THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS FOR THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE POLICY MIX FOR SUSTAINABILITY ENERGY TRANSITIONS IN ARGENTINA

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Overview

Many countries in the world are transiting through different pathways to more sustainable energy systems. The literature on sustainability transitions argues that new rules, artifacts and practices are needed for generating, transmitting and consuming energy under sustainability principles (Geels, 2004; Smith, et al., 2005; Markard, et al., 2012; Shove 2012). Thus, opportunities open-up for new and existing players to harness the benefits of transitions. For instance, renewable energy technologies represent an opportunity window for countries for creating value in their economies under a new paradigm of development to channel sustainability transitions (Perez, 2013; Schmidt & Huenteler, 2016). China, Germany and UK, among others, developed sustainability policy strategies where industrial and technological policies are core components of the plans (CCCPC, 2016; HM Government, 2017; TFG, 2017). Less developed countries can also harness this opportunity, as most of these technologies require local adaptations that are only possible if they are developed within the countries (Perez 1985, 2008; Bell & Pavitt, 1992; Schmidt & Huenteler, 2016). Furthermore, the sustainability transitions, which include those from the energy systems, are steered by policies that are product of policy making processes[1]. Therefore, their contents, are based on the interplay of actors involved in the policy making process (Kern & Rogge, 2017; Markard et al., 2012).

Departing from these strands of literature, the purpose of this paper is to analyse the impacts of the policy making process in the policy mix for the development of the national industry within sustainability energy transitions, and how they can explain the impacts of the policy mix in the socio-techical change. This is applied to the Argentinian case study of the Law 27.191. Hence, it creates a novel analytical framework based on the combination of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and the Policy Mixes for sustainability transitions. Briefly, ACF approaches policy making processes through the interplay between advocacy coalitions that share common belief system based on the deep core, the policy core and the secondary aspects. These interplays take place in particular thematic policy subsystems. The policy mix encompasses the policy making process, the elements -the strategies and the instruments to achieve them-, and the characteristics of all its components and the overall policy mix sucha as the coherence and comprehensiveness. The orignality of the analytical framework is the creation of the 'arenas of negotiation', which serve to approach the influence of the policy making process in the elements of the policy mix and its characteristics. Thus, the policy core and secondary aspects (from ACF) of the advocacy coalitions are correspondant to the strategies and instruments respectively (from policy mix) of the policy mix. The research question is: *How do policy processes influence the policy mix for the development of national industry for the renewable energy sector within transitions toward sustainable energy systems?*

Methods

Through the Argentienan case study on the policy making process of the Law 27.191-concentrated in the time period starting with the introduction of the bill in the Sanate (March, 2014) until its implementation in July 2018-, we tackle the research question. We focus on the policy process at the national level, the wind and solar PV related policy mix and the auction scheme set though RenovAr. Regarding the resources, 63 documents were qualitatively analysed including recommendations from stakeholders, governmental internal agreements and transcribed meetings held at the national Congress; laws decrees and resolutions; and media articles and resports. Furthermore, ten semi-structures interviews were held with key stakeholders from the executive power, legislative power, governmental agencies, NGOs, industries and industrial chambers, which lasted 1 hour on average each. They were stoped due to time constrains in combination with the snowball method (Yin, 2009; Ossenbrick et al., 2017).

The data was analysed through a comprehensive methodology to reconstruct the policy process and its links with the elements –strategies and instruments- and characteristics of the policy mix. Thus, we first recognized the elements in each of the regulations and contrasted the changes from the first version (or draft) to the subsequent

[1] For the purpose of this abstract, 'policy making process/es' and 'policy process/es' are used indistinctively

one. This allowed tracking the changes that guided our analysis for finding their origins in the policy process. Thus, we found them in the analysis of the recommendations elaborated by the actors involved. Moreover, the analysis of these recommendations allowed constructing the advocacy coalitions. Thus, we could link the components of the policy beliefs and secondary aspects to the actual elements –stragies and instruments- in the policy mix. Lastly, the contrast between the interviews, the documents elaborated by the institutions, the public declarations in media and official debates with the actual changes from the drafts to the enacted elements, ensured data triangulation.

Results

The analysis is focused on the policy process recognizing the arenas of negotiation -one for the policy core-strategy, and the other the secondary elements-instruments mix- and how these are related to the impacts of the policy mix in the socio-techical change –i.e. the participation of local industry in REs projects-. Two main advocacy coalitions (ACs) are distinguished: AC1 which shares a policy core based on the development of national industry in hand with the RE; and AC2 whose policy core is on developing RE following the international market logics, while the domestic industrial development occurs if it has a place within that logic. The policy core of both ACs is the same during the whole policy process, as the time-lapse considered is short for analysing policy changes (Sabatier & Weible, 2007). However, changes in the secondary aspects can be observed in every phase affected by their outcomes and affecting changes in the instruments mix.

We argue that the changes identified in the elements of the policy mix ocurred in a context where one of the advocacy coalitions (ACs) had much more power than the other one, proper of nascent policy subsystems, where coalitions are poorly coordinated (Sabatier & Weible, 2007; Stritch, 2015). This was harnessed by decision makers in the executive power, who were capable of making AC2's belief system –which is aligned to their own- prevail in every phase of the policy subsystem. Hence, the arenas of negotiations were managed by this strong AC, limiting them to the discussion of certain aspects of the elements. For example, changes were done to the list of goods for the import tax exemption needed for the production of local components. These changes could improve the overall instrument as it had mistakes in its first version (Resolution 123-313/2016). However, the consideration of the national components of the projects competing in the tenders was never considered as part of the factors to adjudicate the projects as claimed by AC1. Following this claim would have impacted over the strategy of the policy mix. Thus, we argue that these limitations are part of a successful strategy applied by AC2 –leaded by the decision makers and supported by the rest of its actors-, to reduce the arenas of negotiation to those elements they were keen to change as a product of the recommendations provided by AC1.

Moreover, it was possible to assess the coherence of the policy process and its implications on the comprehensiveness of the overall policy mix. The policy process of the Argentinean case can be characterized as *incoherent*. For example, the conflict between INTI and Ministry of Production in relation to the registers of manufacturers, affected the elements as there are two overlapping registers (Quitzow, 2015; Rogge & Reichardt, 2016). Also, the continous changes of the import scheme and the measurements of national component for projets and products reflect the lack of coherence among the negotiation between ACs. Additionally, we find that the *incomprehensiveness* of the policy mix is associated to the policy process (Sovacool, 2009; Weber & Rohracher, 2012). In that sense, the insufficient acknowledgment of the potentialities of developing RE generation is rooted in the dynamics of the policy process analyzed where the policy core and secondary aspects that claimed for the industrial development associated to the deployment of RE generation projects were marginalized. This concerns both the fact that an industrial strategy is missing in Argentina, which then has negative repercussions for the instrument mix, as well. Therefore, it is arguable that the incomprehensiveness has implications in the socio-technical change seen in the poor participation of the national industry in the RE generation projects –i.e. less than 30% of the components of the wind projects are due to national production, and 15% for solar PV-.

Conclusions

Based on the discussion of policy mix characteristics and building up from the policy field dimension (Flanagan, et al., 2011), we argue that the current strategies and instruments of the policy mix are mainly rooted in the fiscal policy field in combination to the energy policy field, leading to a focus on promoting investments in RE generation projects. Thus, we challenge the scope of the 'sustainability' part of the energy transition in Argentina, as it can still be improved to harness the potential benefits of increased RE generation in terms of local industry development and tackling climate change.

Moreover, we believe that the stakeholders have the possibility of converging to more coordinated and resourceful advocacy coalitions in the Argentinean case. Specifically, for the industrial development, the co-evolution dynamic between the nascent policy subsystem and the policy mix, provide opportunities to develop coordinated actions to

call for an integral strategy for the national industrial development. In addition to this, given that energy policy shapes the whole economy, the actors interested in the promotion of the further benefits of promoting renewable energy as part of a sustainability transition, have a prominent opportunity to build ties with other actors that are not specific to this policy subsystem but still relevant for this endeavor.

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