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Designing Emissions Trading Schemes to Combat Climate Change: Lessons Learnt from the European Emissions Trading Scheme

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UFZ, Helmholtz Centre for Environmental Research

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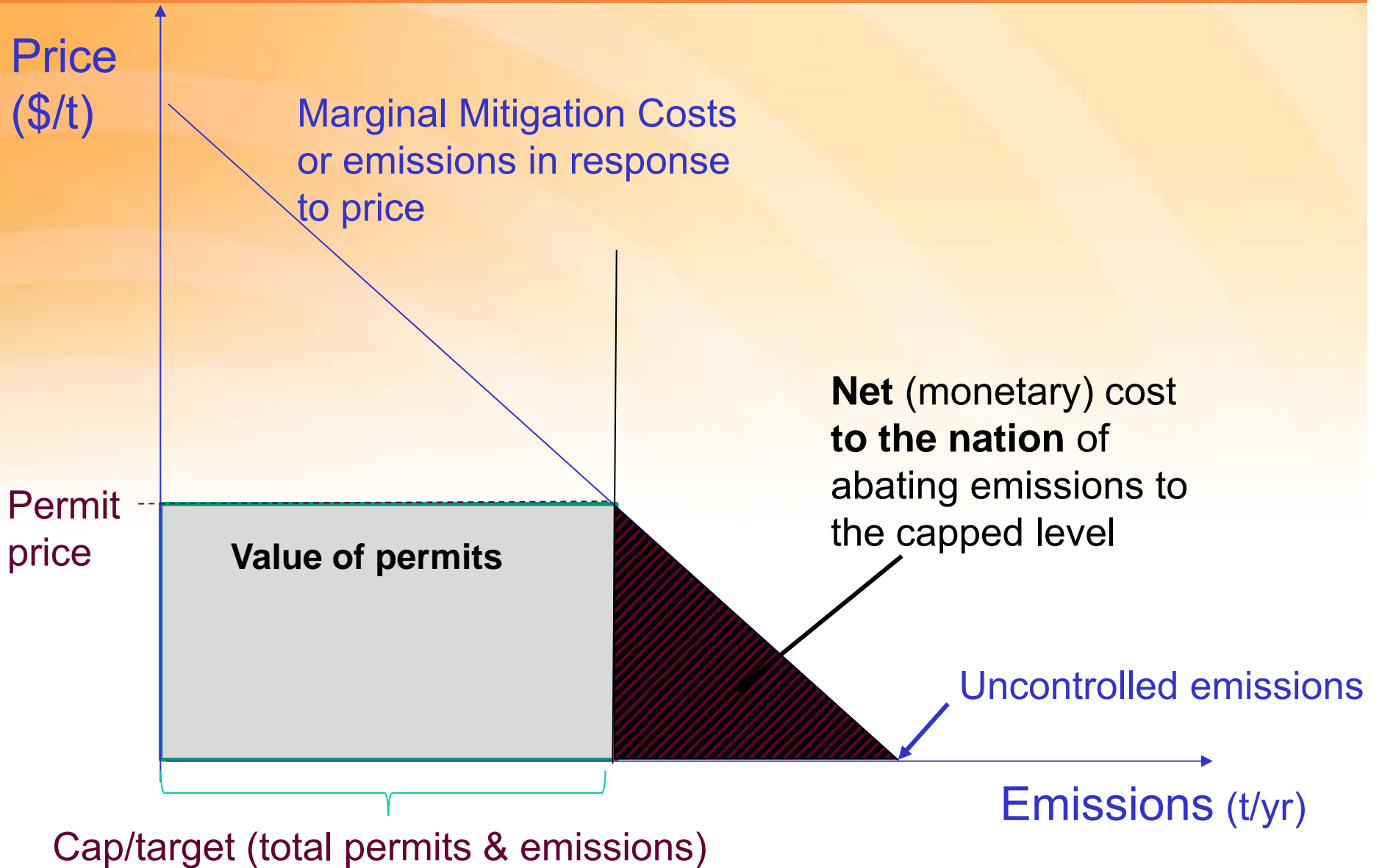
Motivation

- To combat climate change, effective and efficient policies are necessary to achieve high reductions (80-95%) in the long run
- Economic textbooks argue that a well-designed Emissions Trading Schemes (ETS) can be an efficient and effective policy instrument
- Emissions trading schemes are designer markets and policy makers have to choose the design
- More countries are planning to introduce emissions trading schemes in the future: e.g. Korea, China...
- Important lesson to be learnt from 7 years of operation of the biggest ETS



Methods that help to design and evaluate policy

Approaches	Ex-ante (Design)	Ex-post (Evaluation)
Theory	X	(x)
Modelling	X	(x)
Experiments	X	(x)
Econometrics		X
Interviews	X	X
Case studies	X	X





Key Design features of EU ETS (I)

- **Target**
 - Phase I and II: Cap level left to the Member States (National Allocation Plans), approval by the European Commission
 - Phase III: Harmonised cap determined at European level
 - Phase I into Phase II: no banking and borrowing
From Phase II onwards: Within a phase unlimited banking and one year borrowing
- **30 participating countries (EU-27 and Liechtenstein, Norway and Iceland)**
 - Covers around 50% of Carbon Dioxide emissions (CO₂) of EU
 - Around 40% of total greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions of EU
- **Downstream scheme for CO₂ from stationary sources**
 - Installation-based
 - Power generation & selected industries
 - Phase I cap: 2,082 Mt CO₂ p.a. covered (all GHG in Switzerland are 53 Mt CO₂)
 - Phase II cap: 2,083 Mt CO₂ p.a. extended scope ~ 85 Mt CO₂-e
 - Phase III: 1,930 Mt CO₂-e p.a. further activities and gases (N₂O and PFC) ~ 100 Mt CO₂e (2,039 Mt CO₂-e) and ~200 Mt aviation (in 2012)



Key Design features of EU ETS (II)

- **Allocation based on National Allocation Plans (NAP)**
 - Allocation left to the Member States, approval by the European Commission
 - Ceilings for auctioning ($\leq 5\%$ phase 1, $\leq 10\%$ phase 2, 100% electricity sector phase 3). Actual auction share: Phase 1: 0.13%, Phase 2: 3%, Phase 3: $\sim 50\%$
 - Total amount of allowances to be allocated and amount per installation
 - Policies & Measures for the non-ETS sectors (informative)
- **Sanctions**
 - Penalty of 40 €/t CO₂ (until 2007), 100 €/t CO₂ (from 2008) and make-good provision, no price cap or floor
- **Price Containment Measures:** only indirectly through banking, borrowing, offsets
- **Offset Mechanisms**
 - Limited use of Kyoto credits (Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) and Joint Implementation (JI))
- **Technical Aspects**
 - Yearly monitoring (mainly calculation based) and reporting of verified emissions
 - Phase 1 2005-2007, Phase 2 2008-2012 (= Kyoto Phase), Phase 3 2013-2020



Evaluation criteria

- **Environmental Effectiveness:** the extent to which the environmental objective is achieved.
 - Macro dimension: Does the ETS achieve emission reductions globally?
 - Micro dimension: Does the ETS achieve the given (ineffective) target?
- **Efficiency:** the extent to which the required objective is met at least cost.
 - Macro dimension: Does the policy achieve emissions reductions at lower costs compared to other instruments?
 - Micro dimension: Does the ETS achieve the given target at least cost?
 - Is the ETS designed efficiently?
 - Does it lead to innovation in the long run? (dynamic efficiency)



Relevant design elements

- **Environmental Effectiveness**

- **Target**
- Leakage
- Offsets
- Sanctions
- Monitoring/Reporting/Verification

} Macro dimension

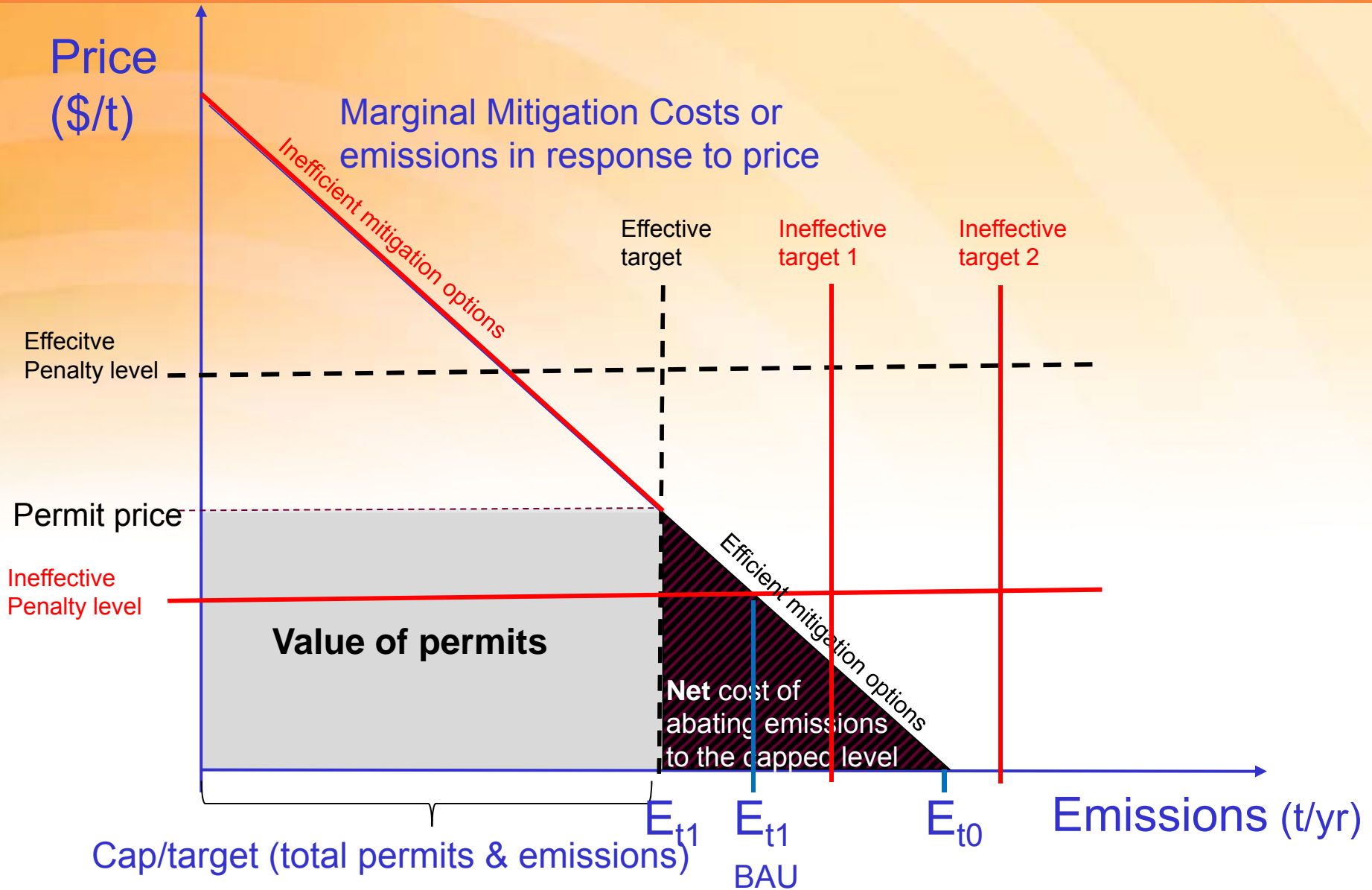
} Micro dimension

- **Efficiency**

- **Coverage**
- **Target**
- **Market (firm decisions)**

} Macro dimension

} Micro dimension



What are the targets?

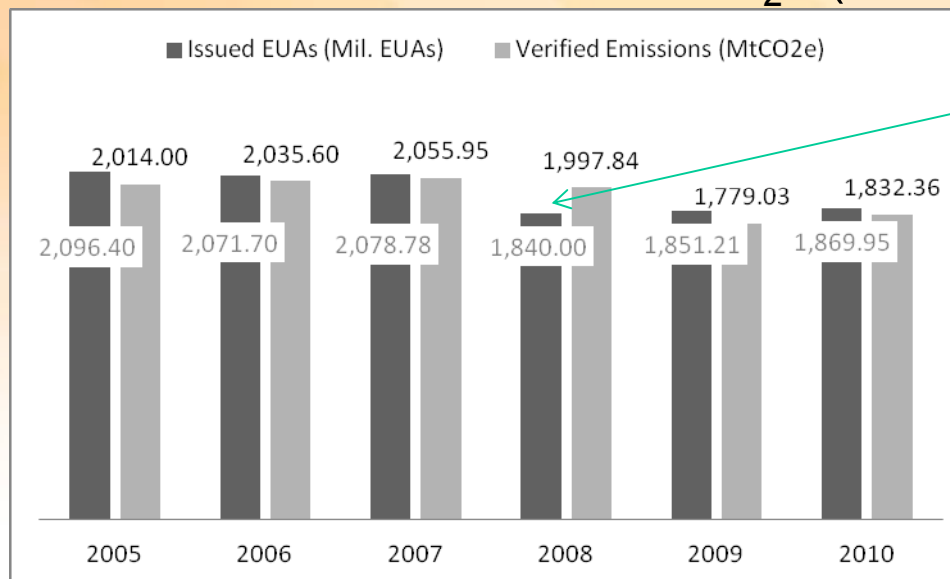
EU25 in MtCO₂e (CITL)

Macro

- Target
- Leakage
- Offsets

Micro

- Sanctions
- M/R/V



Impact
financial
crises

Phase I: EUAs allocation exceeded verified emissions by 141 Mio. tCO₂

Phase II: - Substantially improved by EC decisions (see next slide)

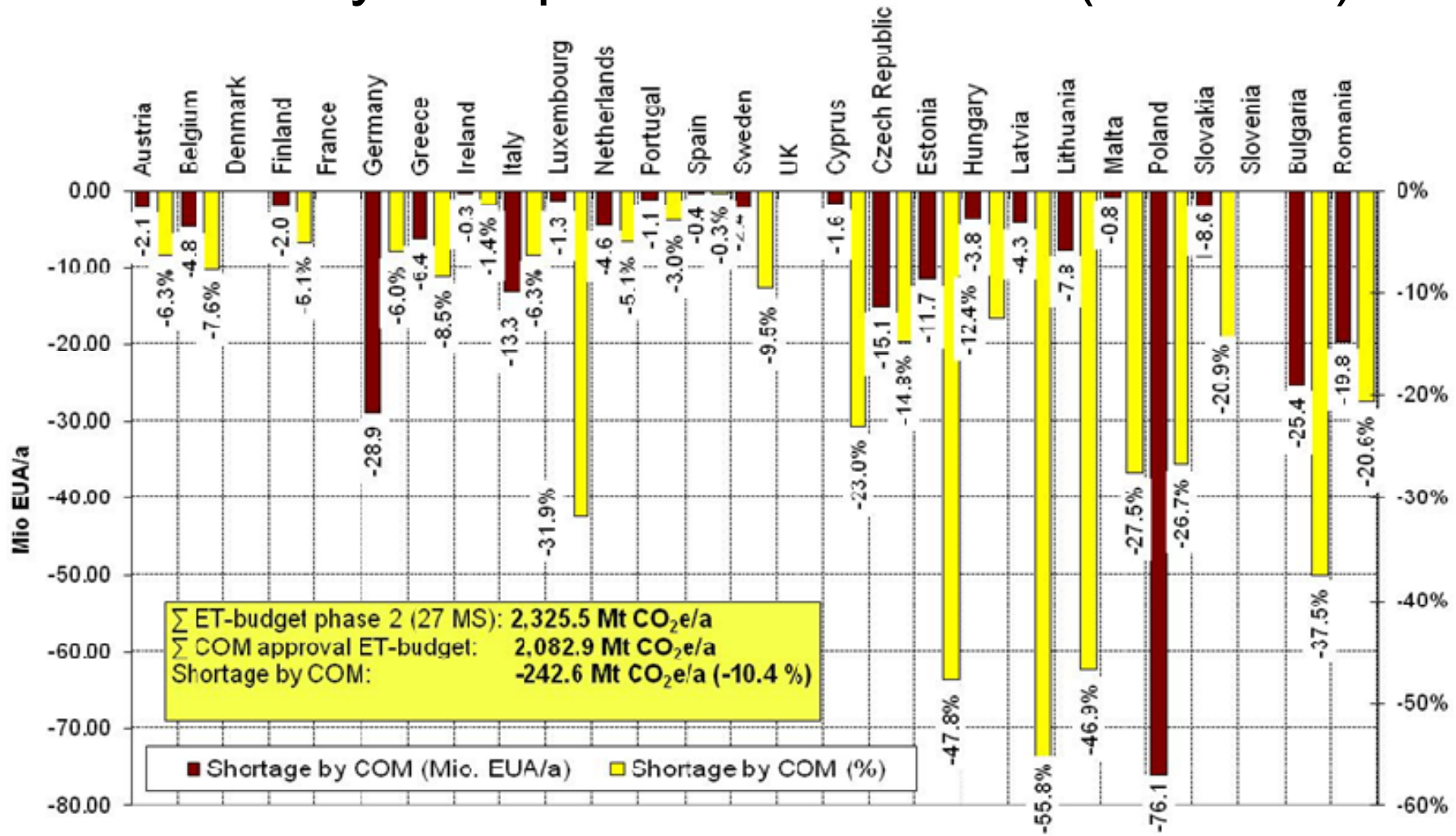
- 5.9% below 2005 verified emissions, 2008-2010 48 Mio tCO₂ below verified

Phase III Proposal: -21% compared to 2005 for ETS sector (11.3% below phase II allocation)

- The targets of the EU ETS are becoming more stringent over time, Commission has a crucial role in target setting

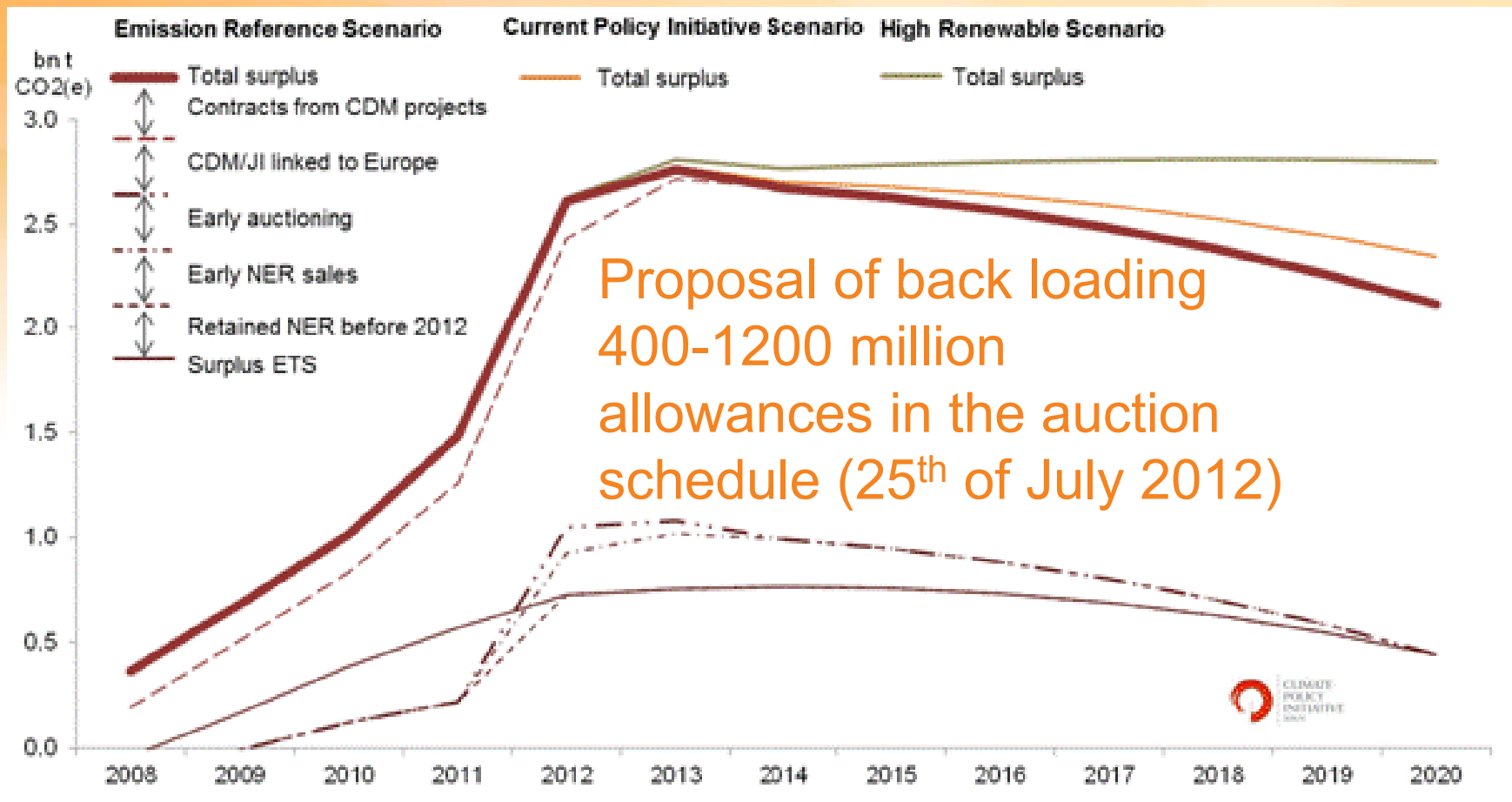


Decision by European Commission (Phase II)





Cumulative surplus of EU ETS allowances 2008-2020





Was the EU ETS achieving emissions reductions?

- To assess emissions reductions a counterfactual has to be calculated
- Different studies with different approaches
 - Ellerman et al (2010) use a simple approach based on GDP intensity and emissions 1990-2007:
 - Phase 1: -210 Mt CO₂ (EU-25)
 - Anderson and Di Maria (2011) include temperature changes ect.
Net Abatement in Mt CO₂ for EU-25 (Verified emissions – BAU emissions):
2005=84; 2006=62; 2007=28; Total=174 (2.8%)
Stringency of target: 27.9 Mt CO₂ (0.45%) (Allocation – BAU emissions)
- The EU ETS in Phase 1 did not lead to substantial emissions reductions
- In Phase 2 some reductions are likely given the banking options, however, the accumulated surplus will reduce prices substantially



Target setting: Lessons learnt

- High quality data is needed (same monitoring methods and externally verified) otherwise historical inflation of base year emissions has to be assumed
- Coverage has to be clear at the outset
- Target setting based on projections is likely to be inflated
- Small reductions compared to inflated base year emissions are likely to lead to an excess allocation
- Crucial role of the European Commission to limit excess allocation
- Overallocation accumulates a surplus if bankable and will impact on the price in long run

Cap fixes maximum abatement and no other policies for the same sectors can achieve further reductions!



Is the EU ETS efficient?

Macro

– Coverage

– Target

Micro

– Market

Coverage: What are the costs and benefits of covering companies in an ETS compared to an alternative policy?

- Efficient coverage depends on stringency of the cap, transaction costs (fixed/variable and depending on policy) and distribution of mitigation costs (Betz/Sanderson/Ancev/2010)
- Simulations show that, given the lax targets of the Phase 1 and 2 of EU ETS, the costs temporarily outweigh the benefits of covering small companies, as transaction costs are largely fixed costs

Target: Was the target set efficiently between covered and non-covered sectors?

- Phase I and II: Most countries did not take marginal abatement costs of covered and non-covered sectors into account in setting the target, as the analysis of National Allocation Plans showed (Betz/Rogge/Schleich 2006)
- Phase III: European Commission did take marginal abatement costs and other policies into account



Coverage: Emissions – Installation relation

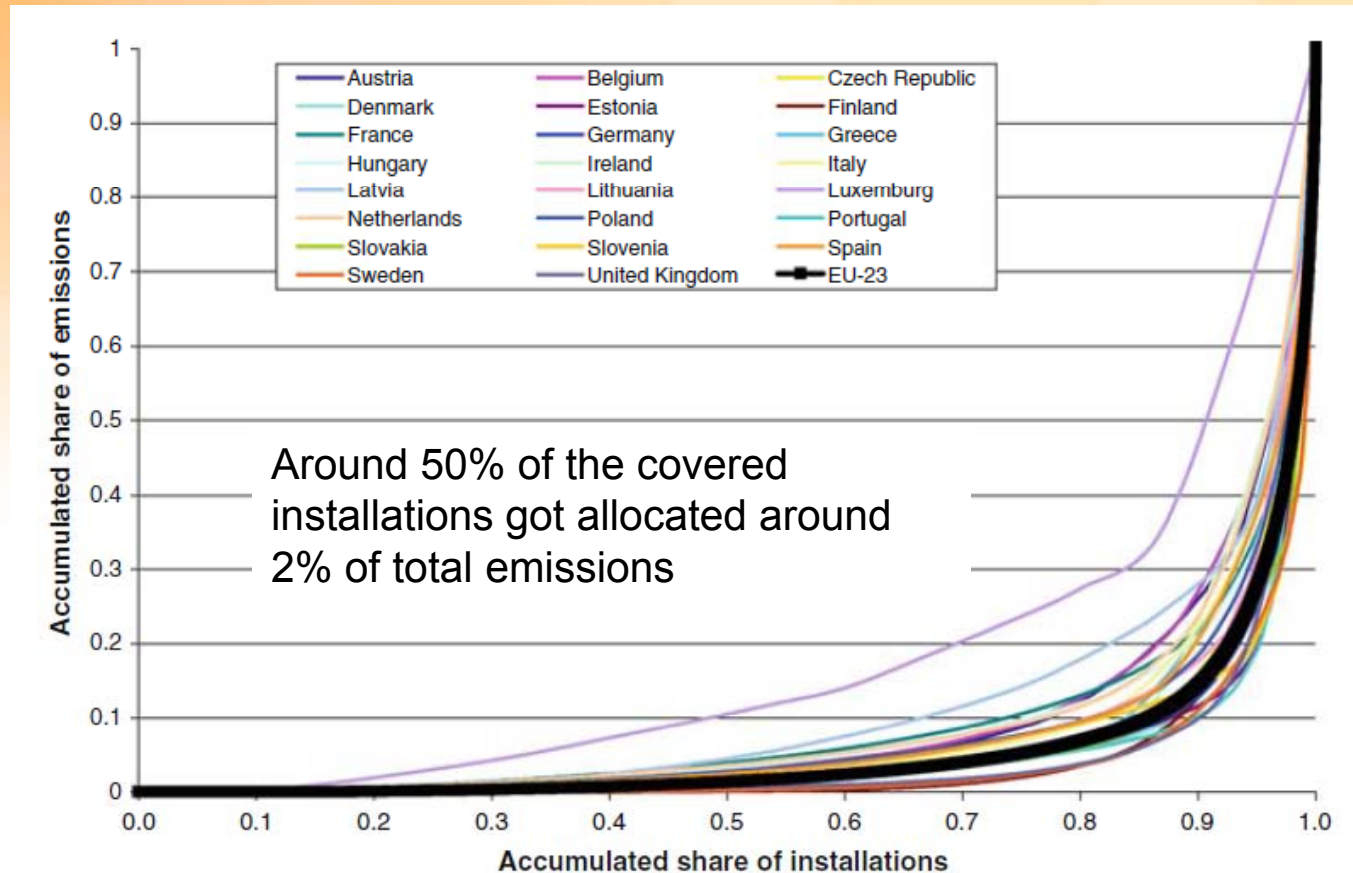
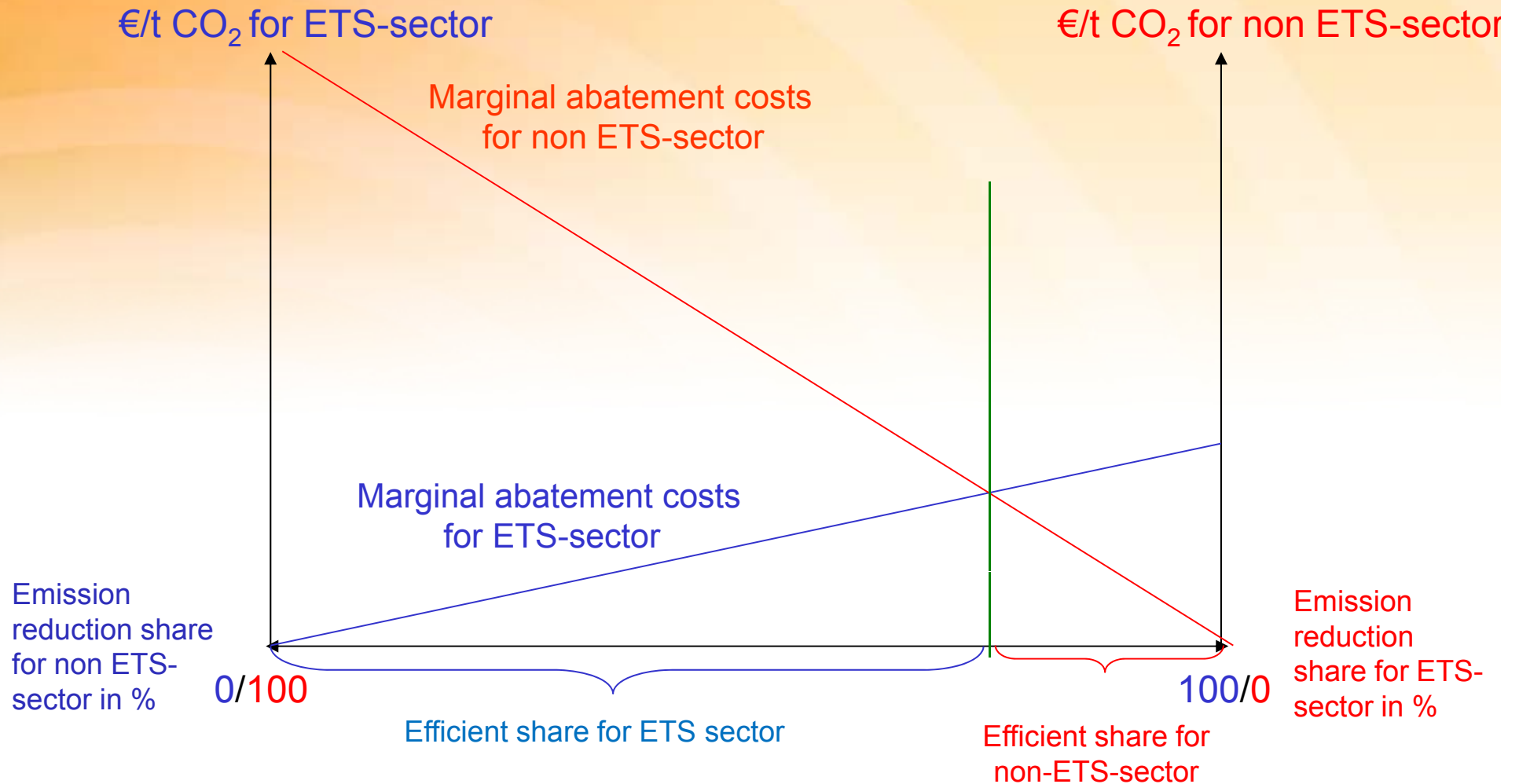


Fig. 1 Share of verified emissions 2005 compared to share of number of installations (Lorenz Curve).
Source: Community Independent Transaction Log (CITL) data



Target setting of ET and Non-ET sector



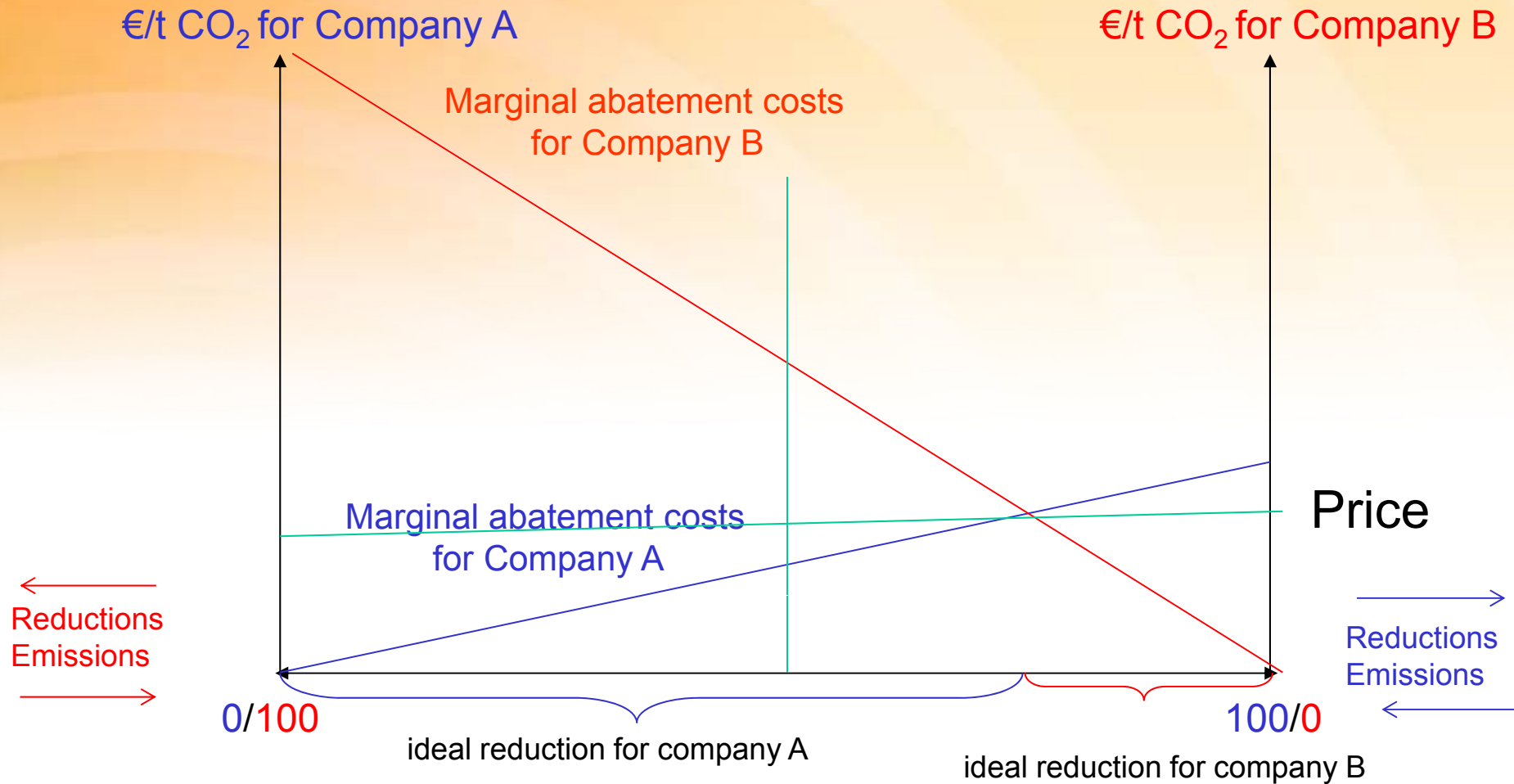


Market efficiency

- Market input related factors
 - Information on abatement options and costs (incl. offsets)
 - Transparency e.g. emissions, reserves
 - Market structure e.g. competitiveness
 - Transaction costs
 - Uncertainty
 - Rational participants (profit maximising, risk neutral)
 - Market oversight
- Output
 - EUA price and volume development
 - Market transactions
 - Production volume
 - Import/Export volume
 - Technology and fuel use
 - Investment and investment plans



Theory: Efficiency of ETS based on trading





EU ETS market efficiency

Necessary market conditions

- Information on abatement options and costs (incl. offsets)
- Transparency e.g. emissions
- Market structure

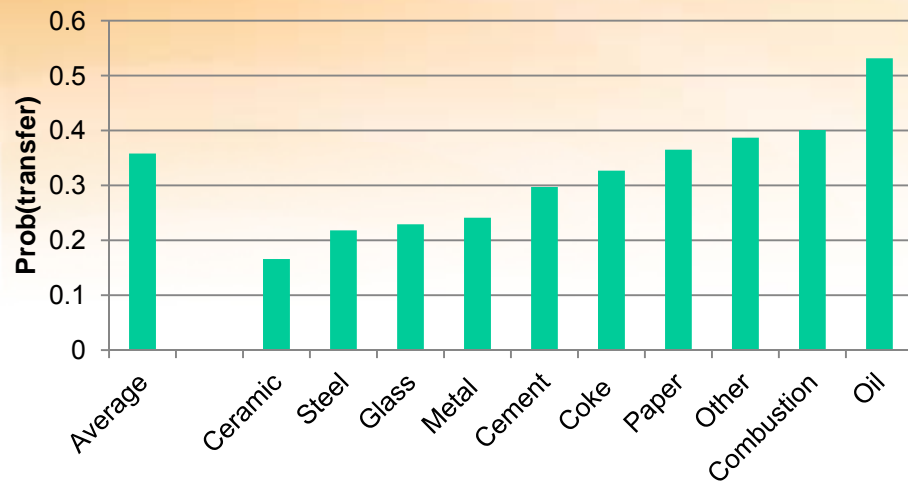
- Transaction costs
- Uncertainty
- Rational participants
- Market oversight

EU ETS

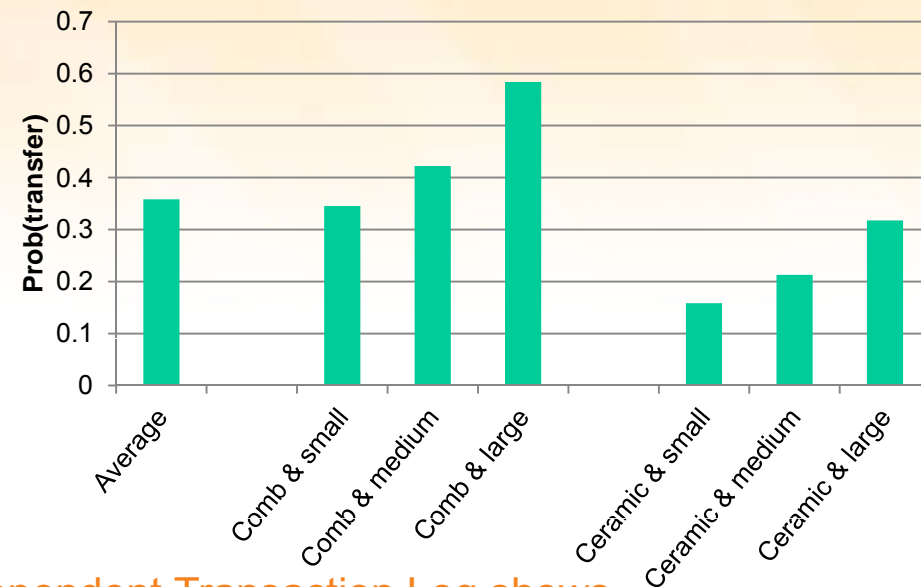
- 60% of companies do not know their abatement costs¹
- Emissions are revealed annually
- 46% of emitters did not trade, mainly due to excess allocation. Under-allocated installations avoid trading on the market by internally transferring allowances without payment (61% of companies). Market power?
- Transaction costs are high, especially for small emitters, as they tend to be fixed costs
- UNFCCC process uncertainty affects trust in long-term future of EU ETS
- Theory and Experiments: free allocation and uncertainty aversion reduces market efficiency²
- Oversight is missing, as scandals of VAT carousel and phishing show

Probability to transfer allowances in 2005 of EU ETS

By Sector



By Size



Data on transfers from Community Independent Transaction Log shows that the probability of an installation transfer allowances depends on:

- Sector
- Size (emissions)
- Position (if short higher probability to transfer)



Allocation affects static efficiency

- In EU ETS: Free allocation to existing installations leads to strategic behaviour and provides rents to incumbents which will reduce efficiency
 - historic vs. benchmarking affects efficiency
 - Updating of baseperiod: incentive of more emissions as strategic motivation for additional allocation in the future -> less abatement
 - Updating with benchmark: Strategic incentive only for higher production output
 - Fuel-specific vs. fuel-neutral benchmarking distorts reduction decisions
- Free allocation to new entrants coupled with withdrawal of allocation from ceasing installations gives an incentive to keep inefficient plants in operation.
- Allocation to new entrants based on benchmarks on capacity installed gives perverse incentive to build oversized boilers (Denmark has reduced allocation BAT/benchmark)
- Experiment have shown that auctioning will improve efficiency:
 - Auctioning will achieve higher pass-through of opportunity costs (Goree et al 2010)
 - Auctioning yields better price discovery at the beginning and better investment-cost efficiency and higher static efficiency (Restiani and Betz 2011)

Auction design needs to be carefully chosen (Betz, Seifert, Cramton, Kerr 2010)



Dynamic efficiency/Innovation incentives

- Theory: Expected carbon price will give companies (emitters and technology companies) an incentive to invest in low emitting technologies (R&D as well as adaptation of technologies)
- EU ETS evaluation based on case studies (Rogge, Schneider, Hoffmann 2011), interviews (Rogge, Hoffmann 2010) shows:
 - EU ETS does not yet lead to significantly higher rate of investment and adaptation of low emitting technologies
 - Some influence on CCS investment
 - Technology specific policies and fuel price expectations more important
 - EU ETS has had an impact on organisational processes
 - Management is aware of carbon costs
 - Carbon costs are included in investment models
- Analysis on patent data (Dechezleprêtre and Caeli 2011) indicates that there may have been positive effects in innovation, especially in France and Germany in 2005

Major barriers to innovation:

Allocation: excess permits and distortions due to free allocation methods

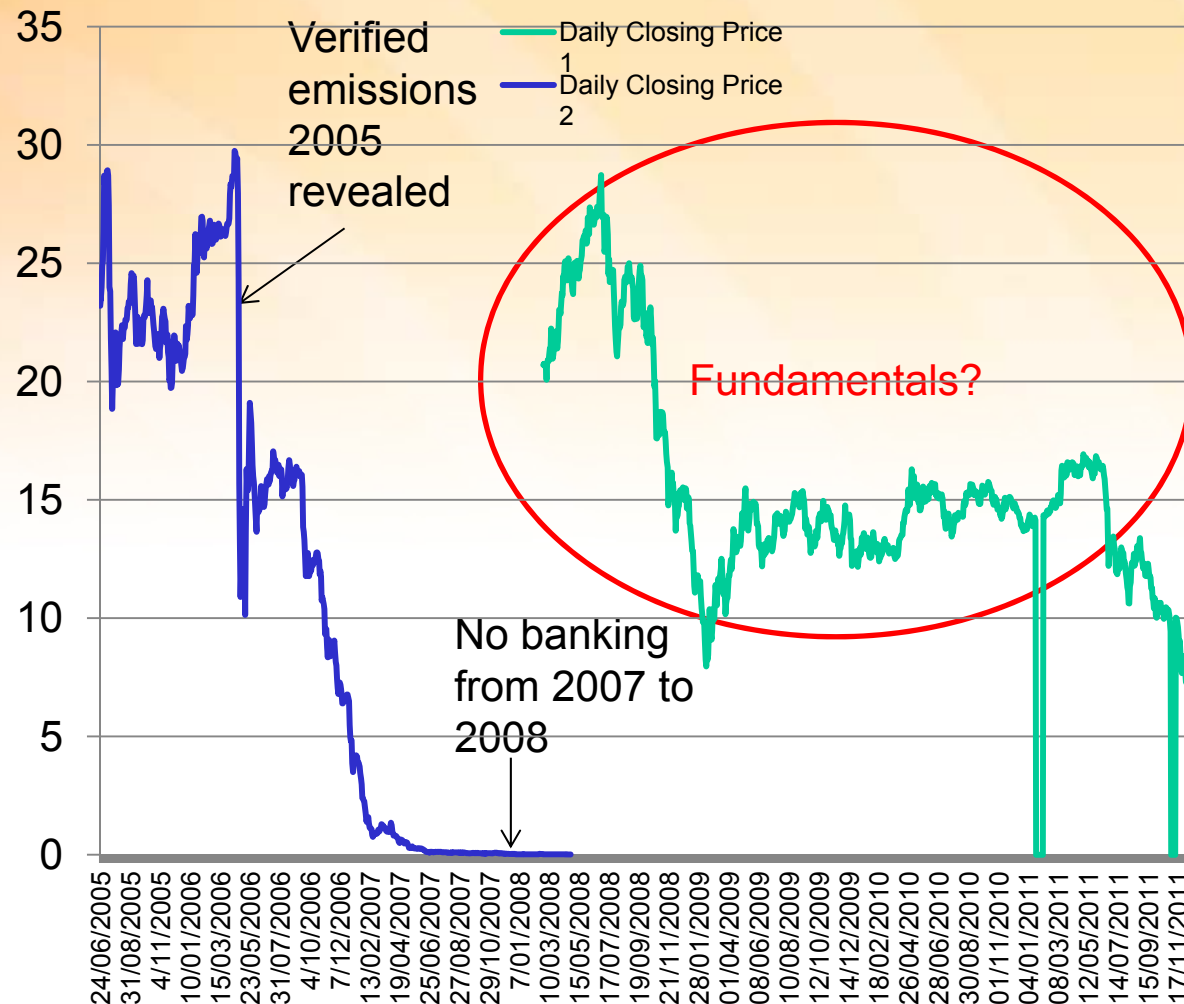
Long term expectations: **uncertainty of future of ETS and cap, price volatility**

Therefore investments are postponed due to option value for waiting for more information



Price Development

- In theory: Prices should reflect scarcity of permits
- Efficiency should lead for a given target to a low permit price c.p.
- Other policies will impact on price
- Phase II: Influence of fundamentals (fuel prices, temperature, availability of hydro power, stock market) but also influence of policy decisions





General conclusions

- A flexible process to improve the design over time seems crucial to achieve an effective and efficient ETS... Lobbying is compromising early design
- Design matters... the instrument may not work in practice as claimed in the textbook
- Effectiveness: Commission played a crucial role in target setting, discussion on price containment crucial for future of EU ETS
- Efficiency:
 - Static: Risk if rules get too complicated and complex some companies will not participate in trading
 - Dynamic incentives: Too early to judge but we may need complementary policies to enhance R&D and diffusion e.g. Sweden introduced a carbon tax that can be avoided when undertaking an energy efficiency audit.
- What did we want in the outset: a price or a quantity instrument? ETS was setting a price but not reflecting the quantity restrictions in Phase 1



Specific design recommendations

- Target
 - Data and M/R/V rules have to be in place in order to determine target
 - Brave politicians or specific institutional set-ups are necessary to set ambitious targets, as no other policy can go beyond the target. Some positive feedback mechanism of the price.
- Coverage
 - Upstream coverage of phasing-in over time for smaller emitters may be more efficient. Opt-out in Phase III possible but little benefit.
- Allocation
 - There has not been any free allocation formula that did not lead to distortions
 - Auctioning is becoming the dominant form
- Market
 - More transparency and disclosure of information necessary: e.g. Moving from calculation to measurement
 - Oversight is necessary to have long term trust in the market



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Thank you for your attention

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