## Tutorial on Tradable Emission Permits EU ETS case study

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Contents: Hybrid of Permits & Taxes USA: workable systems Kyoto Protocol launches worldwide interest Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS): flagship of EU climate policy Evaluation and discussion



**Improve the permit system** 

- Reduce CaC [Command and Control] interventions
- End technological detail prescribing
- Netting Offsets Bubbles

The reference: SO<sub>2</sub> emissions of fossil power plants

- Start from solid basis of earlier emissions permits
- Clear supervising authority: EPA
- Sources & technology: coal power plants
- Cheap technical fix: substitute low-sulphur for dirty coal (advanced scrubber development halted)
  Is this a valid reference for ETS?



**CAP & TRADE:** practical set-up



- Define BUBBLE (Who's IN/OUT?), free of leakages
  - Relevant emission sources
    - Size of sources
    - Type of activities (homogeneous \Rightarrow disparate)
  - Geographical scope
    - Span of public authority (market regulator)
- CAP time-line: periodical, consecutive phases, & extinguish in 2050 (?)
- Introduce quota supply in the market
  - Perfect auctions <> gaming the system
  - Free gift: Who gets how much? Why? How long?
- Supervise performance & transactions



**ET: Hybrid of Levies and Permits** 



## Colour of the chamelion depends on initial assignment of permits

• Yearly full auction (renting)

### LEVIES

- Open auction every few years
- Auction of futures and options
- Partly auctions / partly gifts
- Assign permits to  $MAC_i = \lambda$
- Grandfathering

PERMITS

• Gifted along expected emissions

## ET and Global Climate Policy

- Climate is a global problem:
  - Every CO<sub>2</sub>-eq. wherever emitted increases global concentration equally
  - Sufficient argument to treat all diverse sources (seemingly) equally? See DPSI@R framework
- IPCC Stabilization trajectory = global quota/ reductions: how to divide over sources?
  - Quota by country (Kyoto): natural, demografic, social, economic, history, development, ... differ + change continuously!
  - Distribute country quota over domestic (only the large) sources: how?

Well-mixed atmospheric GHG concentration is a global phenomenon, but no argument for uniform treatment of upfront and downstream phenomena

Climate change DPSI resembles an hourglass: every molecule emitted CO<sub>2</sub> adds equal weight to the global CO<sub>2</sub> concentration



## Kyoto Protocol (COP03, 1997)

- COP (Conference of the Parties) task:
  - Specify and follow-up the Framework Convention on Climate Change UNFCCC (Rio, 1992)
- Common but Differentiated Responsibities
  - Annex I countries {1992-OECD members + economies in transition} will limit GHG emissions
    - FCCC: in 2000 same level as 1990
    - Kyoto: in 2008-2012 reduction of 5,2% versus 1990
    - EU in Kyoto: engages for 8% reduction
  - Annex II countries {'92-OECD members} will provide money and transfer technology to developing nations
- Flexible Mechanisms
  - For more efficient realisation of obligations
  - In fact: wealthy nations can buy offsets abroad

# Kyoto Flexible Mechanisms

### • Emission permit trading

- Annex I countries can trade permits (AUs) for meeting reduction targets among participants
  - Hot Air: Russia and Ukraine own surplus permits
- CDM: Clean Development Mechanism
  - UN approves emission reduction projects in non-Annex I countries to deliver Certified Emission Rights (CERs)
  - Annex I countries can (partly) buy CERs as equivalent to emission reductions (offsets)

### • JI: Joint Implementation

- Annex I countries realise emission reduction projects jointly to share the Emission Reduction Units (ERUs)

# **EU and Kyoto Protocol**

- Burden Sharing of the EU's 8% emissions reduction
  - Quick but dirty agreement
    - Approximate data and models
    - Not on the basis of MAC estimates
  - Proper quota allocation is practically impossible
- Emission Trading Directive (Oct.2003)
  - ETS (Emission Trading Scheme)
    - Three phases: 1)2005-2007 ; 2)2008-2012 ; 3)2013-2020
    - Only large GHG emission sources
    - Member States assign free permits (1st + 2nd phases)
- NAPs (National [quota] Allocation Plans):
  - What sectors are included?
  - How many permits per emission source (installation)?
  - Little EU guidance (Jan./March 2004)
  - 3rd phase: allotments by EU Commission to MS & electric power companies must buy permits + gradually non-exposed industries (+transfers 2nd phase)



How?

EU-ETS: 3 ways for FREE Gifts of AUs Efficiency (MACi=MACj): slow (little) trade

Expected emissions (see Performance standard rates)

> Historic emissions (grandfathering)

# EU: Implementing Kyoto

- Burden Sharing of EU 8%
  - Uneven allocation over member states
    - Different histories and conditions (UK coal power; French nuclear; German unification, etc...)
    - Different level of development and expectations (Northern/ Southern Europe; now Western / Eastern)
  - I.e.: starting platform is not leveled
- NAPs (National Allocation Plans):
  - No harmonisation in sectors included
  - Over-assignment of free permits
- Emission Trading Scheme
  - Thin trade; volatile prices
  - 1st phase: final price = 0
  - 2nd phase: CDM linked to ETS (Oct. 2004)
  - 3rd phase: banked transfers from 2nd phase; more offsets (1/3) allowed



## **EU ETS: Effectiveness**

- Theory: absolute quota effective
  - Right quota = global stabilisation trajectory
  - Distribution of quota = mission impossible
- Leakages because scope too limited
  - 40% of EU emissions X EU is 1/5 of global = 8%
  - Uneven rules across countries, sectors, installations
- Bill pressure not felt
  - EU industry refuses bleeding by deep cuts
  - Low penalty on excess emissions beyond assignment
  - No additional reduction effort / No carbon leakage
- Second phase (2008-2012)
  - Over-supply of CERs through CDM linkage
  - Expected price and effectiveness is 0
  - Crisis 2008/09: demand for permits shrinks
  - Banking of (free) permit allowed beyond 2012
  - Electricity monopolies cheaply hoard permits









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**Trade increases efficiency** 

- When markets cover right scope of activities
- When harmonised & transparent
- Cost effectiveness unlikely
  - Uneven burden sharing & biased NAPs
  - No segmentation in proper categories
- Allocative efficiency when quota = trajectory
- Dynamic efficiency: tail wags dog?
- Macroeconomic: hot air and CDM drains

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- Free Permits up to actual emission levels
  - > Permit price = penalty on excess emissions
  - > No trade in permits, but trade in penalties
  - Carbon price patterns phase 1 & 2: downstairs to zero
- Total & Marginal costs: Tail wags Dog
  - Marginal is derivative of total (not the reverse)
  - MC-pricing optimal IFF <u>all</u> submarginal units <u>also</u> pay the marginal cost (+ <u>convexity</u>)
- Uniform Instrument on Diverse reality:
  - Inefficient
  - Source of swindle profits

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emissions

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emissions

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emissions

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### **Distributional aspects**

- a) Grandfathered permits for historical polluters according their pollution quantities Pioneers in efficiency are disadvantaged Swindle profits (electricity companies)
- b) Uneven burden sharing (comitology) create profits for winners, paid by losers Companies in ETS vs. emitters outside.
  CDM: fraudulent profits (e.g.: HFC23)

### **Ethical aspects**

**c) Offsets:** Affluent Lifestyles buy rights – defect & delay energy transition Swindle profits erode social cohesion (Mishan)

## **ETS: Administrative efficiency**

**Transaction costs decisive for feasibility** 

- a) ETS requires perfect allocations or perfect auctions  $\Leftrightarrow$  scope & dynamics of climate change and economies
- b) Transaction costs (consultant fees) heavy Speculative trades (ETS) and CDM set-ups
- c) Meter & measure emissions of included parties, registers, verifying (CDM; JI?) NAPs created uneven treatment
- d) Eureaucrats enjoy discretionary power Playing field for lobbyists
- e) Muddling by eurocrats ("comitology")

## ETS: Control & Enforcement

- a) Enforcement: pure penalty of €100/ lacking ton emission is strong incentive Actual over-supply needs no actions
- **b) ETS** is not transparent; few understand
- c) Equal treatment is absent (among participants and across emitters) E.g.: UK first round
- d) Worldwide Participation & Compliance? Worldwide bubble and trade: who is included? Who allocates? Who supervises?

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- 1. Why should actors refusing Carbon Taxes accept correctly Auctioned Emissions Trading? How naïve is politics' belief the corporate sector is naïve?
- 2. When AUCTIONS: What type of auctions? Who sells to whom (property rights on the atmosphere!)? Who is obliged/ allowed to buy? How to organize 'partial' auctions with efficient & fair allocation of free permits? Who gets the revenues (climate money)? etc....
- 3. What administration can successfully construct & control a global, artificial, multi-billion market? See EU politics record in regulating electricity sector

EU ETS performance Phase 1 and 2

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- Free Permits = 100%(Ph1), 96%(Ph2) of actual emissions
  - Price patterns Ph1 down to zero; Ph2 idem, but hold up by banking permits from Ph2 into Ph3
  - > Banking delutes role of CAP + extends problems in next Phase
- Trade in excess permits = 'Tail wags Dog' Ref.: Aviel Verbruggen. Windfall and other profits. *Energy Policy* 36 (2008) 3249-51)
  - Permit price on *excess* emissions beyond free assignments
  - Marginal is derivative of total (not the reverse)
  - MC-pricing may work iff <u>all</u> submarginal units <u>also</u> pay the costprice at the margin (+ long-run optimum)
  - No financial incentives from 0 euro bill
  - Source of windfall- excess profits for corporates
- Price is symbolic (joke)
  - Support by stock-stakeholders (ETS companies)
  - No carbon leakage by climate policy (yes by globalization)
  - ET popularity is growing wherever industry understands it is a symbolic dance without impact, but source of money-making

### **EU ETS performance Phase 3 and 4**

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### Permit assignment

- > Free for exposed industry, not for electricity generation
- > ≈ 2 Gton surplus Jan.2013 (banked free Ph2 permits), expected to be ≈ 2.6 Gton in 2020
- > Share of auctions *would* increase to 71% in year 2020
- > Electricity sector is hoarding permits
- Backloading shifts problems to the end of Ph3 (into Ph4)
- > CERs (CDM) are squeezed out as part of the surplus

### • Market stability reserve

- Comitology creature for Ph4
- ETS metamorphoses from periodical cap steering to permanent price control
- `cap on emissions' is now `cap on the price of permits'
- Yearly cap 1.74% linear reduction factor (≈ 0.038 Gton)
  - Insufficient to respect +2°C warming
  - Commission proposes 2.2% after 2020, but 2.6% needed

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Time

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### **EU ETS poor performance**

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- Uniform approach applied on Diverse realities
  - Not effective (CAP shrinking follows autonomous emission reductions by innovation and de-industrialization)
  - Not efficient ('playing fields' not leveled; disparity covered with a thin sheet of an almost zero carbon price)
  - Discriminatory (Aristotle)
  - Swindle profits, eroding social cohesion & resolve
  - Recurrent defects plastered with comitology spit & polish
  - Joke market mainly speculation, hoarding
- Market-based instrument or captured regulator?
  - EU ETS champions meddling & muddling by politics, officials, stock-stakeholders
  - 'Market' risks by uncertain comitology & lobbying outcomes
  - Theoretical mirage (toy of economists and eurocrats), but structurally flawed

### EU ETS: the <u>wrong</u> diagnosis & discourse (Sandbag as highlight)

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Sandbag's take-away message

The ETS is a <u>powerful</u> policy instrument to help the EU make a <u>meaningful</u> contribution to fight climate change, but its <u>current</u> design features are limiting its effectiveness

- Europe needs a <u>single, unified policy instrument</u> on climate
  - Too many activities lead to GHG emissions to regulate <u>each</u> <u>one individually</u>
  - No single country can address the climate crisis on its own
  - A <u>homogenous</u> regulatory environment minimizes the <u>impact</u> <u>on businesses</u>
- Emissions trading is the most workable policy option
  - It <u>avoids prescriptive command-and-control regulations</u>, and provides an incentive for continuous innovation
  - <u>A carbon price set a priori does not ensure an agreed-upon target is achieved</u>
  - It does not encroach on Member States fiscal prerogatives

### **EU ETS Conclusion**

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- Discourse: Government CAPs emissions & Companies TRADE marginal surplus and shortfall permits in a perfect market
- Reality: Big corporates TRADE hoarded permits to CAP the price of the emissions
- Discourse: The market frees policy makers from difficult choices, e.g., picking the winning technologies
- Reality: public interest policy is overrun by big corporates ruling their own mitigation efforts and pace ETS: today's most illustrious case of CAPTURED regulation
- Discourse: ETS flagship, most workable policy option, 'current' design needs a bit improvement, ...
- ⇔ Reality: 'current' is 2005-2015 ... EU ETS is structurally flawed, breathing on intensive care with effort spent on life-extension

EU ETS caretakers (why?)

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### • Insane coalition of caretakers

- Neoliberal economists, blinded by Langrange formula (bandwagon honours, publications, contracts)
- Consultants (complicated, opaque, structurally flawed case)
- Banks & trader cy's (may make some gains)
- Eurocrats (discretionary power, exposure, career)
  - What administration can successfully construct & control a global, artificial, multi-billion market?
- ETS companies:
  - Especially the big ones (billions profits, zero mitigation costs)
  - Power companies are leading the dance:
    - Control ETS regulation via comitology
    - Control permit prices via transactions and reserves
- TINA believers: environmental NGOs, e.g. SANDBAG (no guts, nor brains to develop alternatives?)

**EU ETS turns dream in nightmare** 

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