

The EU ETS and Carbon Leakage: Addressing a Multilateral Challenge

Climate Strategies Side Event

Presenter: Susanne Droege

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Overview

- The Issue: Carbon Leakage and the EU ETS after 2012
- The Measures to Address Carbon Leakage
- The Focus of the Climate Strategies Project



Carbon Leakage

- Climate policy challenge: undermines effectiveness
- Territorial approach
- Defined as the change in GHG emissions outside the country or region taking domestic mitigation action divided by the reduction in the emissions of the country or region (e.g. Barker et al. 2007: 6281)

Leakage rate: - Δ GHG in NA / GHG reduction in A

Meaning: 30 percent leakage out of 100 units avoided emissions under the EU ETS would limit the actual contribution of the EU ETS to the global emissions reductions to 70 units.

The EU ETS Directive Proposal: after 2012

- Preferred long term option: full auctioning, less certificates
- Free allocation during a transitional period (Art 10a) until 2020
- Harmonised EU-wide rules
- Postponed decision for installations in energy-intensive sectors exposed to international competition. Taking into account progress in reaching an international agreement to avoid net carbon leakage
 - 2010: Commission will determine which sectors are concerned
 - **2011:** in-depth assessment of energy-intensive industries qualifying for free allocation
- The challenge: putting in place an effective carbon equalisation system to neutralise any distorting effects from imports and to prevent carbonintensive production to move abroad
 Susanne Dröge
 Susanne

Energy-intensive Industries

- Definition: Energy-intensive industries are defined as business entities where the purchase of energy products and electricity amounts to at least 3.0% of the production value
- **50 sub-sectors** might require price increases for their products ranging from 0.1 to 5% to recoup costs imposed by an carbon price of **€20** per tonne of CO2:

- cement and lime production, - primary steel (blast oxygen furnace), - aluminium production, - production of primary container glass and - some basic chemicals (ammonia, nitric acid, fertilizer production)
[DG Economic and Financial Affairs Economic Paper no° 297, 2007]

CO_2 cost screen (with €20/t): Sectors potentially exposed to unilateral CO_2 pricing (UK)



Source: Climate Strategies Report:

Differentiation and dynamics of EU ETS industrial competitiveness impacts. 2007.

The Issue

2008

From Competitiveness to Carbon Leakage

- Competitiveness effects determined by profits and market shares of producers → Concern for industrial policy
- Translate into investment and production decisions under carbon pricing Leakage determined by:
- \rightarrow A) **Relocation** potential
- \rightarrow B) **Substitution** of production through imports
- → C) Other channels. Could be of significance (energy markets, substitution elasticities) → unintended feedback loops

Leakage Channels Induced by Unilateral Carbon Pricing



Effects from the EU ETS on Location of Emissions: Investment Relocation

- Switch **capital investment** from within to outside Europe
- Relevant now, if expectations of significant sustained differential in regional carbon prices
- Few new greenfield investment in EU manufacturing, bigger issue is upgrading investment
- But: set of factors drive location decisions
- 'Invest abroad for import to EU' might not pay if carbon price equalises

Effects from the EU ETS on Location of Emissions: Production Leakage

- Decision to reduce output from facility within the EU, and replace it by imports
- Relevant in 'real time', i.e. for Phase III design decisions
- Contingent upon adequate capacity and infrastructure to facilitate imports
- Risk? Confined to impact on customer networks in the industries

Inside the EU: Identification of Sectors "significantly at risk" (Art 10a, 10b)

- How big is 'significant'?
- Do criteria apply only at EU aggregate level and conditions, or for different EU member countries? Different dependencies (e.g. power sources)? Different facilities (e.g. geographical location) ?
- At what carbon prices?
 - at €20/tCO2, list confined to top 2-4 sectors, but might expand rapidly at much higher carbon prices
- → difficult and contentious task, prone to political judgements on definitions and boundaries

Three Options to Level the Carbon Price 1. downwards

Levelise at non-carbon costs Conditional allocation/ revenue recycling



- Little substitution to low carbon products/services
- Distorts investment
- May constrain innovation
- Risk of lock-in

→ free allocation or revenue recycling can prevent leakage only if conditional on the activity that the system is trying to deter

... third best

Three Options to Level the Carbon Price: 2. upwards

Globalise

carbon costs

Full-cost sectoral

agreements

Investment relocation: All potential countries for hosting new investment agree that new facilities will pay carbon costs through their lifetime

Production leakage: All producing countries agree to charge equivalent carbon price on production activities that generate a given product: For internal consumption (to not discriminate against EU goods within that country) For export (for equivalence abroad)

e Outside EU ETS

- Price with carbon cost Sectoral agreement with CO2 cost in all major production
- Requires strong policies of developing countries
- Risk of lowest common denominator
- Not credible for most governments to make, implement and enforce such long-term binding commitment



Three Options to Level the Carbon Price: 3. flexible

- Potential problems with WTO/trade relations
- Requires at least informal international cooperation
- Perceived as a threat in international trade negotiations

Border adjustments Fiscal, process standard or allowance adjustment at border Inside Outside EU ETS FU FTS

Support consistent differential

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... second best

Border Measures - Options

Category	Mechanism	Issues
Import cost adjustment (imports into capped region)	Importers to buy EU Allowances: Process specific Product benchmarked	Most directly linked to EU ETS objectives (therefore clearest defence under WTO exception clauses) Mechanisms could be combined (eg. Holcim proposal)
	Product/ Process standards	Exports much harder to address
Export cost adjustment (exports from capped region)	Analogous to re- imbursement of VAT on exports	Addresses exports (but intent of VAT system is to prevent double-taxation) Difficult with volatile prices
		Only credible for direct (auction) costs, not opportunity costs
Import taxes (imposed by capped region(s))	Tariff on imported products	Most direct conflict with thrust of trade liberalisation (though eg. VAT precedent)
Export taxes	Charges on exports	No conflict with WTO
(imposed by uncapped regions)	 eg. Egyptian cement exports, Chinese realignment of export taxes 	Difficulty of coordination and enforcement

The Measures

The Climate Strategies Leakage Project

- Aims to identify leakage effects from EU ETS carbon pricing
- Focus on few carbon- and energy-intensive sectors: cement, steel, aluminium, electricity
- Different EU regions, interactions with major trade partners
- Analyses of different measures against leakage, focus on border adjustments:
 - How do border adjustments compare to free allocation and sectoral agreements
 - How could a border adjusment system for specific industries look like if applied multilaterally and without undermining investment in CO2 efficiency?
 - How do border measures relate to global climate negotiations?

Work Packages

I: llustrating leakage and framing the EU ETS debate

II: Measures to address leakage

- 1 Sectoral analysis for EU and other regions
 - The Polish power sector
 - A multi-sectoral analysis for aluminium, cement, electricity and steel
 - CO2 price impact on industrial cost structures
- 2 Border tax adjustment for EU- China trade
- 3 Legal and institutional analysis of border tax adjustment
- III: Political analysis of using border adjustments to address leakage
 - 1 US-EU Relations
 - 2 Japan
 - 3 Emerging economies
 - 4 Implications for the Post 2012 global climate regime

Key Tasks:

Sounding out the options and the effects of BA

- Where to apply border adjustment: A carbon price works through the value chain – how can BA be supportive in this respect?
 - What products?
 - How many benchmarks?
 - How far down in the production chain?
- Level:
 - Who determines it
 - Symmetric / asymmetric
 - Also electricity price increases
- Compensation financial / physical terms: Tax or certificates
- Compensation of trade with
 - Every other country
 - Non Annex 1 countries
 - Countries with/out climate policy

... and reducing the risks

- Focus on specific sector characteristics, not generalised protection of a 'carbon pricing' zone
- Separate the four categories of action
- Recognise the debate in other regions notably the US
- Pursue in a multilateral setting, not as unilateral protection of EU (or US, or other) industry:
 - as a legitimate element in protecting integrity of multilateral agreement
 - link to sectoral negotiations as a way of incentivising cost internalisation between major producers
- Engage the trade community from the outset and not burden the WTO with the core political problems

The Project Team

Work Package		Team Members	Affiliation	
I: Illustrating Leakage				
Illustrating leakage and framing the EU ETS debate		Susanne Dröge, Manuel Graf Roland Ismer	SWP- German Institute for International and Security Affairs, BerlinLMU- University of Munich	
		Stéphanie Monjon	CIRED - Centre for Research on the Environment and Development, Paris	
II: Measures to address leakage				
1 Sectoral analysis for EU and other regions				
1.1	The Polish power sector	Woijcziech Suwala, Mariusz Kudelko	MEERI - Mineral and Energy Economy Research Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow	
1.2	A multi-sectoral analysis for aluminium, cement, electricity, steel	Philippe Quirion, Stéphanie Monjon	CIRED	
1.3	CO2 price impact on industrial cost structures	Katja Schumacher	Oeko - Oeko-Institut, Berlin	
2	Border tax adjustment for EU- China trade	Tancrède Voituriez	IDDRI –Institut du developpment durable et des relations internationals, Paris	
3	Legal and institutional analysis of	Roland Ismer	LMU	
	border tax adjustment	Karsten Neuhoff	Cambridge University, Electricity Policy Research Group	
		Matthieu Wemaere	IDDRI	
III: Political analysis of using border adjustments to address leakage				
1	US-EU Relations	Harro van Asselt Thomas Brewer Michael Mehling	IVM Institute for Environmental Studies, Amsterdam Georgetown University, Washington University of Greifswald	
2	Japan	Yukari Takamura	Ryukoku University Kyoto	
3	Emerging economies	N.N.		
4	Implications for the Post 2012 global climate regime	Susanne Dröge Anne Koch	SWP	

The Project

Project Timeline and Outputs

- Kick-off workshop 4th February 2008, end of project February 2009
- Duration: February 2009
- Expert meetings: regional (Eastern Member States) in April 2008; major trade partners (US and Emerging Economies) in Summer/Autumn 2008
- Interim Project Meeting: July, first results and proposals
- Output: workshops, papers, project report (www.climatestrategies.org)

Many thanks for your attention

Project Coordination:

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www.climate-strategies.org

More Background and Details



Border Measures

- Technicalities of a BTA: what benchmark for the technology used? Best available technology (BAT)? What allowance price? Average?
- Legality relates to the characteristics of the emission as such: not incorporated in the traded goods; discrimination of like products!?
- Justification under WTO law seems likely, however, a case would be needed to have a final ruling on environmental BTA.
- Art XX: careful design needed for an exception (criteria: necessary, least trade restrictive)
 - Multilateral negotiations of the issue
 - Others not forced to apply a similar method
 - Different development levels taken into account

Border measures cont.

- Quotas for imports: not as easy to justify as the tax version of border adjustments (v.Asselt/Biermann 2005) Art XIII prohibits discriminatory quantitative restrictions
- Technical regulations and standards, e.g. for energy use of goods (fall under the GATT TBT agreement): mandatory vs. Voluntary matters and legality of nonproduct-related measures is not clear. Again, nondiscrimination, transparency and environmental objective has to apply

Institutional Framing of the Trade and Climate Issues

- Unilateral measures: contradict WTO concept
- WTO: countries assumed as homogeneous in rights and obligations
- UNFCCC: common but differentiated responsibilies
- Sectoral agreements: own trade-related aspects
- Major trade partners: regional agreements and WTO
- Germany and EU: trade is not subject to national decisions

Message 1: Even for the most impacted sectors, like cement and steel, *profit margins* can easily be protected by free allocation

EU cement and steel profit margins for different C prices, allocations and pass-through

a) EU cement industry

b) EU steel industry

i) Profit margin

Profit margins can be maintained or grown by government allocation decisions and by industry decisions about passing costs onto consumers.



Message 2... but profit-maximising response will still raise prices, resulting in trade impacts of a 'few percentage points' for the most impacted sectors



ii) Consumption and production Passing costs onto consumers will lead to a reduction in demand and a bigger reduction in EU production volumes.

Note: Trade sensitivities estimated from range of historical variability Source: Data from CIRED, as presented in Carbon Trust (2008) 2008