japan.
Companies involved in operation, ownership and sale of nuclear electricity	RWE, E.ON, EnBW, all international nuclear operators headquartered in Germany	There is no UK headquartered company that is a major nuclear power utility company
Total commercial Turnover	£10 billion	£4 Billion
Nuclear labour force in civilian nuclear power (directly employed by nuclear companies)	38,000 (civilian nuclear power excluding waste disposal)	30,000 (excluding waste disposal such as Sellafield that employs 10,000 people)

# **STATUS: NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INDUSTRY** (SNI)

case

#### R and D spend on civilian nuclear power (Million Euro)





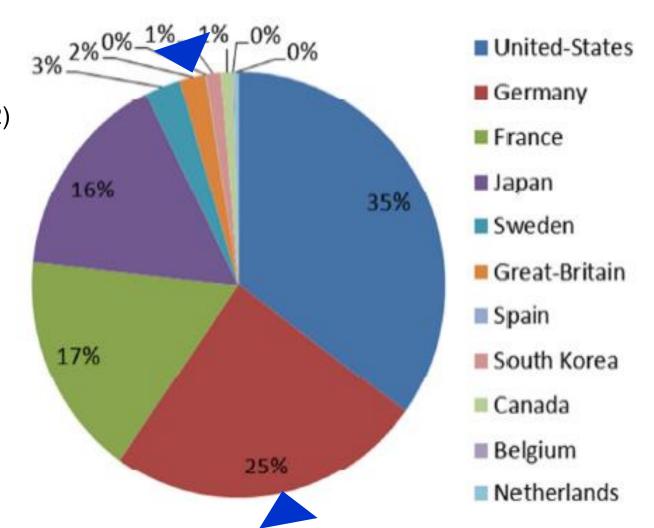
"Despite this decision [to phase out nuclear power], Germany seems to innovate more in nuclear technology than France. It has a better innovation index (as defined as the number of yearly national patent applications in nuclear technology divided by the number of yearly national patent applications in all technological fields) than France." (Lévêque, 2010).

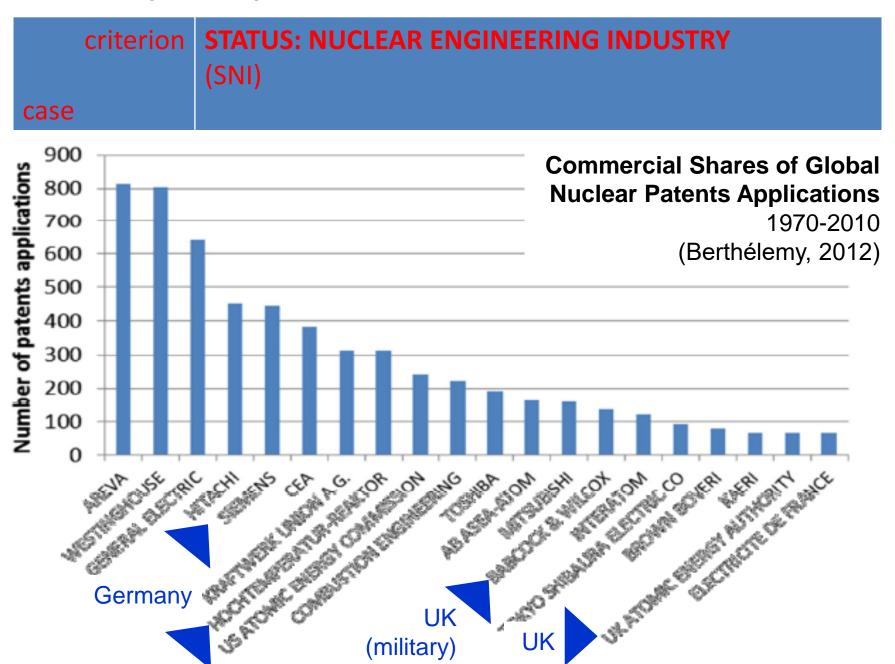
criterion

**STATUS: NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INDUSTRY** (SNI)

case

Share of Global Nuclear Patents 1970-2010 (Berthélemy, 2012)





### criterion STATUS: NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INDUSTRY (SNI)

case

	Germany	UK
Total R and D spent on civilian nuclear 1974-2012	€31.4 Billion	€16.6 Billion
% of total Energy R&D expenditure dedicated to civilian nuclear power, 1974-2013	47%	51%
Amount spent on nuclear R&D in 2010	€11.7 million	€3.4 million
% of overall expenditure of Energy related R&D in 2010	11.5%	3.4%
Approximate number of patent applications 1974-2008	1050	250
% total of civilian nuclear patent applications 1974-2008	25%	2%

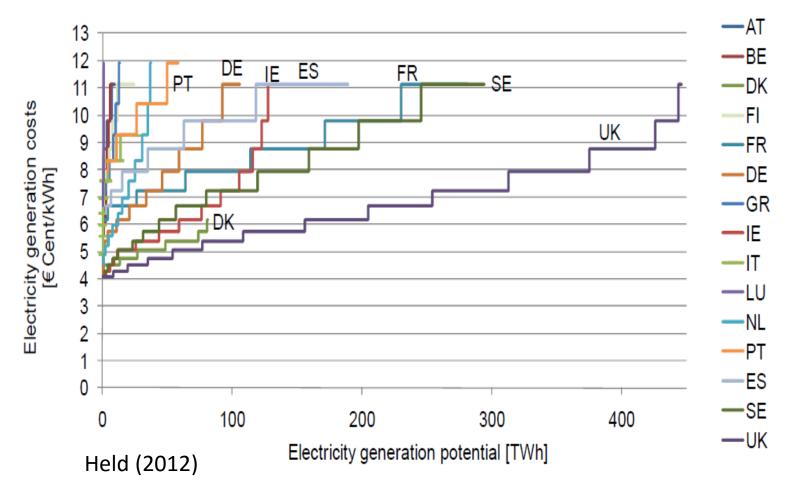
criterion	STATUS: NUCLEAR ENGINEERING INDUSTRY (SNI)
case	
- Germany	- best performing industry in the world;
	- best load factor, economies of scale,
	- industry world leaders across supply chain,
	- higher share of energy R&D expenditure (7.3%)
- UK	<ul> <li>scores badly on most indicators</li> <li>low load factor, absent in much of supply chain</li> <li>low share of energy R&amp;D expenditure (1.8%)</li> </ul>

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK

# **RENEWABLE RESOURCE ENDOWMENTS** (RRE)

case

#### **Cost Resource Curve, Wind Energy**



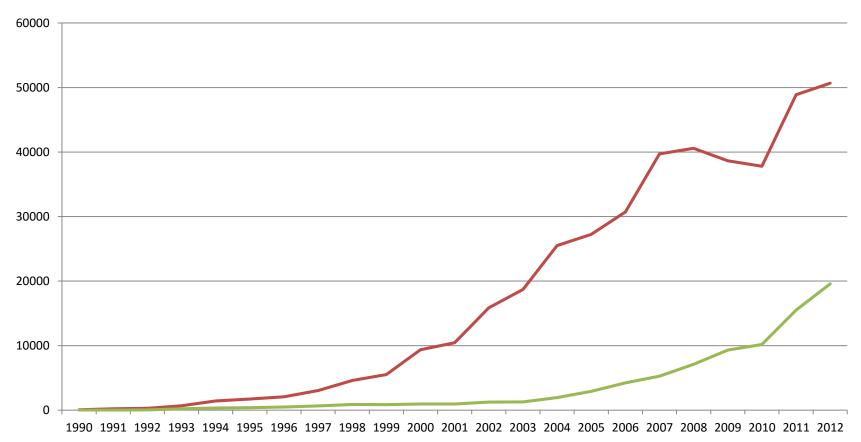
criterion	RENEWABLE RESOURCE ENDOWMENTS (RRE)
case	
- Germany	<ul> <li>significantly lower overall resource</li> <li>significantly more expensive on average</li> </ul>
- UK	<ul> <li>40% of European economic wind potential</li> <li>50% wave and tidal potential of Europe</li> <li>no major difference in PV potential</li> </ul>

criterion	GMC		SNI	RRE
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK

# **RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES** (RSI)

case

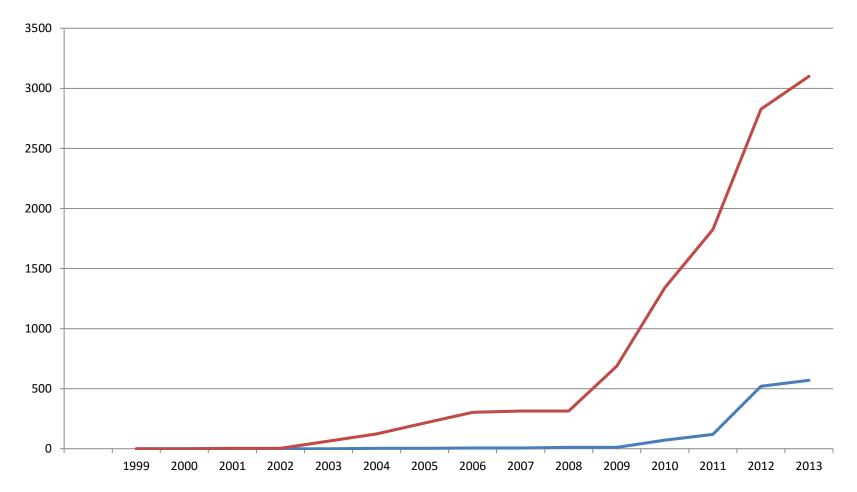
#### **Onshore Wind power capacity (GWh)**



# RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES (RSI)

case

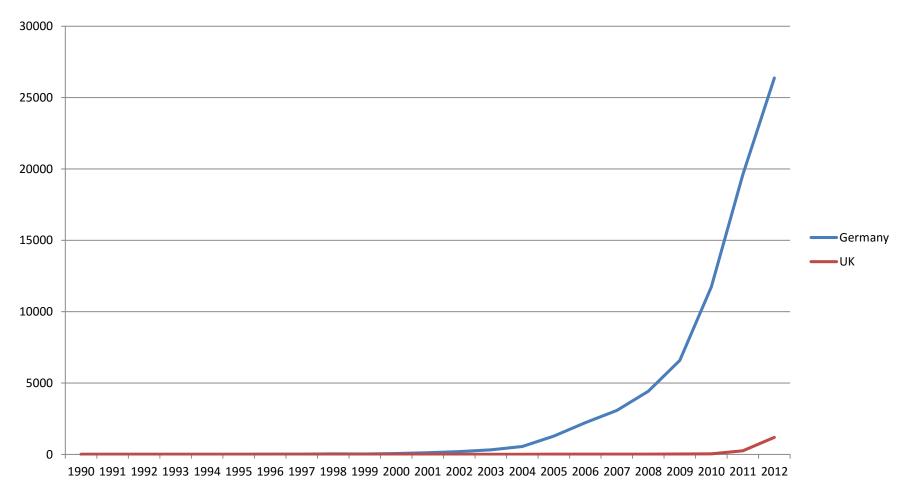
#### Offshore wind capacity (GWh)



# RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES (RSI)

case

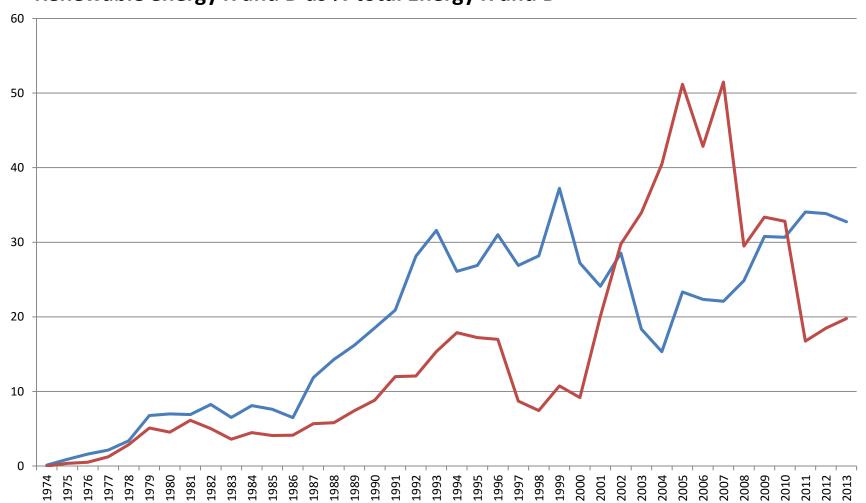
#### **Solar Capacity (GWh)**



# RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES (RSI)

case

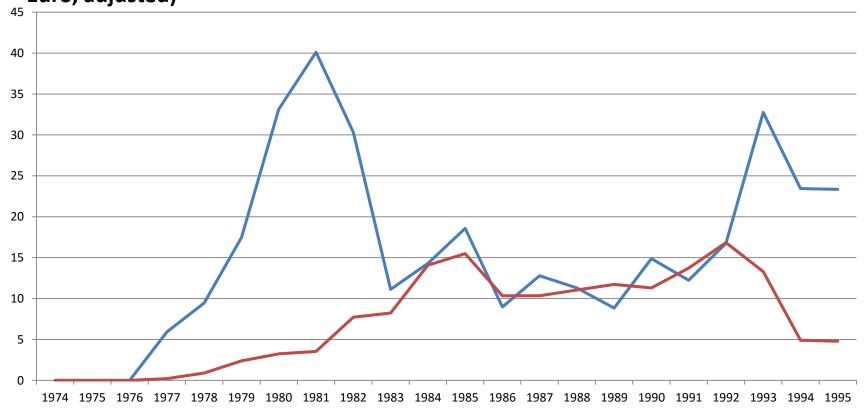
#### Renewable energy R and D as % total Energy R and D



# **RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES** (RSI)

case

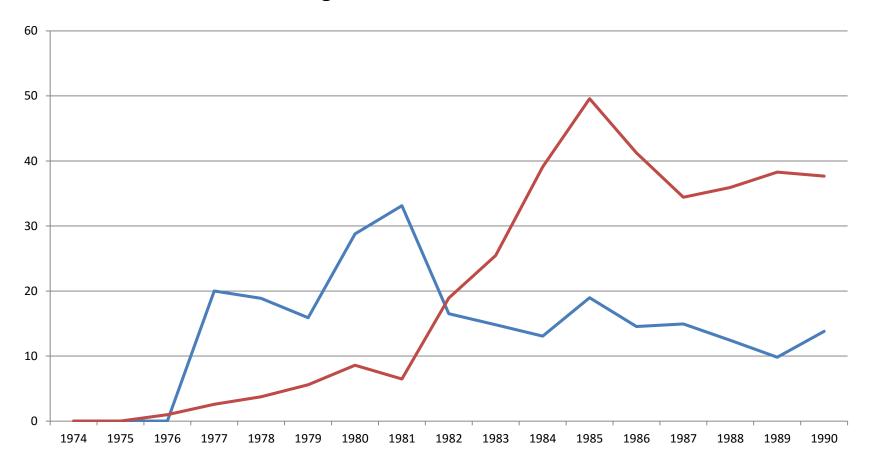
## Renewable Energy R and D Spend (Million Euro, adjusted)



# RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES (RSI)

case

wind energy R and D spend as share of overall renewable R and D funding, 1974-1990.



criterion	FORMAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS (FPI)
- Germany	<ul> <li>decentralised state, proportional representation</li> <li>strong Green Party and more minorities</li> <li>'consensus building' culture, more deliberative</li> </ul>
- UK	<ul> <li>centralised state, 2 party systems</li> <li>low Green Party involvement in Parliament</li> <li>adversarial, expert 'science-based' culture</li> </ul>

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA	FPI
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D	D

criterion	RENEWABLE SUPPLY INDUSTRIES (RSI) - criterion not fully documented
- Germany	<ul> <li>becomes wind industry leader, during transition</li> <li>early solar industry since exported to China</li> <li>no significant offshore supply industry</li> </ul>
- UK	<ul> <li>less general manufacturing industry strength</li> <li>no indigenous turbine manufacturers</li> <li>significant offshore wind industry, but foreign</li> <li>very strong offshore equipment supply industry</li> </ul>

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?

criterion	MILITARY-RELATED NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES (MNA)
- Germany	- no military nuclear activity
- UK	<ul> <li>nuclear ballistic missile infrastructure</li> <li>nuclear-propelled submarine fleet</li> <li>world-leading military nuclear supplier</li> <li>significant nuclear military renewal plans</li> </ul>

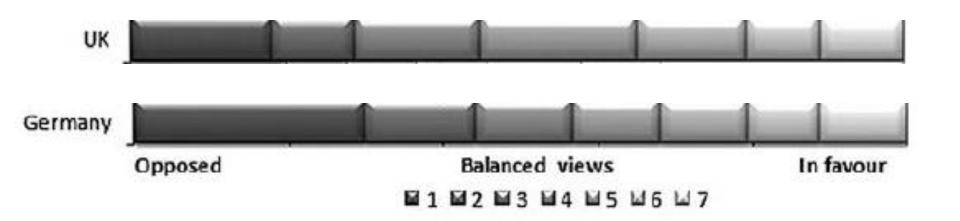
criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D

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criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA	FPI
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D	D



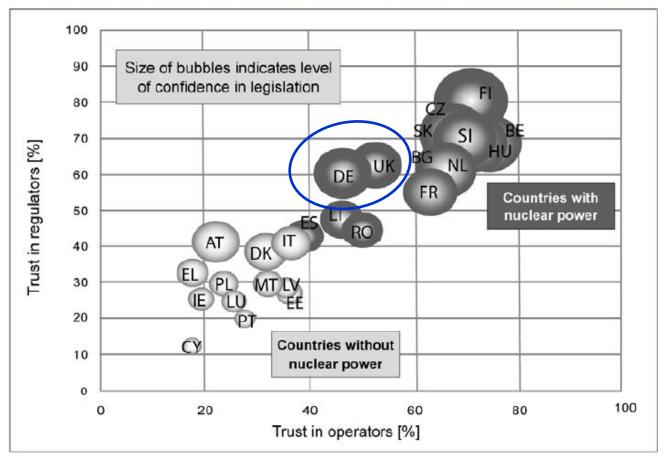
Degree of support for nuclear energy in countries with nuclear programmes (NEA 2010)



### criterion **SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITY** (SMA)

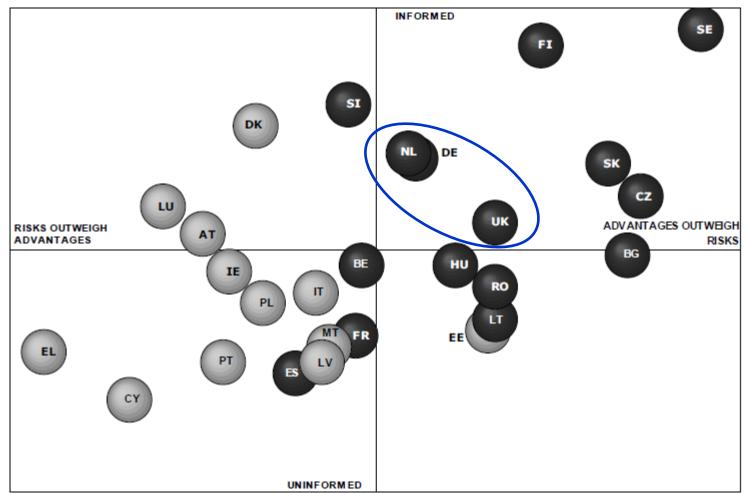
Figure 12: Confidence in nuclear regulators, operators and legislation\*

AT-Austria, BE-Belgium, BG-Bulgaria, CY-Cyprus, CZ-Czech Rep., DE-Germany, DK-Denmark, EE-



### criterion **SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITY** (SMA)

#### POSITION OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO RISK PERCEPTION AND THE FEELING OF BEING INFORMED



NEA 2010)

criterion	SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITY (SMA)
Case	
- Germany	<ul> <li>strong anti-nuclear movements</li> <li>100,000 person protests</li> <li>extensive public debate on nuclear</li> </ul>
- UK	<ul><li>not such a large protest movement</li><li>NGOs often excluded from public debate?</li><li>public opinion ambivalent on nuclear</li></ul>

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA	FPI	SMA
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out	out	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D	D	D

criterion **Qualities of Democracy** (QoD)

	Majoritarian	Consensual
Executive power	Concentration of executive power in single party	Power-sharing in coalitions
Executive-Legislative relationships	Executive is dominant	Executive-legislative balance
Party system	Two party system	Multi-party system
Voting system	Disproportionate representation	Proportional representation
Interest group systems	Pluralist interest groupings with 'free-for-all' competition	Coordinated and corporatist interest group systems aimed at compromise and concentration

### criterion **Qualities of Democracy** (QoD)

Rating system	German ranking	UK ranking
Democracy Barometer	11 <sup>th</sup>	26 <sup>th</sup>
Economist Intelligence Unit 2010	14 <sup>th</sup>	19 <sup>th</sup>
Global Democracy ranking	8 <sup>th</sup>	13 <sup>th</sup>

criterion	Qualities of democracy (QoD)
case	
Germany/ UK	Germany consistently ranks higher than the UK in every kind of ranking of democracy.

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA	FPI	S`MA	QoD
drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out	out	out	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D	D	D	D

### **Comparing Within and Beyond Focal Regimes**

#### **Provisional Emerging Picture**

Criteria that pertain *most directly* to *focal regimes* are not most relevant to comparative contrast in developments in these cases.

Instead, it appears that criteria more relevant to understanding this contrast, concern *much wider and more general politics*.

So, difficult to understand in terms of direct conditions of incumbent, or circumstances of key challengers (renewables).

criterion	GMC	DNE	SNI	RRE	RSI	MNA	FPI	SMA	SMA
locus drivers / regime	in	in	in	in	in	out	out	out	out
proposition: discontinuity more likely?	UK	UK	UK	UK	?	D	D	D	D

## Concluding remarks

- Political factors have overridden factors related to 'internal' drivers of socio-technical regimes yet research on these factors arguably limited.
- Incumbency in the UK: Qualities of democracy, voting systems, wider democratic cultures.
- UK puzzle remains: Hinkley C, Small modular research R&D, support for renewables cut.
- Is the UK the anomaly in Europe rather than Germany?
- Wider implications for comparative research on 'external' drivers (social science) of nuclear trajectories.