

# Carbon pricing, Competitiveness and Carbon Leakage:

THEORY, EVIDENCE AND POLICY DESIGN

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## **Explicit and Implicit Pricing of GHG Emissions**

#### Revenue neutral or require expenditure

Implicit GHG pricing e.g. fuel taxes, feed in tariffs, efficiency & emissions standards,

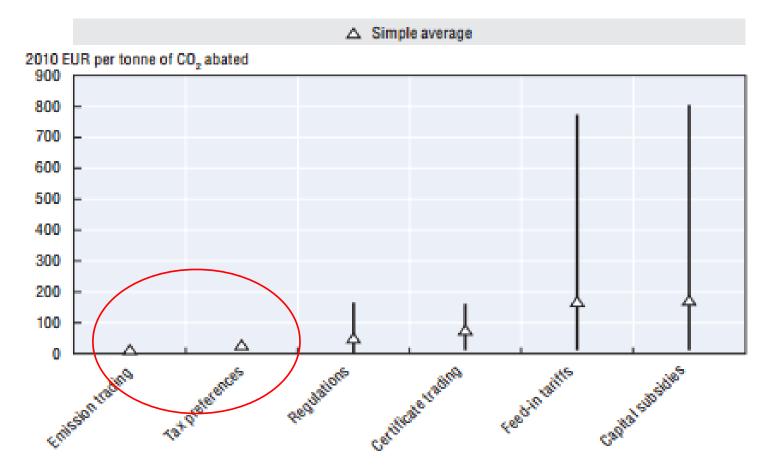
Reduce government expenditure

Fossil-fuel subsidy removal

Potential to raise government revenue

**Explicit** GHG pricing e.g. emissions trading, carbon taxes

### Explicit carbon prices dwarfed by implicit ones



Note: The height of the bars represents the range of effective carbon price estimates found for the different instrument categories; the triangles represent a simple average of these estimates. "Regulations" refers to renewable portfolio standards.

OECD (2013) Effective carbon prices



Oil products

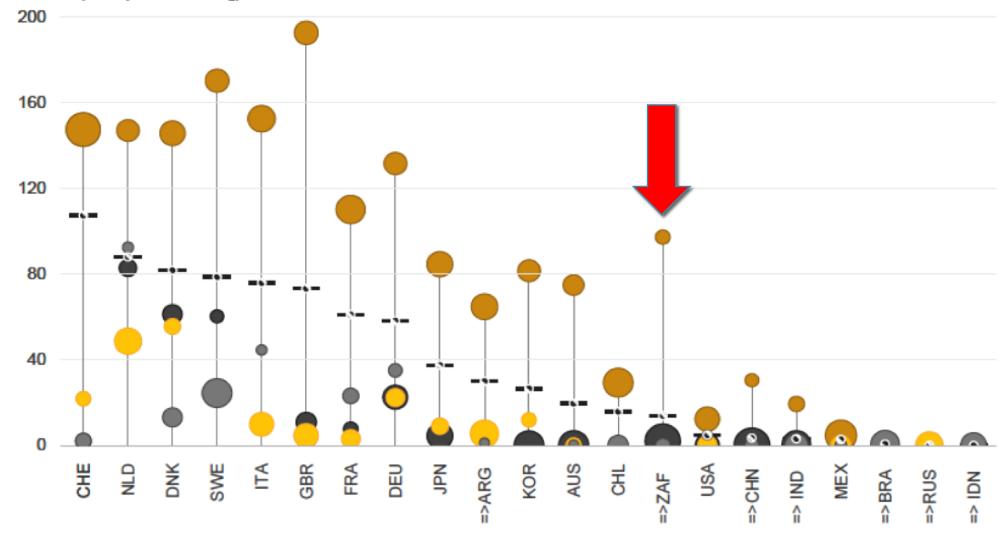
CoalNatural gas

Combustibles, biofuels & waste

Economy-wide

Size of bubbles represents each fuel's share in total emissions from energy use

Tax rate (EUR per tonne CO<sub>2</sub>)





**Effective tax** 

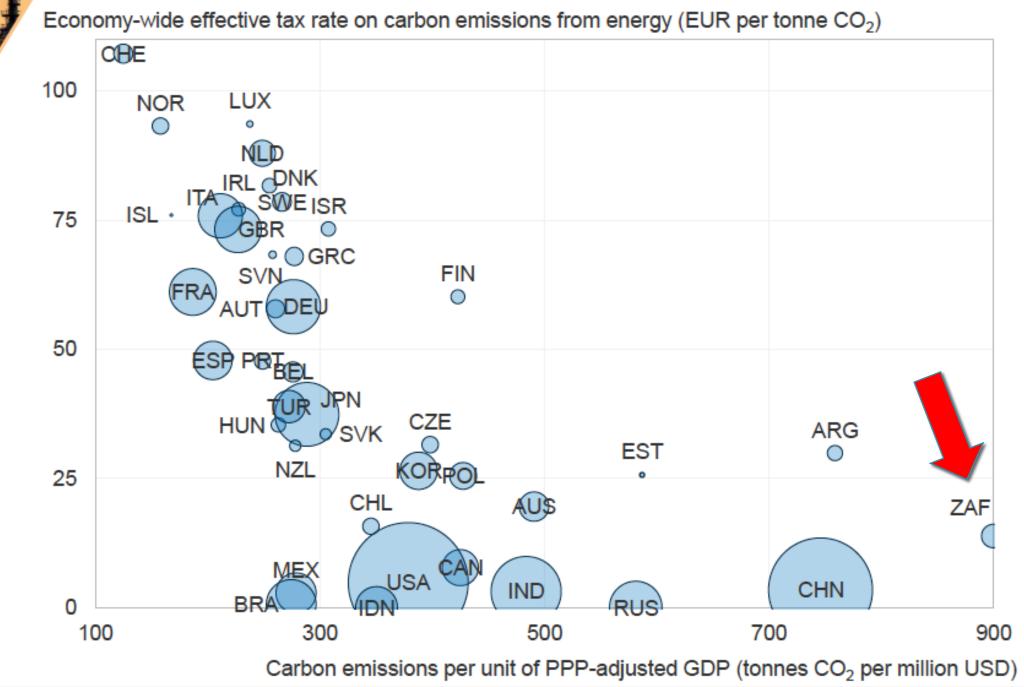
rates on

CO2 from

different

fuels

Economy wide tax rate on CO2 and carbon intensity of GDP





### Carbon leakage risk: potential, contained and manageable

Carbon prices are intended to cause structural transformations and benefit lowemission, efficient firms

Carbon prices may distort competition between firms when they differ between jurisdictions

Risk of carbon leakage - emission reductions in one country is (partly) offset by increases in emissions elsewhere

The risk has not yet materialized on scale, but remains real, through contained to relatively few vulnerable sectors

Evidence shows it can be managed with policy design (integrated and complementary leakage prevention measures)

Leakage risk decreases as global coverage increases



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# **Environmental** dividend:

- Cost-effective emission reduction
  - Flexibility
  - Discovery

# **Economic** dividend

- Corrected price mechanism
- Efficient use of resources
  - Innovation incentives
- Structural transformation/diversification n (products and assets)

Why countries use environmental taxes?

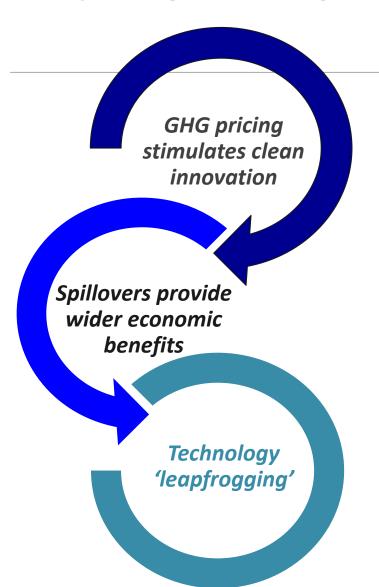


#### **Fiscal dividend**

- Efficient taxation (taxing 'bads' not 'goods')
- -Easy administration
  - Low evasion



#### GHG pricing encourages innovation and modernization



evidence shows that carbon and energy pricing drive innovation in green technologies

- Economy-wide spillover benefits similar to nanotechologies and robotics: 40 per cent greater than in conventional technologies
  - Reduced technology cost; industry more competitive; global leaders in new "green" technologies

#### Republic of Korea's Emissions Trading Scheme

A policy package to reduce emissions by 30% against BAU by 2020

Part of overarching Green Growth Strategy which envisages Korea becoming a world-leader in green technologies

Prices capped at KRW 10,000/tCO<sub>2</sub> (\$9/tCO2 in 2015-



Coverage is approx. 66% of emissions including 23 sub-sectors from steel, cement, petro-chemistry, refinery, power, buildings, waste sectors and aviation

In phase 1 (2015-17), 100% free allowances, moving to <90% free allowance allocation by phase 3 (2021-2025)



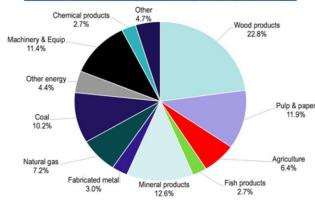
### Additional relevance for energy exporters

- ✓ More effective and efficient collection of resource rents (if upstream tax);
- ✓ Hedging against the risk of sudden and permanent decline in global demand for fossil fuels (as a result of megatrends driven by technology development and consumer preferences);
- ✓ Hedging against the risk of climate policies of energy importers (e.g. to prevent border adjustment measures).

#### **British Columbia's Carbon Tax**

Third largest exporter of metallurgical coal in the world. One of the earliest carbon price schemes, aimed at establishing BC as a leader in the clean economy

BC International Merchandise Exports, by Product, %



Source: BC Stats. 2014 data

Price rose by \$5/t per annum between 2008 and 2012 to C\$30/t (\$24/t)

Revenues around C\$1.2 billion returned through cuts in other taxes

Since tax introduced, consumption of petroleum products fallen by 16% compared with 3% increase in rest of Canada

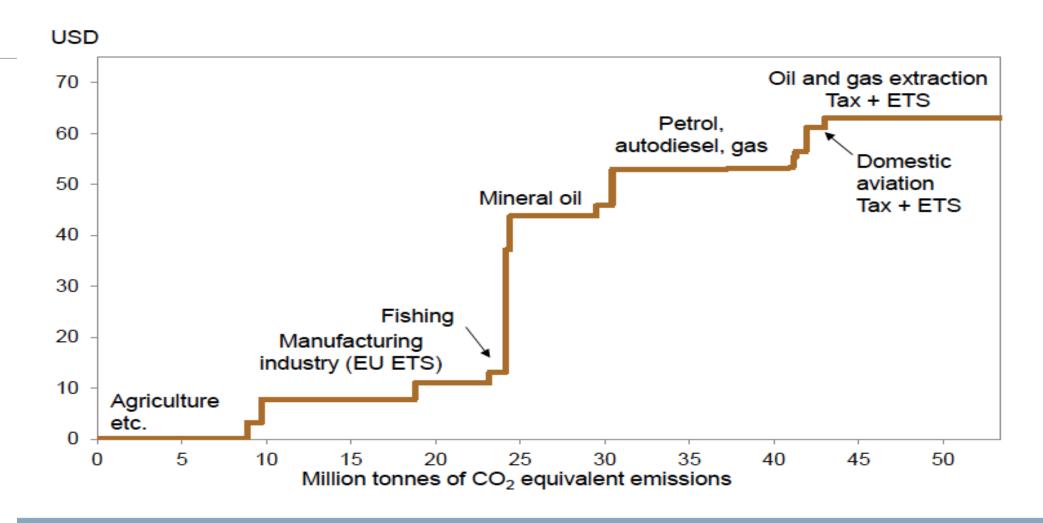
GDP per capita growth rates outperformed the rest of Canada

Home for 22% of Canada's clean technology firms with 13% of population

Only cement sector lost some market share: R&D assistance instead of exceptions



## Norway: pricing GHG emissions by energy exporter



Norwegian Ministry of Finance



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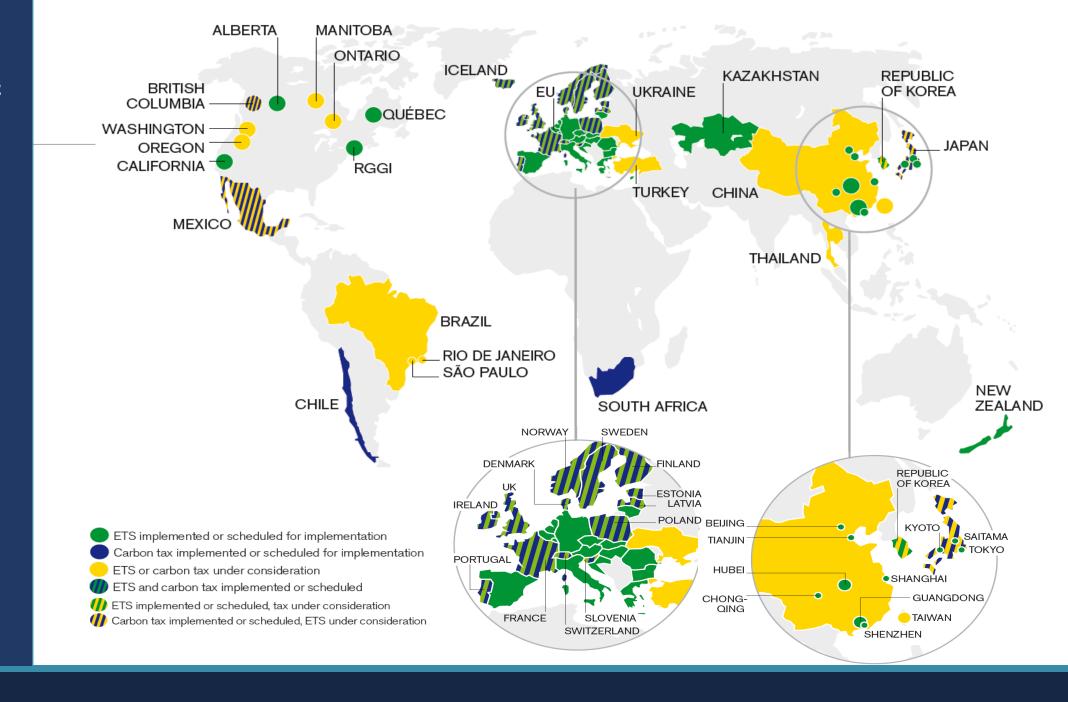
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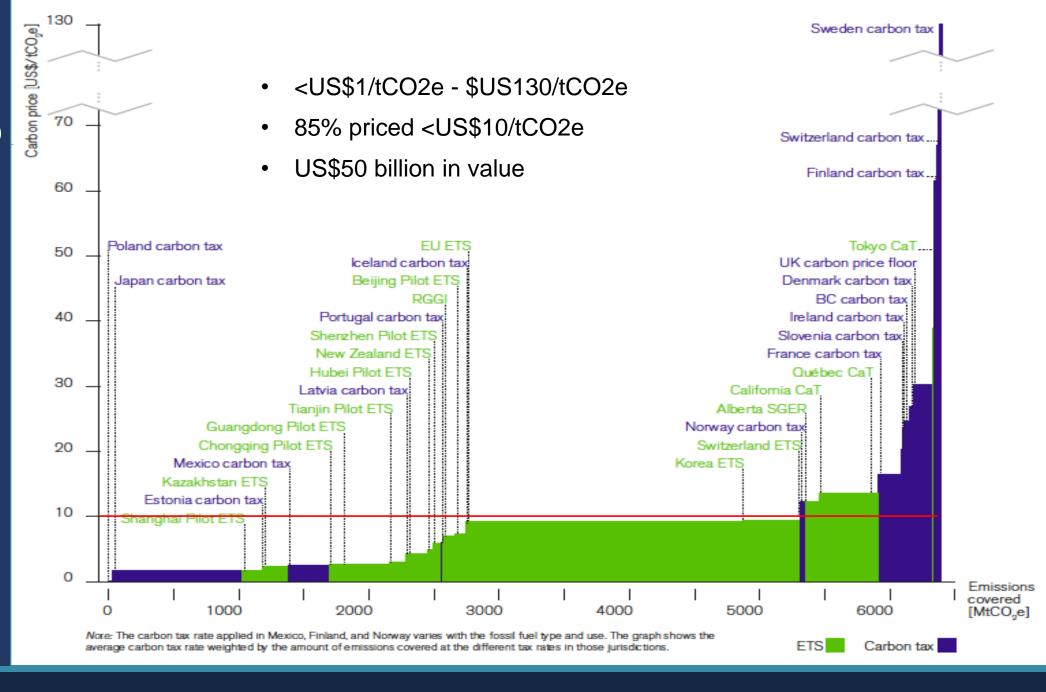
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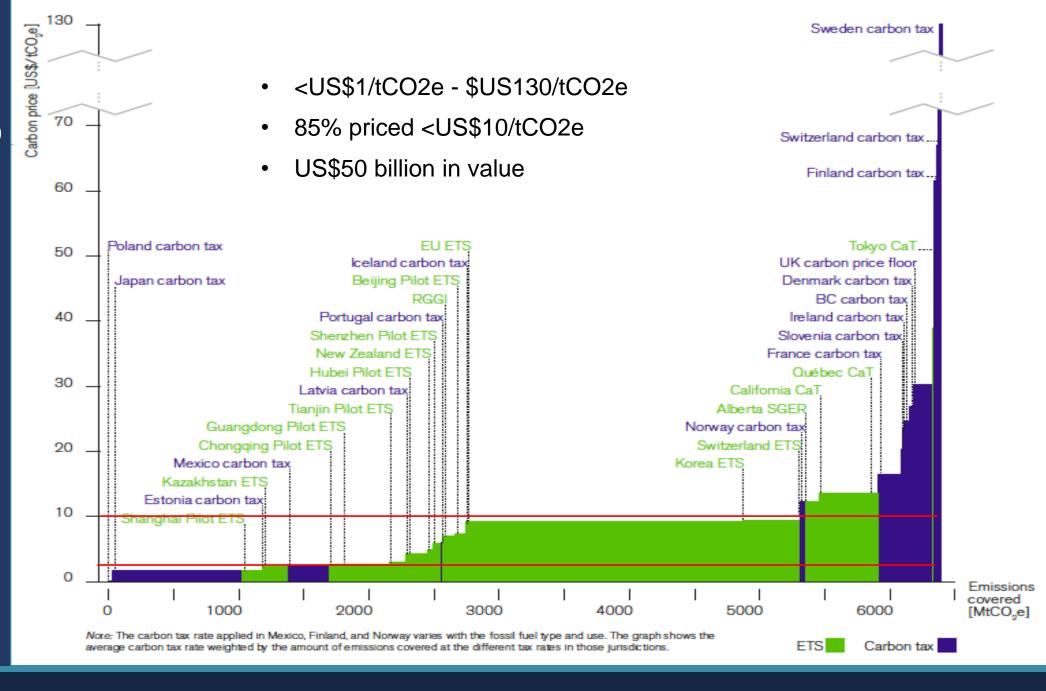
Coverage of explicit carbon pricing instruments remains fragmented



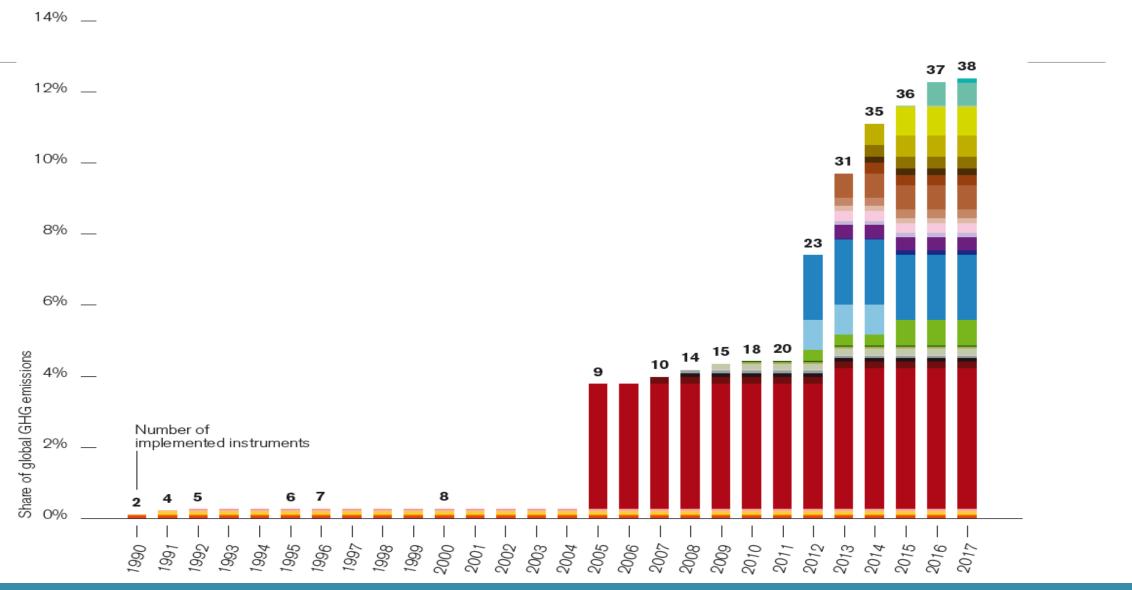
# Explicit carb on prices vary



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#### Growing global GHG emissions being explicitly priced



# Inefficient competitiveness impact and risk of leakage

Carbon leakage: the transfer of production (and hence emissions) from one jurisdiction to another as a result of differences ('asymmetries') in the stringency of carbon regulation, hence different carbon emissions costs

**Direct and indirect impact** (e.g. through electricity prices)

#### **Unpleasant consequences:**

- **Distorted competition**: loss of market share to firms not facing comparable costs
- *Environmental integrity:* Carbon leakage would lower environmental effect & increase the cost of climate stabilization targets

**Proof of attribution**: A robust assessment of carbon leakage must take into account what would have happened under symmetric regulation

**Comparing carbon prices** across jurisdictions should also include implicit and indirect carbon prices embedded in other policies, e.g. energy taxes

In most sectors firms compete on productivity rather than costs only, but for commodities and homogenous products cost-competition crucial



### 4 channels of carbon leakage

Main concern

1. Output/ short term competitiveness channel

firms facing a carbon price lose market share to those without

2. Investment/
long term
competiveness
channel

new investment is preferentially located in regions without a carbon price

Hard to tackle

•••

3. Fossil fuel pricing channel

carbon price causes drop in domestic demand for fossil fuels → lower fossil fuel prices → increase in demand for fossil fuels elsewhere in the world

domestic firms innovate in response to carbon price and hence gain market share

4. Reverse leakage (counteracting effect)



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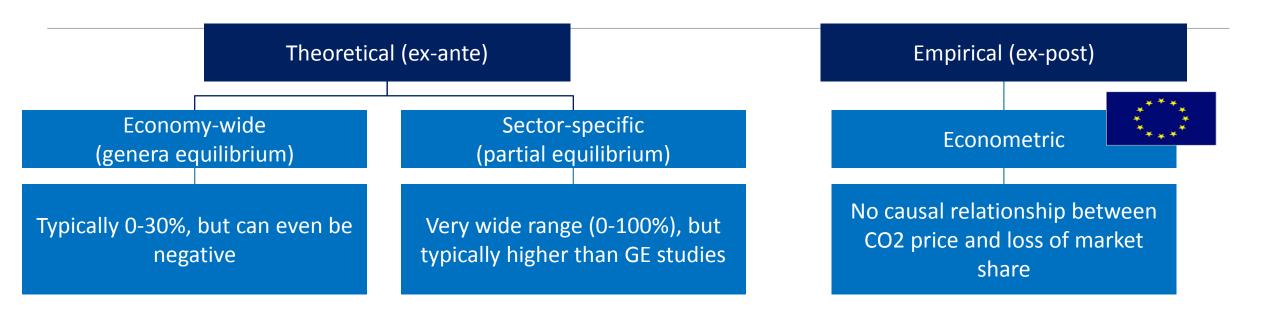
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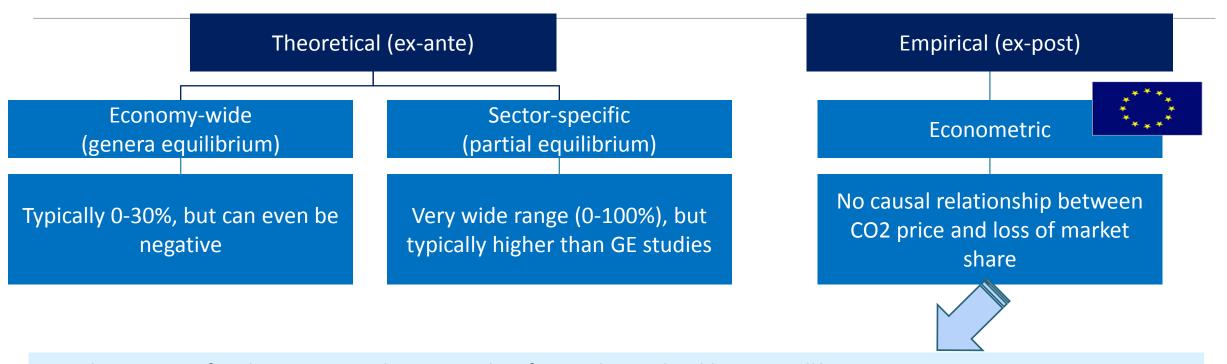
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# Many ways of measuring the scale of carbon leakage risk



# Many ways of measuring the scale of carbon leakage risk



- The impact of carbon pricing relative to other factors has indeed been small?
- Carbon prices in many schemes have been low?
- Mitigation measures, for example free allowances, have successfully dampened leakage risk?
- Methodological challenges: short time periods and focus on EU?
- Mixed evidence requires policy judgement, with pressure for action likely to remain



## Assistance can be limited to vulnerable sectors only

#### Broad support to all sectors may be necessary to generate sufficient support for carbon pricing

- But it has high fiscal cost and may introduce distortion
- Ideally, support limited to those likely to be at risk of carbon leakage

#### 2 key criteria are typically used identify carbon leakage risk

- Cost increase (capturing impact of carbon prices) including indirect emissions where relevant
- Trade intensity (capturing exposure to carbon price) proxy for ability to pass-through cost of carbon price

More robust when considered together rather than each in isolation

Assessment is less distortive if carried out at sector rather than firm level



# Exemptions have been used as a way to avoid carbon leakage

Sector	Basic tax free threshold	Trade exposure (Max)	Process emissions	Carbon budget	Z-factor performance	Total	Offset allowance (Max)
Electricity	60	-	-	5	-	65	10
Petroleum (coal/gas to liquid)	60	10	10	5	5	90	5
Petroleum (refinery)	60	10	-	5	5	80	10
Iron and steel	60	10	10	5	5	90	5
Cement	60	10	10	5	5	90	5
Glass and ceramics	60	10	10	5	5	90	5
Chemicals	60	10	10	5	5	80	5
Pulp and paper	60	10	-	5	5	80	10
Sugar	60	10	-	5	5	80	10
Agriculture/Land- use/Forestry	100	-	0	0		100	0
Waste	100	-	0	0		100	0
Fugitive emissions	60	10	10	5	5	90	5
Other	60	10	-	5	10	85	10

#### California, Quebec, (Ontario)

- Three tiers: combination of emission and trade intensity
- Trade intensity: High>19%, Medium10-19%, low <10%

#### EU, sectors are eligible that

- face a cost increase of >30%,
- have a trade intensity of >30%,
- or face a cost increase of >5% and trade intensity of >10%



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## Risk of leakage mitigated by policy design

#### Integrated measures (designed within the scheme)

- Free allowances
  - Based on historical emissions
  - Based on industry performance benchmarks (Fixed Sector Benchmarks or Output Based Allocation)
- Exemptions, tax free thresholds
- Output based rebates
- Border carbon adjustments

#### Complementary measures

- Subsidies to affected sectors to improve technologies
- Support for R&D
- Adjustment of other taxes

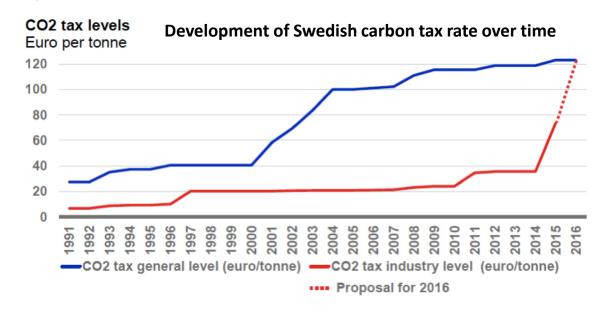


# Pros and cons of different options (ctd.)

	Grandfathering	FSB	ОВА	Exemptions	Rebates	ВСА
Leakage prevention	Weak, unless closure rules and updating included	Weak, unless closure rules and updating included	Strong	Strong	Depends on design	Strong
Incentives to improve emissions intensity	In principle strong, but diluted when updating included	Preserved	Often removed, but depends on design		Preserved	Preserved
Demand-side abatement incentives	Preserved	Preserved	Dulled, especially if applied too broadly  Often removed, but depends on design		Depends on design	Preserved
Administrative complexity	Easy to implement	Some complexity in establishing benchmarks	Complexity in establishing benchmarks, collating output data	Easy to implement	Some complexity	Very complex
Risk of windfall profits	Some risk	No	No	No	No	No
Risk to environmental outcome	No	No	Yes, depending on design	Yes, exempt emissions uncapped	Depends on design	No
Political and legal challenges	No	No	No	No	No	Yes, but potentially doable for large coalition

### Designing exemptions/allowances under carbon tax

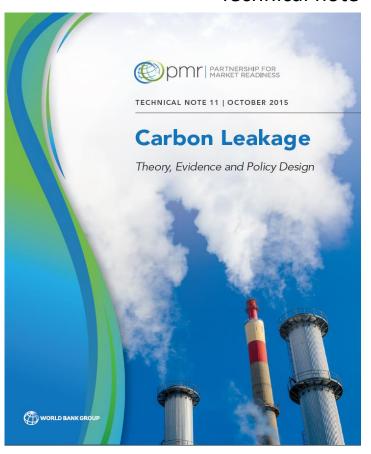
- Weighting environmental integrity and administrative/political feasibility
  - Average (percentage based) or marginal effective tax rate (pricing above threshold/benchmark)
  - Latter preserves stronger incentives for emission reduction and can be linked to a carbon budget/performance standards. Possibly evolve into ETS.
  - Phasing-out exemptions over time
- Germany and Sweden combined a broad energy tax with exemptions for energy-intensive processes
- Finland and Denmark provided tax refunds on large proportion of their energy taxes for energyintensives (gradually phased out)





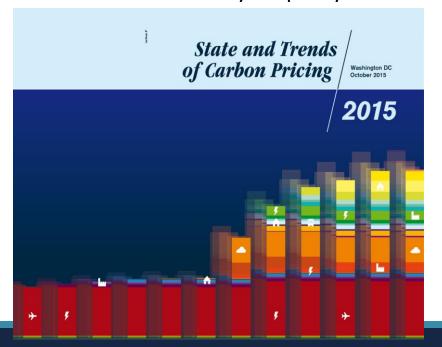
# Recent WBG publications on leakage

#### Technical note





Summary for policy makers



#### High level summary

