



# Managing Allowance Prices with Different EU Member State Ambitions in Emissions

Dallas Burtraw  
Resources for the Future

*Clean Energy and Climate Policy in Canada and the EU:  
An Exchange of Experiences, Views, and Visions for the  
Future*

Carleton University, Ottawa  
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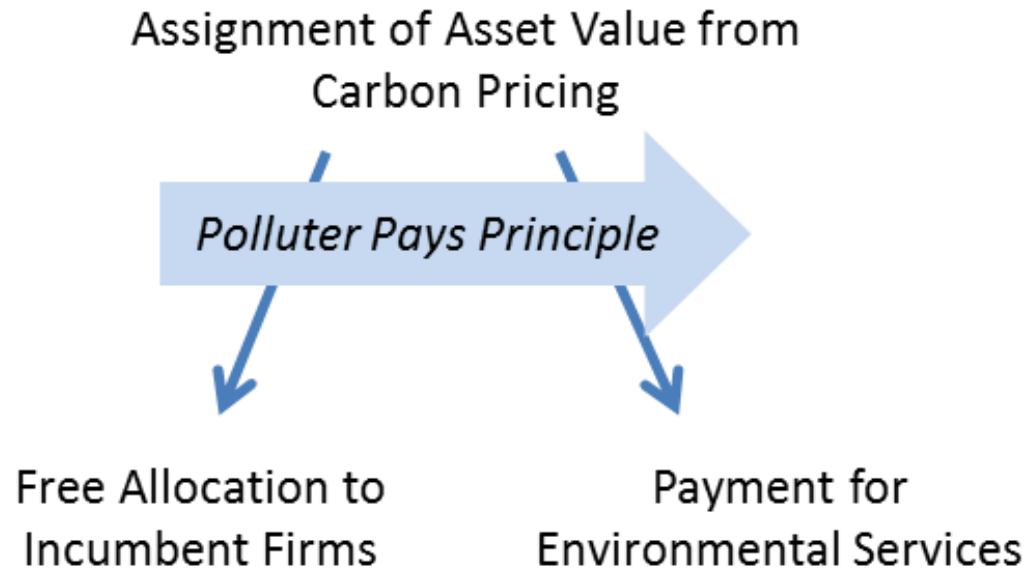


**RESOURCES**  
FOR THE FUTURE

# Outline

1. Price histories in other trading programs and in the EU
2. Factors affecting price formation
3. Reform efforts in the EU
4. The North American approach

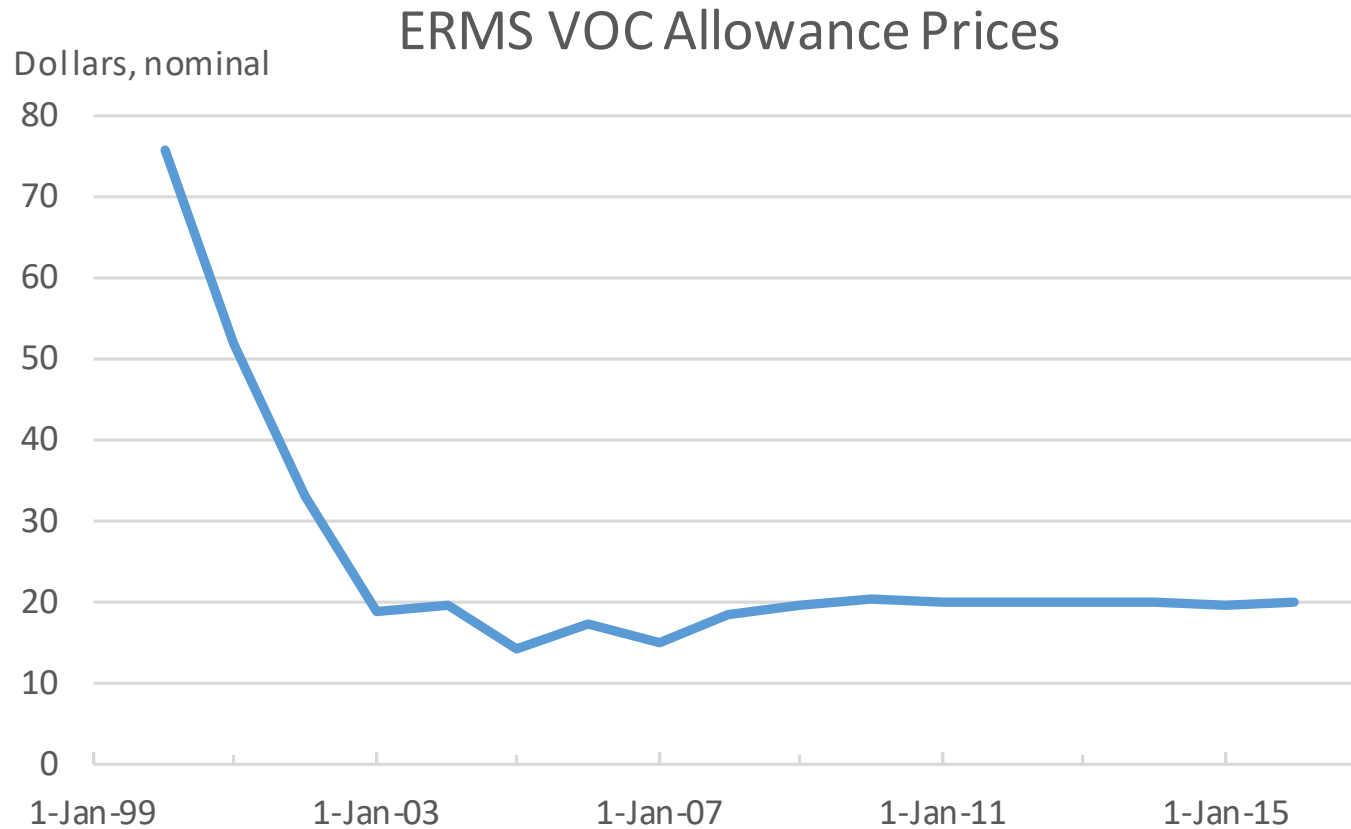
# Evolution in atmosphere resource markets



# History of allowance prices....

Recognizing gravity as the strong force in atmosphere emissions markets....

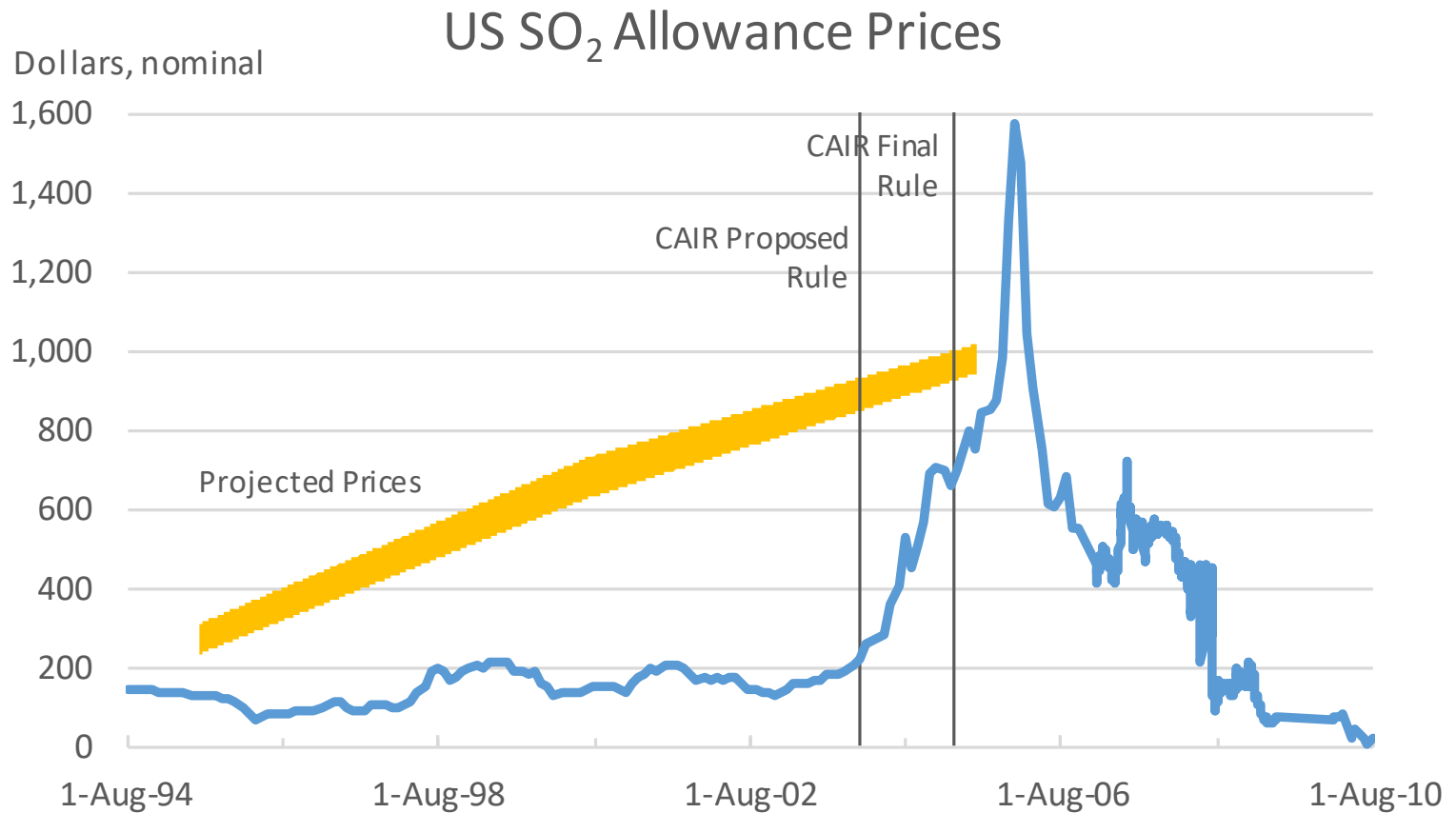
# Illinois Emissions Reduction Market System VOC Allowance Prices



Note: Auction prices are used as market prices are not available.

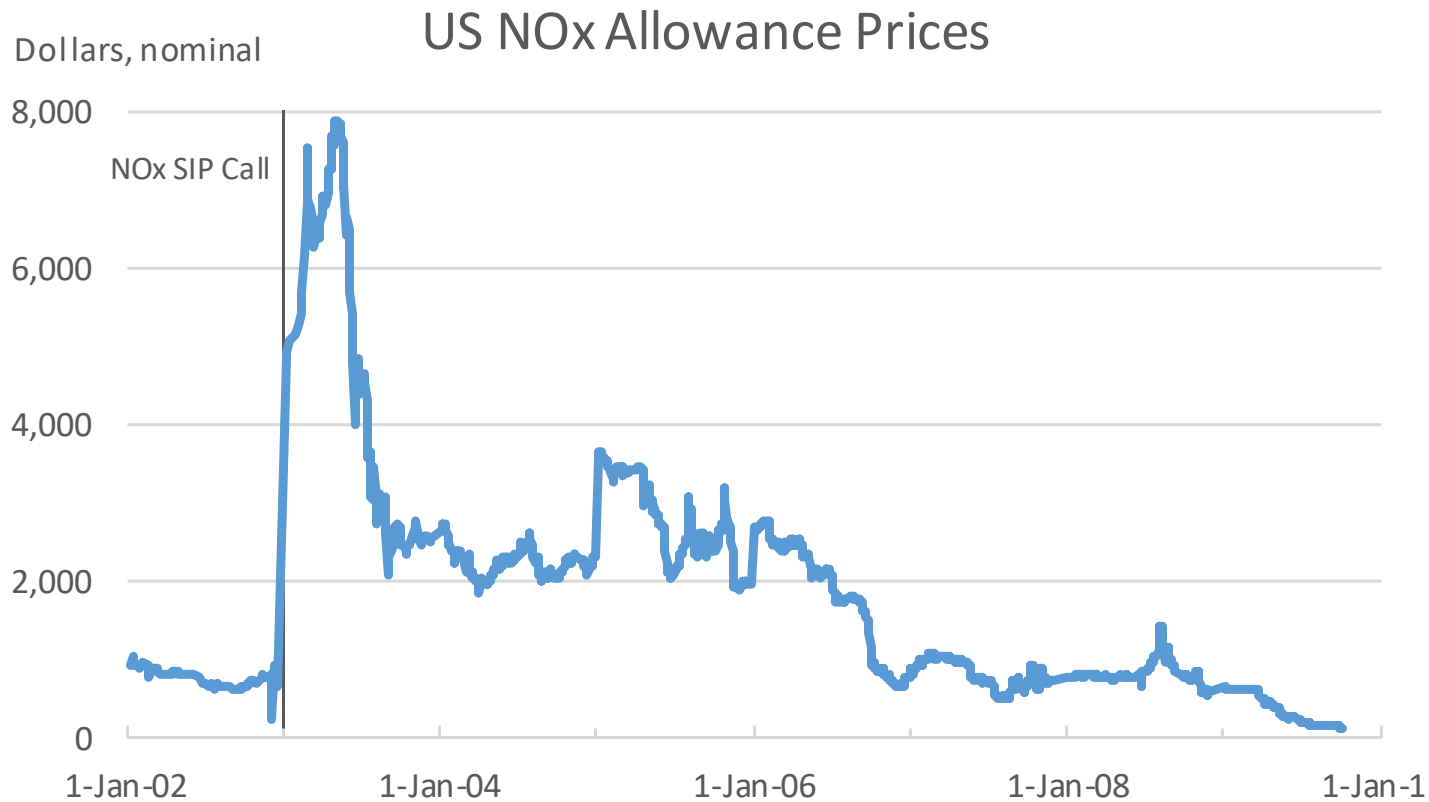
Source: Illinois EPA.

# US SO<sub>2</sub> Allowance Prices



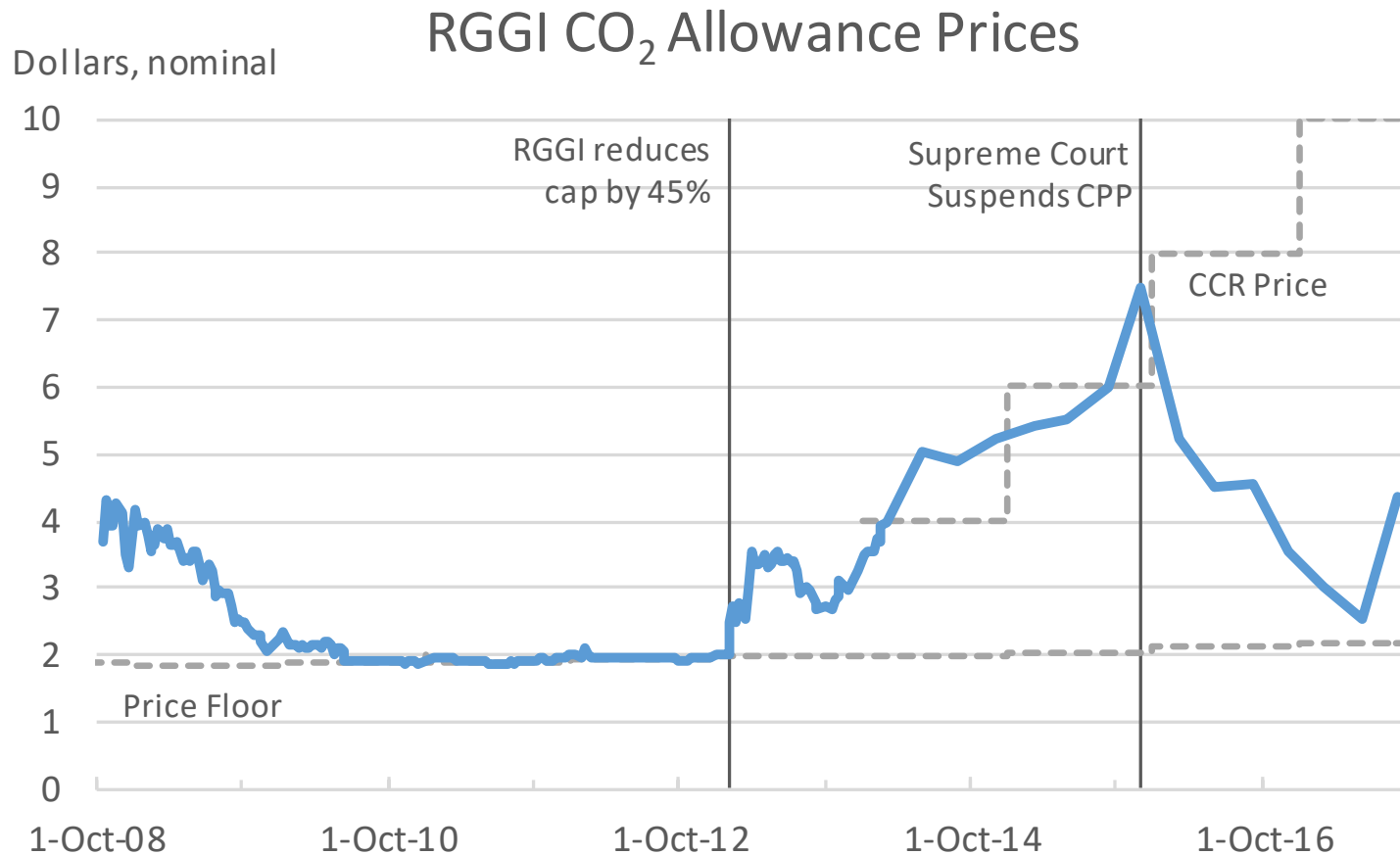
Sources: Cantor Fitzgerald; T. Huettelman.

# US NO<sub>x</sub> Allowance Prices



Source: G. Hart.

# RGGI Carbon Allowance Prices

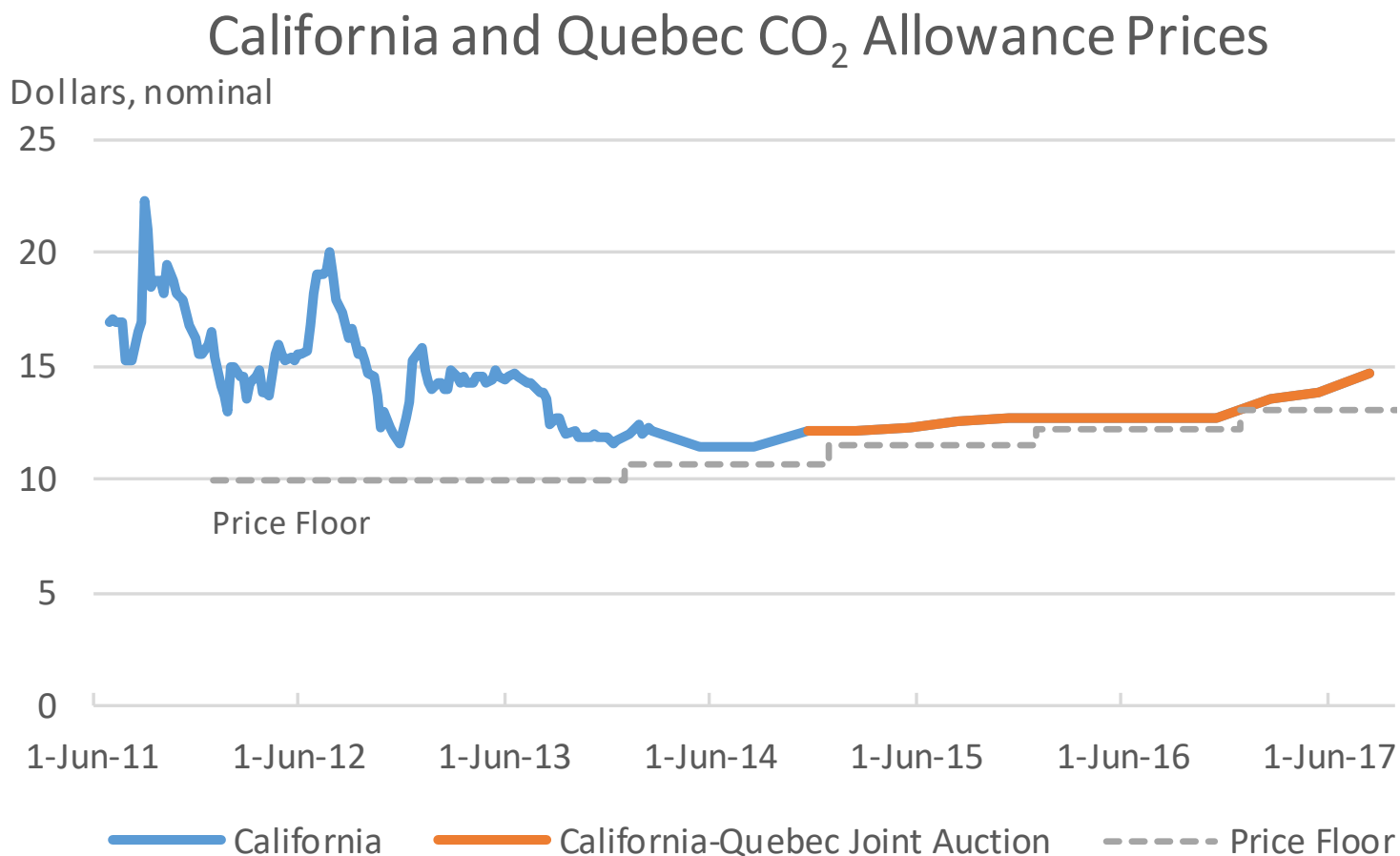


Note: Auction prices are used where market prices are not available.

Sources: Thomson Reuters; RGGI.



# California and Quebec Carbon Allowance Prices



Note: Auction prices are used where market prices are not available.  
Sources: Thomson Reuters; California ARB; Quebec MDDELCC.

# EU ETS: Intention

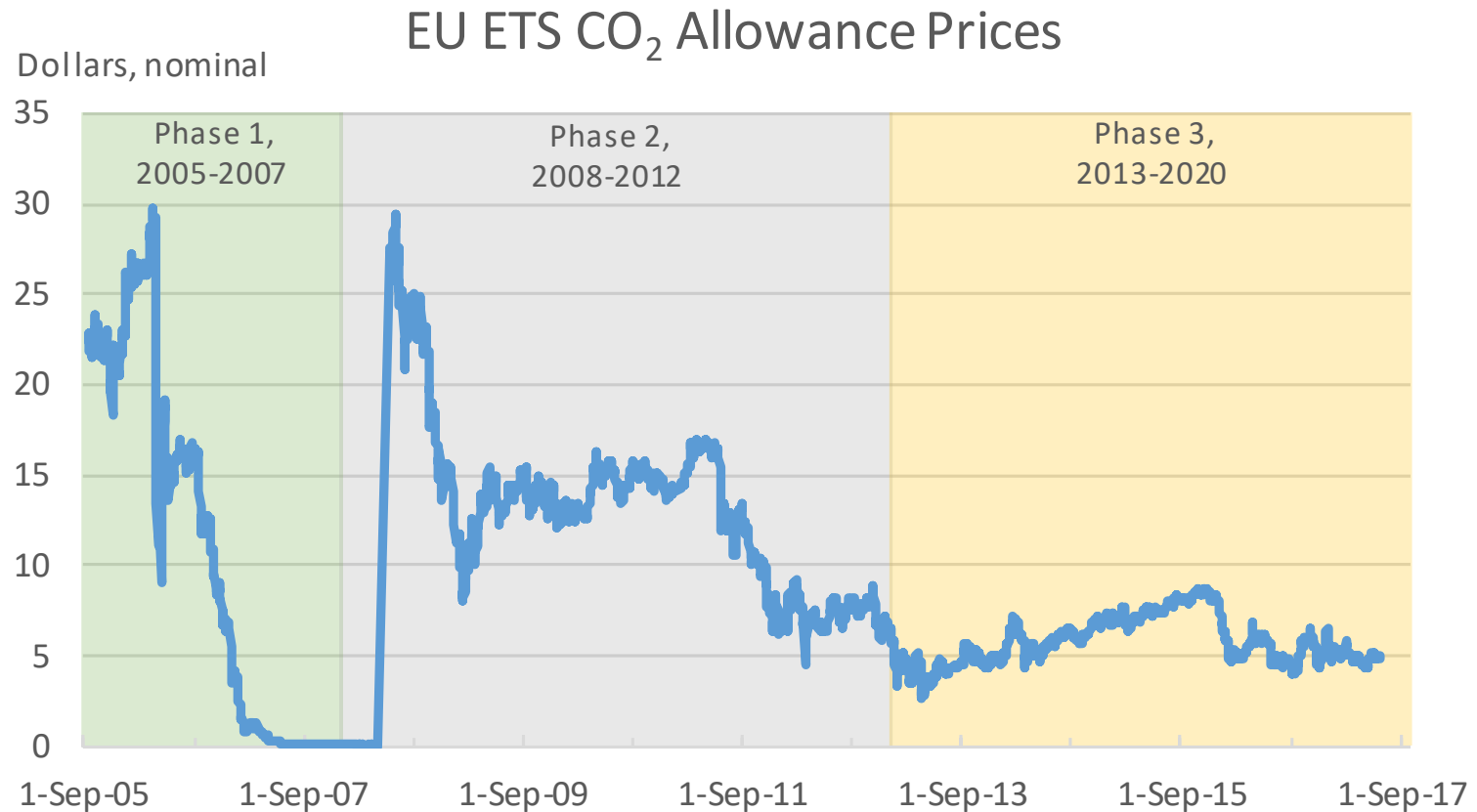


*“The EU emissions trading system (EU ETS) is a **cornerstone** of the EU's policy to combat climate change and its **key tool** for reducing greenhouse gas emissions cost-effectively. It is the world's first major carbon market and remains the biggest one.”*



- When the EU ETS was launched in 2005, the Commission was projecting allowance prices in the range of **€30/ton CO<sub>2</sub>**

# EU Emissions Trading System Carbon Allowance Prices



Source: Thomson Reuters.

# History of allowance prices....

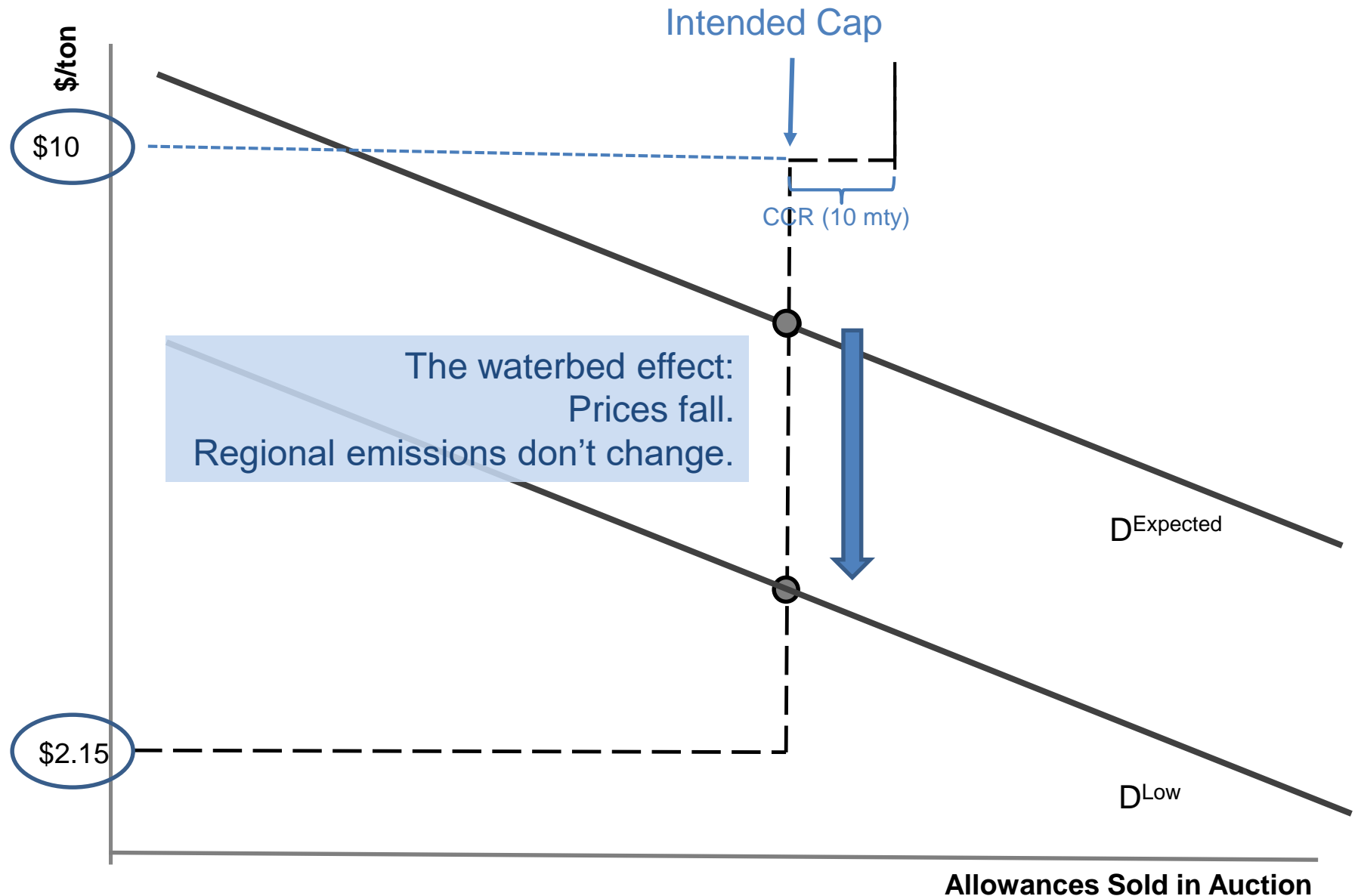
## Recognizing *gravity* as a strong force in atmosphere emissions markets. Why?

- Over-allocation – political economy, who is in the room?
- Incentives work to find ways to lower costs
- Companion policies, serving additional concerns:
  - air quality, job creation, economic development strategy, and good old fashioned fighting for rents.
- Sub-jurisdictional efforts, and the powerful force of federalism
- Program related spending

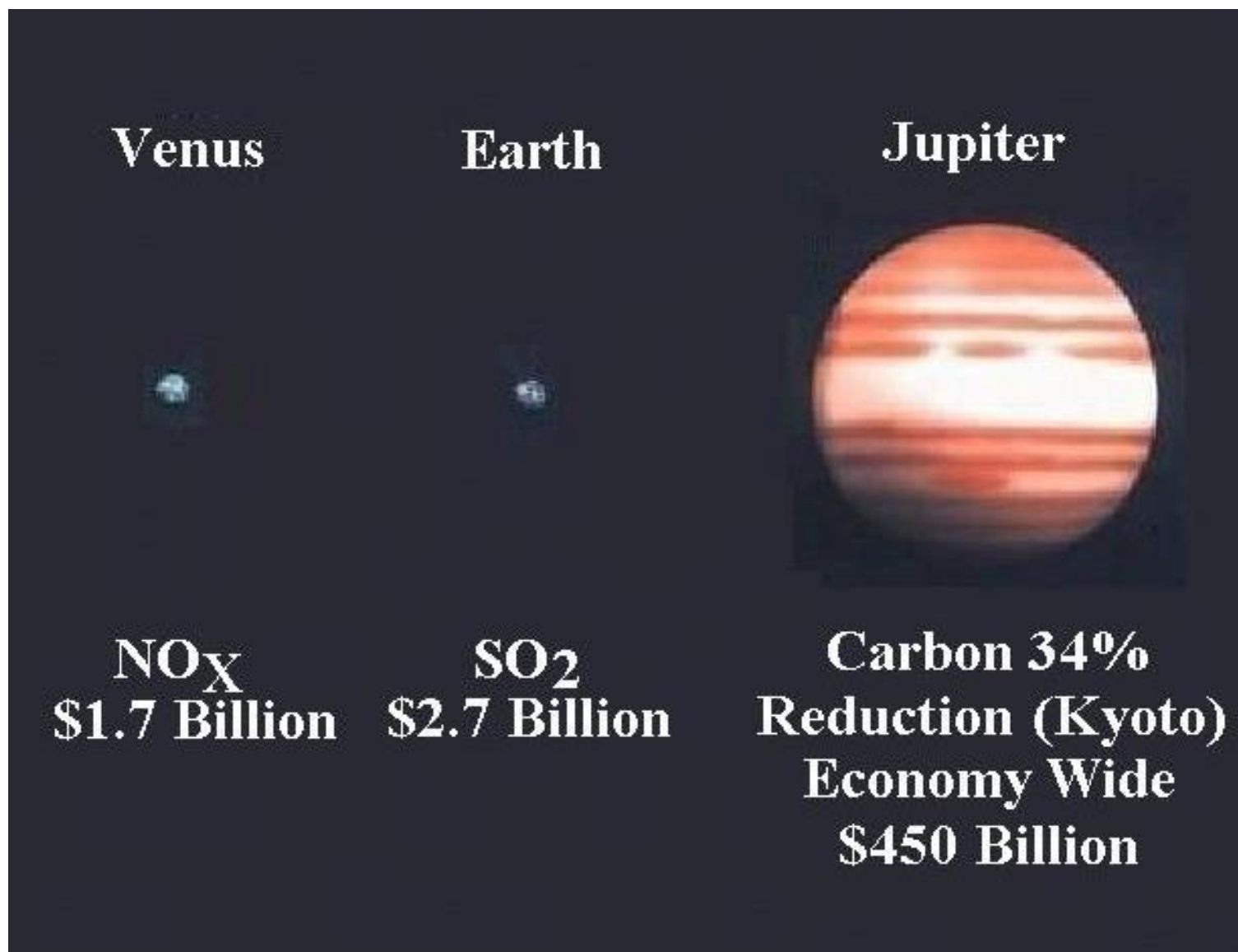
➤ But, a fixed supply of allowances may create a *waterbed* effect



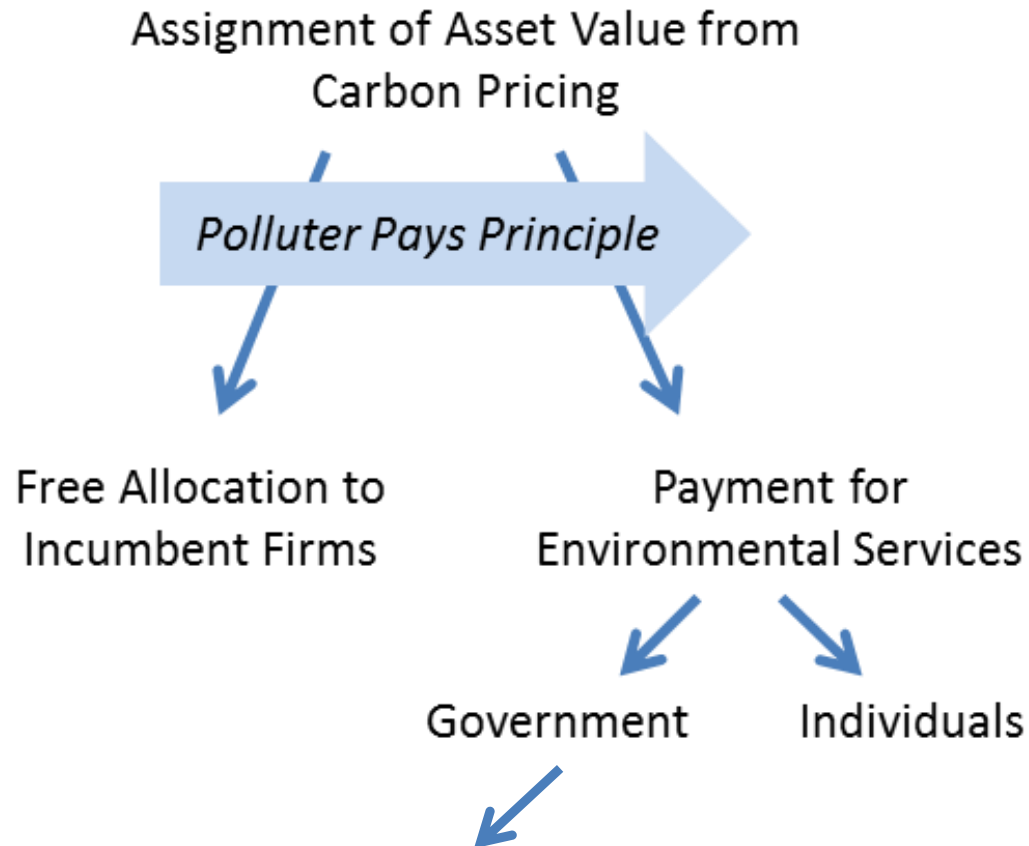
# A Supply Schedule: RGGI Example



Economy-wide CO<sub>2</sub> pricing would constitute the largest distribution of a federally-enforced property right since the 19<sup>th</sup> century American west.



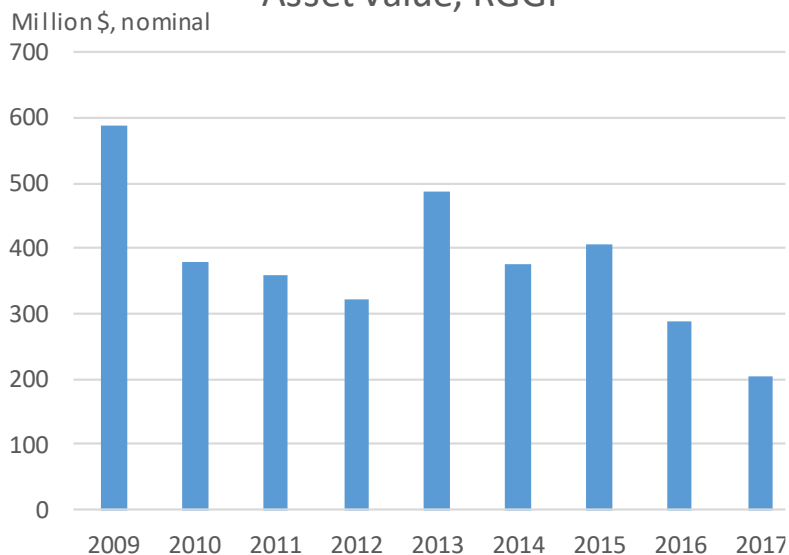
# Evolution in atmosphere resource markets



- Public finance goals – tax swaps (not observed) ➤ Efficiency
- Compensation & Environmental Justice ➤ Equity
- Combating leakage
- Program related spending ➤ Efficacy

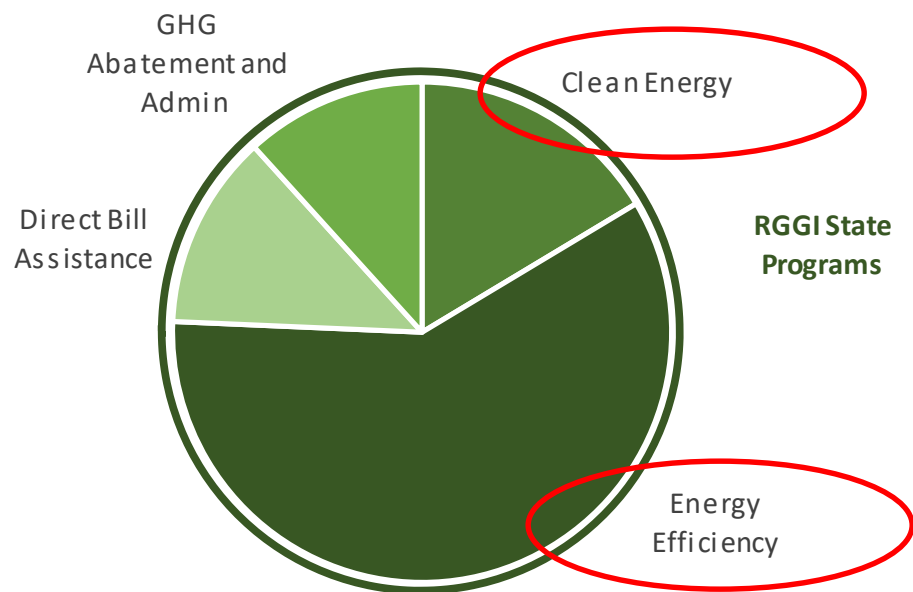
# RGGI Distribution of Asset Value

Asset Value, RGGI



Note: Auction prices are used where market prices are not available.  
Sources: Thomson Reuters; RGGI.

Initial Distribution of Allowance Value, RGGI



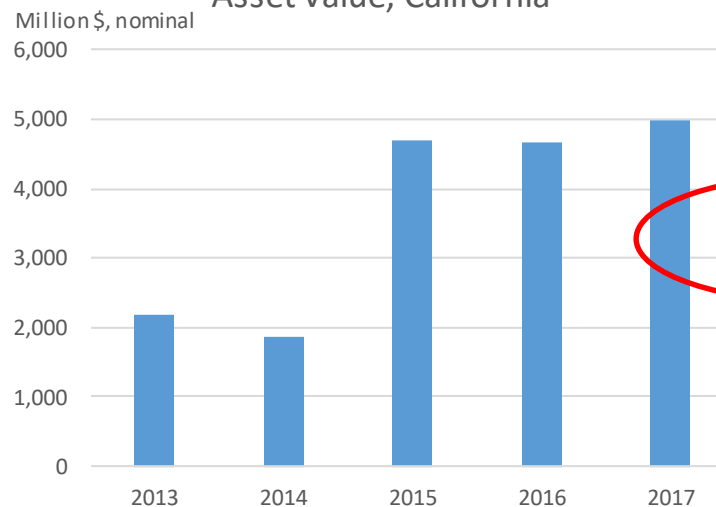
\*This figure shows distribution of allowances for 2012-2014. State set-aside allowances and allowances unsold at auction are not included.

Source: Hibbard, et al., 2015



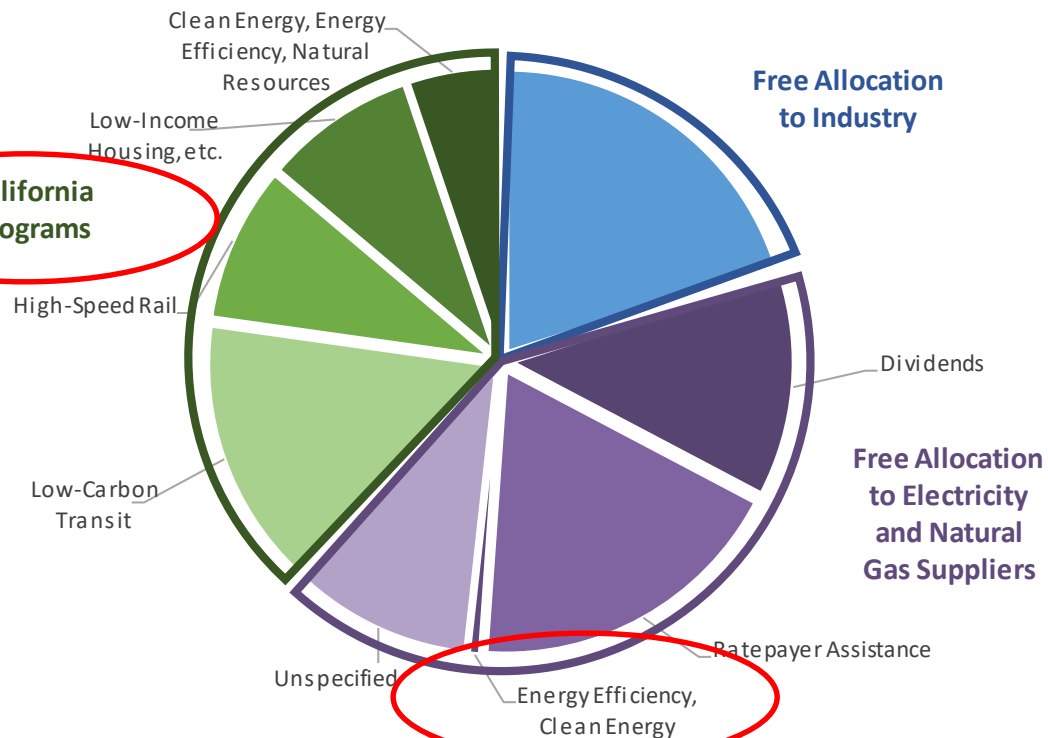
# California Distribution of Asset Value

Asset Value, California



Note: Auction prices are used where market prices are not available.  
Sources: Thomson Reuters; California ARB.

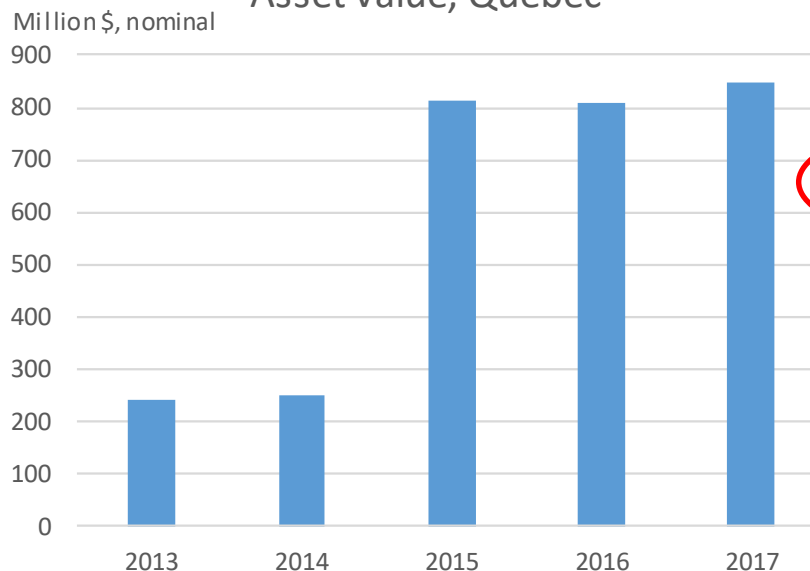
Initial Distribution of Allowance Value, California



\*This figure shows distribution of allowance value for 2013-2017. Allowances held in reserve (not issued) are not included.  
Source: California ARB

# Quebec Distribution of Asset Value

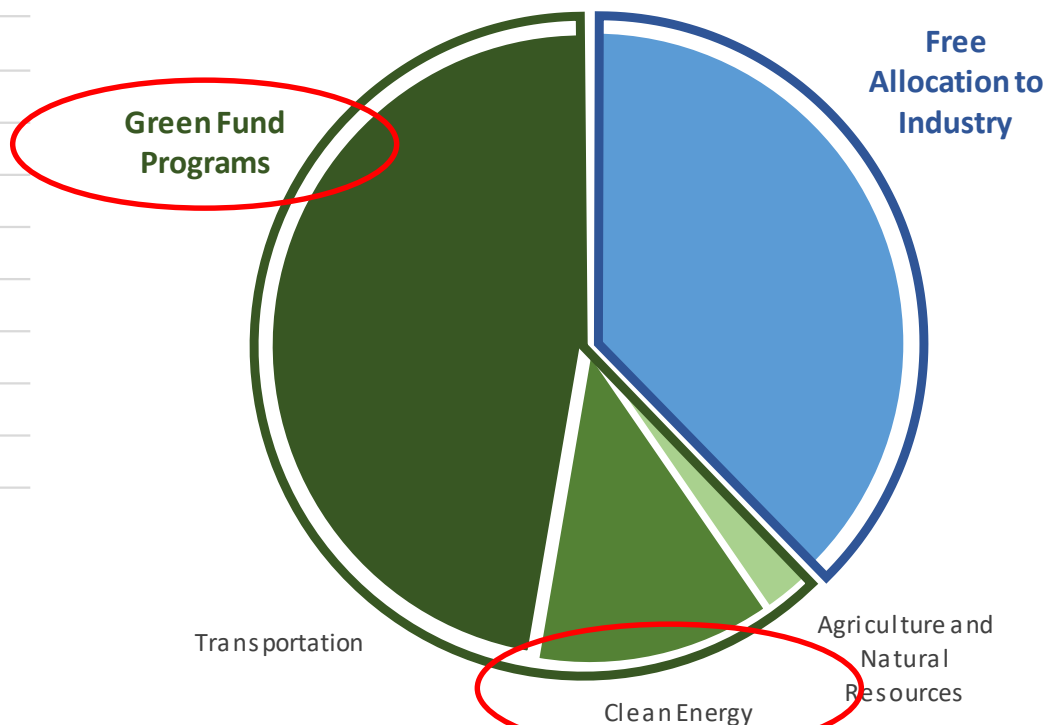
Asset Value, Quebec



Note: Auction prices are used where market prices are not available.

Sources: Quebec MDDELCC.

Initial Distribution of Allowance Value, QC

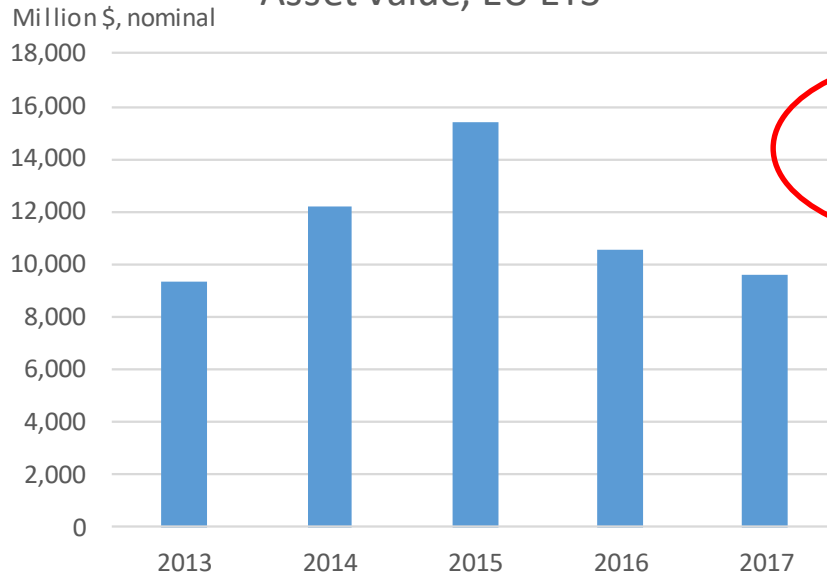


\*This figure shows distribution of allowance value for 2013-2017.

Source: Quebec MDDELCC

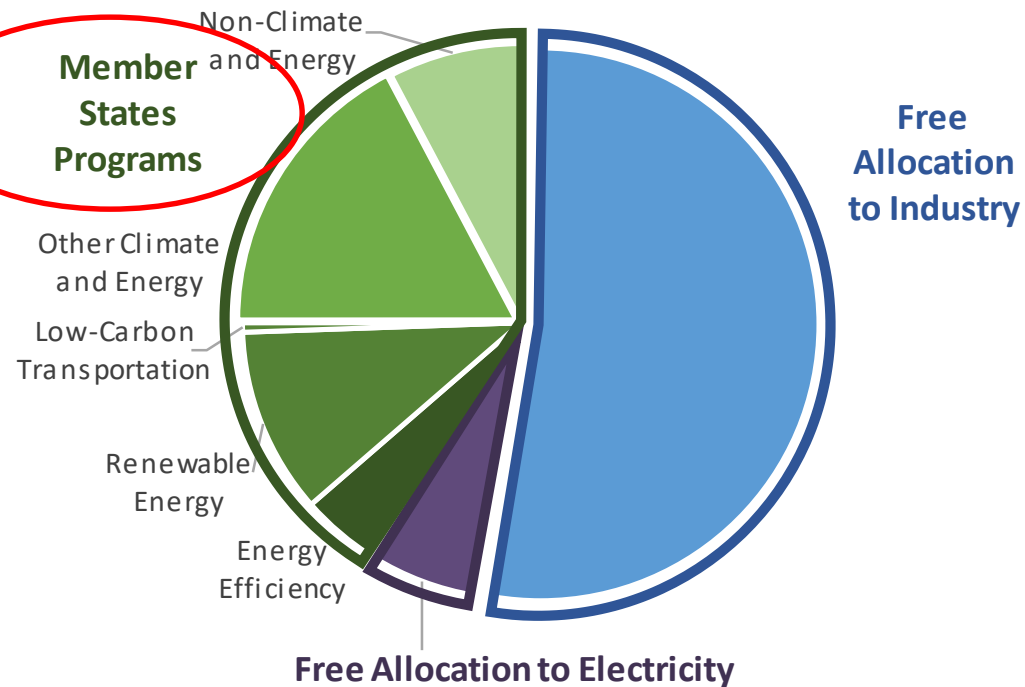
# EU ETS Distribution of Asset Value

Asset Value, EU ETS



Source: Thomson Reuters.

Initial Distribution of Allowance Value, EU

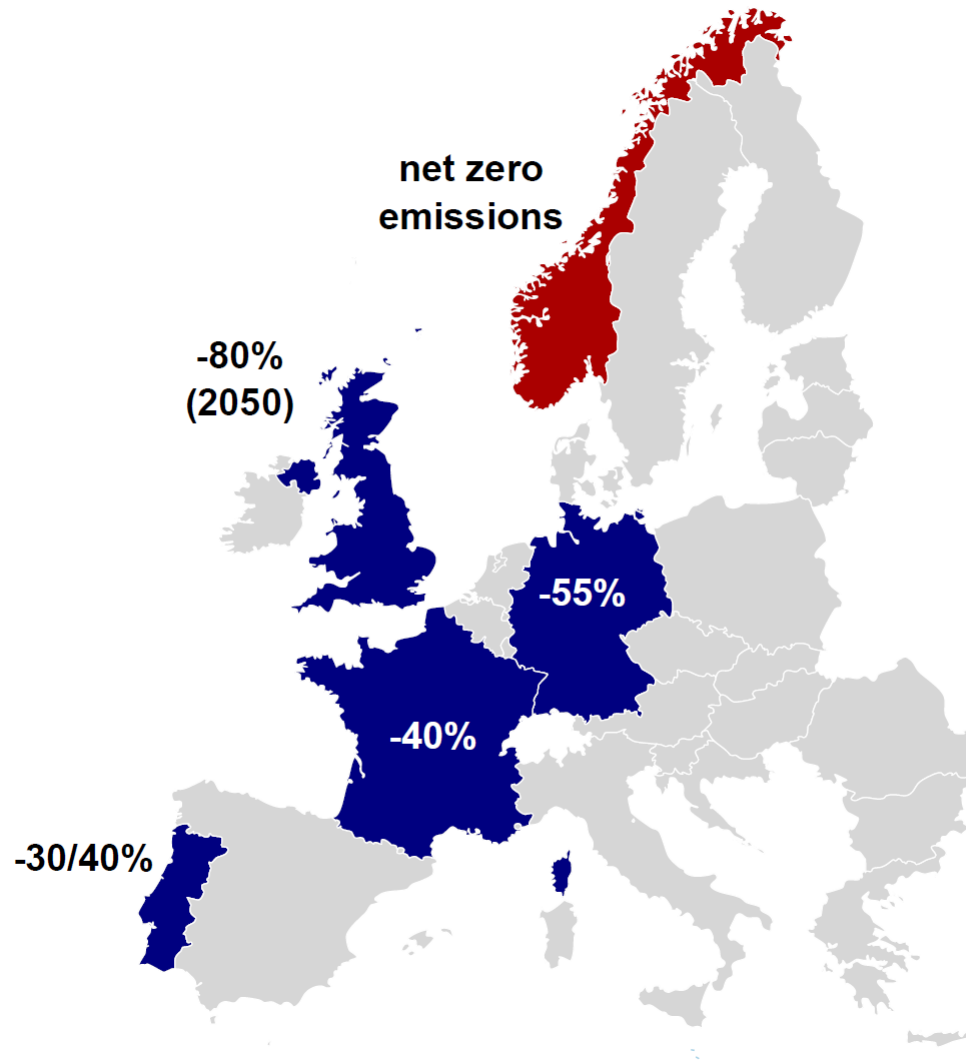


\*This figure shows distribution of allowances for 2015.

Source: Löfgren et al. (2015, 2017)

# Post-2020 (2030+) climate targets in EU states

**EU: -40%**



Source:  
National factsheets  
on the State of the  
Energy Union /  
[Climatechangenews.com](http://Climatechangenews.com)

Missing:  
Sweden: net zero (2045)

# Coal phase-out plans in EU member states

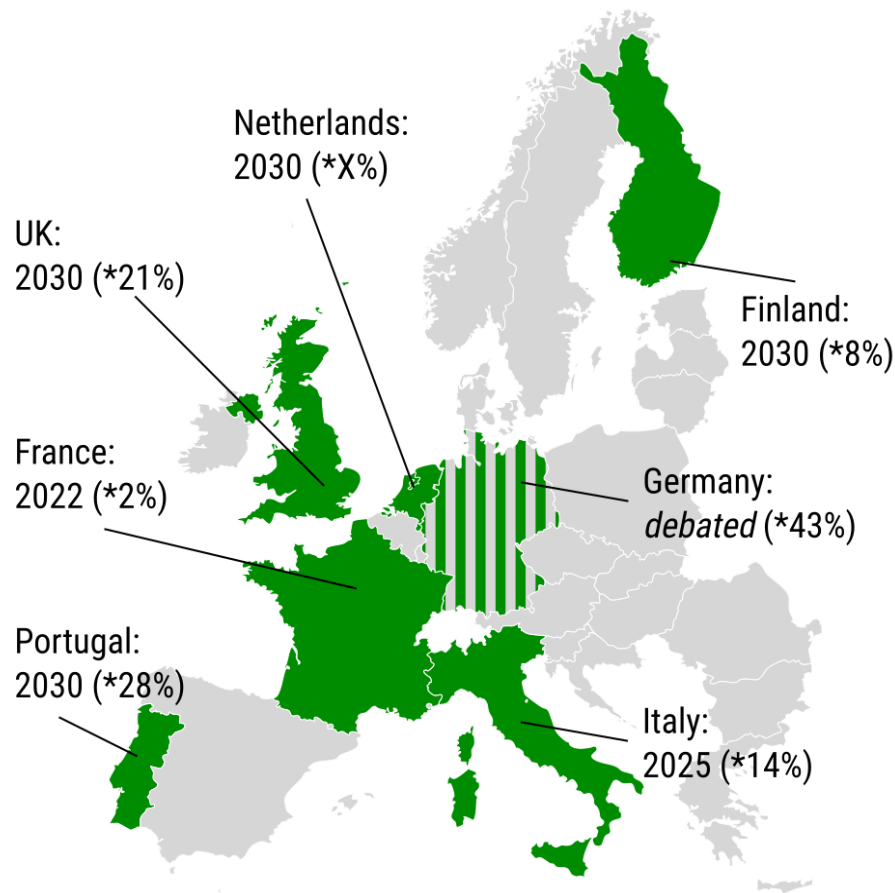


Illustration based on  
information from Politico &  
Eurostat

\*share of coal in  
electricity production

The Kopernikus Project  
ENavi & Michael Pahle

Pledge to build no new plants from 2020 on by producers in all member states except Poland & Greece (Eurelectric)

# EU ETS Reform Efforts

- Accumulation of a substantial bank of allowances sparked several concerns.
  - Fundamentally, is the price sufficient to incent innovation?
  - Is the program a block to mitigation efforts through the waterbed effect?
  - Regulatory risk: Why invest if the program might be overturned?
- The European Commission has conducted repeated administrative reviews with various outcomes including:
  - (Modestly) strengthening the cap over time
  - Backloading of allowances, delaying issuance of new allowances
  - Market Stability Reserve, linking issuance of new allowances to the size of the bank

# Current EU Market Stability Reserve

- 900 million backloaded allowances from 2014-2016 and unallocated allowances will be transferred to the reserve
- Allowances held from or released to auction based on Total Number of Allowances in Circulation
  - $TNAC = \text{Supply} - (\text{Demand (including cancelled allowances)} + \text{allowances in the MSR})$
  - 12% added to reserve if  $TNAC > 833$  million
  - Released from reserve if circulation  $< 400$  million

# 2018 Reform

This week the European Parliament approved a more substantial effort, after two years of negotiation. (Now to member states for approval.)

- Emission reduction target of 40% under 1990 levels.
- 57% of allowances to be auctioned.
- Doubled the annual withdrawal rate for allowances going into the Market Stability Reserve.
- Tighten supply by cancelling allowances if the MSR exceeds the previous year auction quantity.
- Allow voluntary cancellations by member states to address the waterbed effect.



# North American Program Design has Price Controls

- Widespread use of auctions (including consignment)
- Reserve prices in those auctions provides a price floor (and soft and hard ceilings)
- RGGI's new design introduces an emissions containment reserve


# Auction reserve prices

- Set a minimum price below which allowances will not be sold
- Reduce the variance in allowance prices
- Increase their expected value

# Auction reserve prices are common

**ebay** Shop by category ▾ Search for anything All C

Back to search results | Listed in category: Pet Supplies > Fish & Aquariums > CO2 Equipment



## CO2 2L Cylinder

Item condition: **New**  
Time left: 1 day 18 hours Wednesday, 11:59AM

Starting bid: **AU \$145.00** [ 0 bids ]  
Approximately 921.89 SEK

Enter AU \$145.00 or more

**Place bid**

[Add to watch list](#)  
[Add to collection](#)

**100% positive**  
Feedback

**New**  
Condition

Shipping: May not ship to Sweden - Read item description or [contact seller](#) for shipping options. | [See details](#)  
Item location: Glen Waverley, Victoria, Australia  
Ships to: Australia

# Is a minimum price viable in the EU?

Opponents to a reserve price have argued

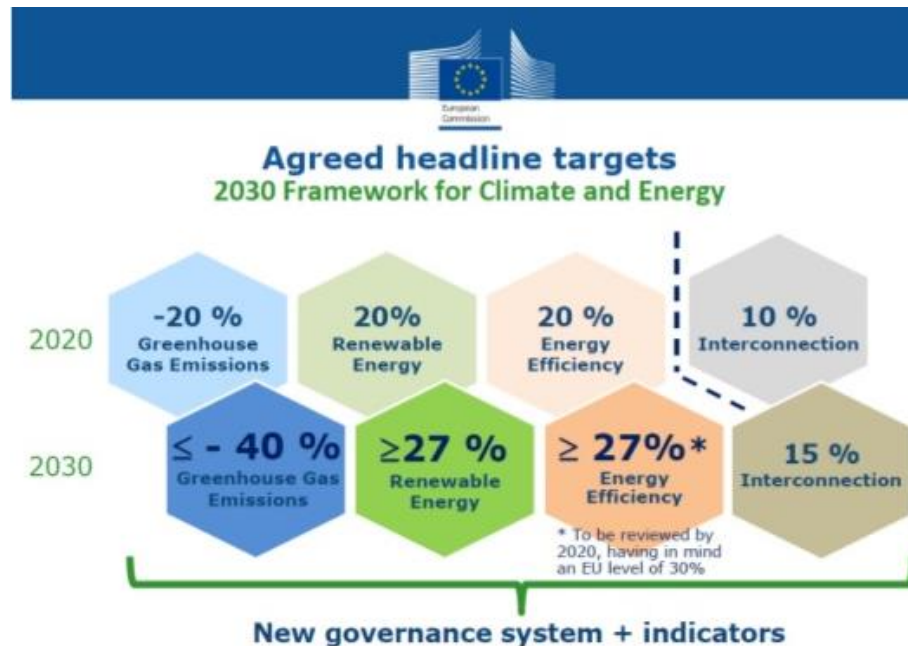
1. It would interfere with economic operations in the market that is otherwise efficient
  - The price would be set administratively rather than by markets
  - The reserve price might be “too high” in case of a breakthrough technology
2. It would set the price or be tantamount to a tax, which would trigger the unanimity rule among members states.

# The premise of EU ETS efficiency (1)

- ❑ Efficient market equalizes abatement costs across sources

**FAILURE**

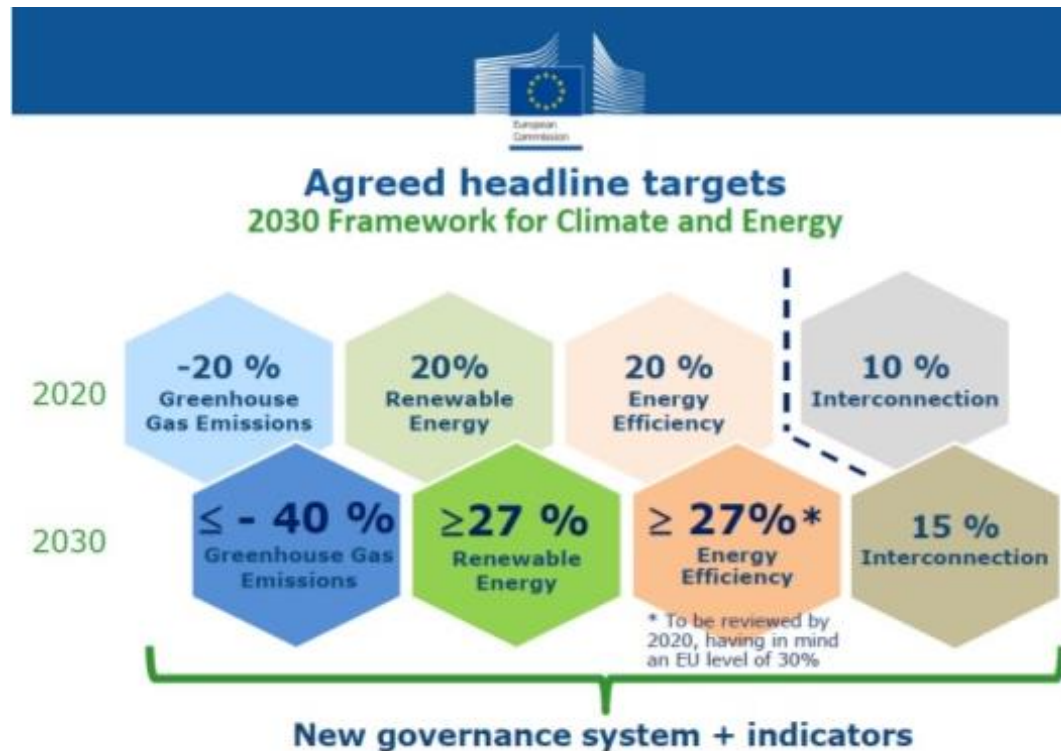
- Overlapping policies require higher-cost abatement activities, driving down the price



# The premise of EU ETS efficiency (2)

- ❑ Price revelation: the market reveals the costs of meeting the target
- Overlapping policies raise abatement costs while driving down allowance prices

**FAILURE**



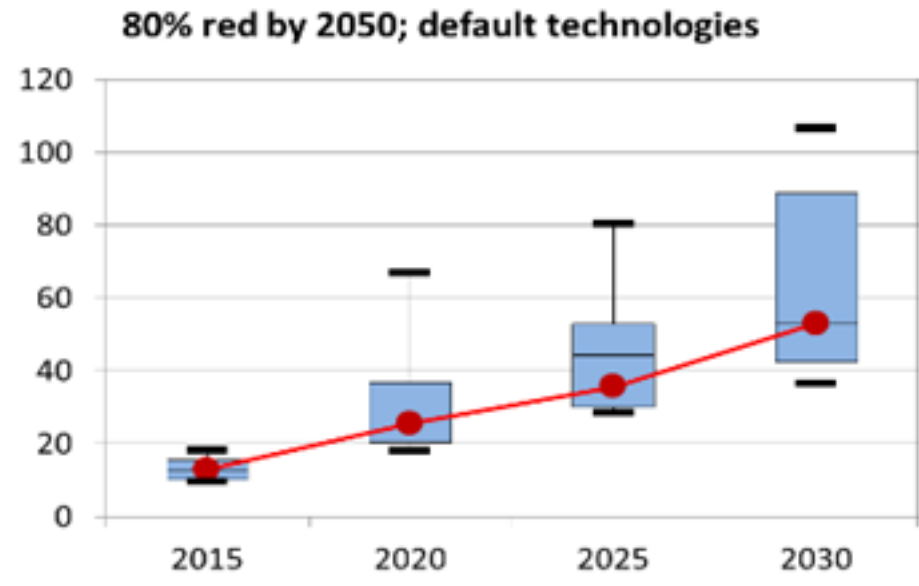
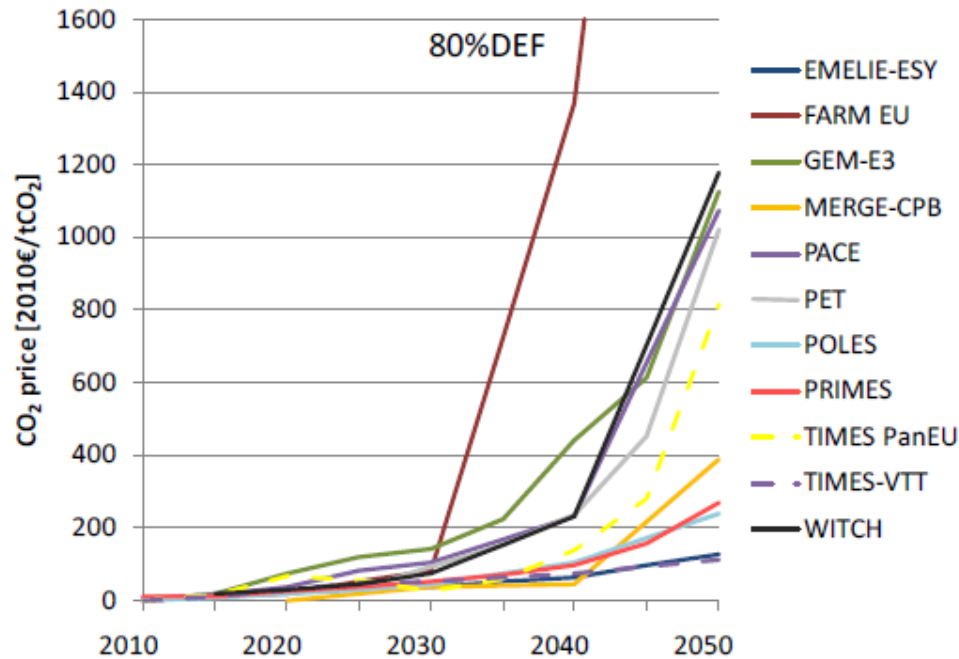
# The premise of EU ETS efficiency (3)

- ❑ Market should send consistent price signal to reduce emissions, incentivize low-carbon investment

**FAILURE**

- Prices are well below notions of the SCC or pathways to decarbonization

# Prices needed to meet Roadmap 2050



Knopf et al. 2013, Edenhofer et al. 2017



# The premise of EU ETS efficiency (3)

❑ Market should send consistent price signal to reduce emissions, incentivize low-carbon investment

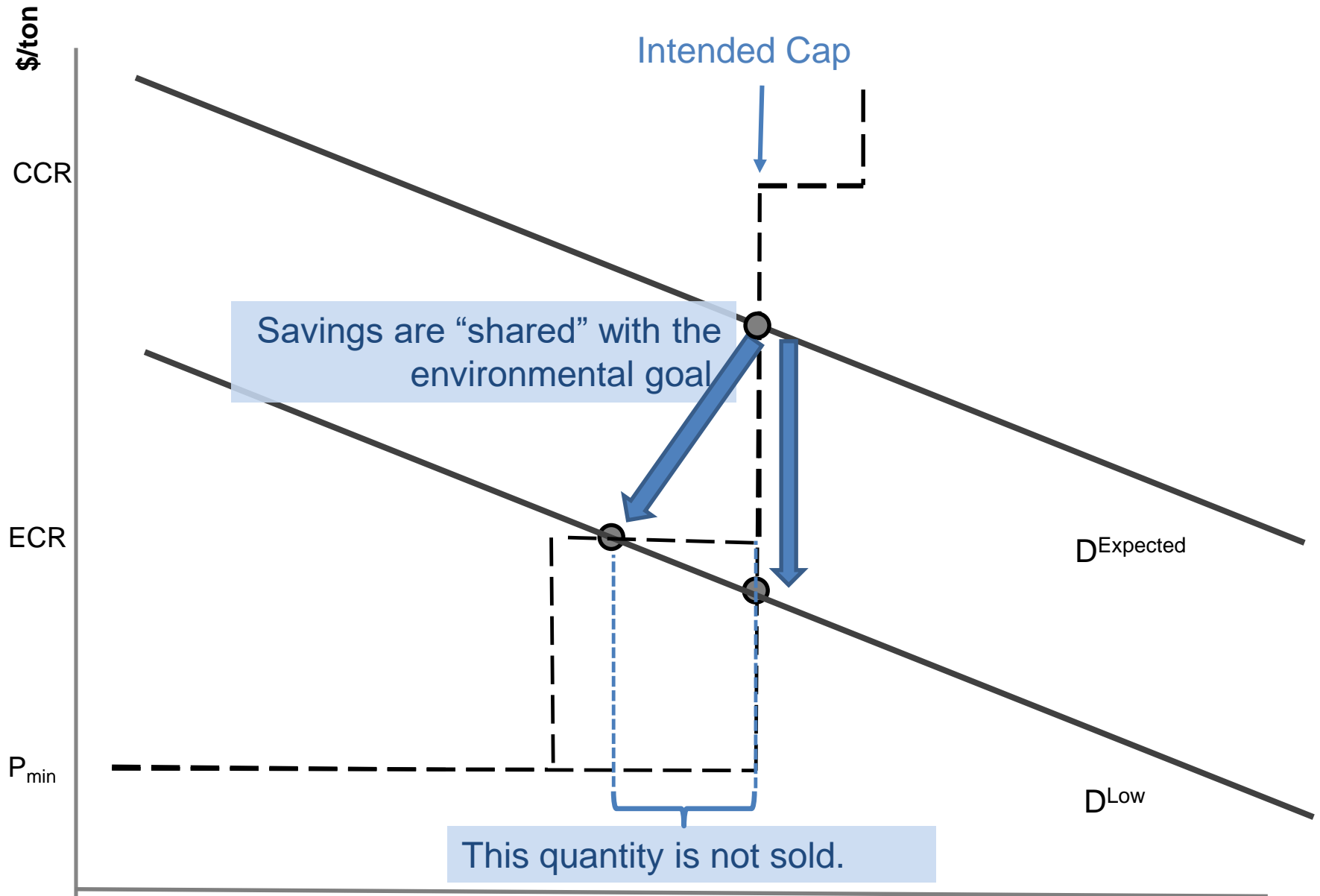
**FAILURE**

- Prices are well below notions of the SCC or pathways to decarbonization
- Requires cap to be set efficiently in the first place

# The premise that an auction reserve price might be a tax

- Legal analysis was not commissioned
- Our analysis rejects this premise (Fischer et al.)
  - The EU ETS did not require unanimity when it was introduced, and the same should hold for any envisaged amendments aimed at strengthening the overall structure of the system.
  - Reverse price mechanism can therefore be either
    - (1) adopted by an amendment of the Auctioning Regulation, which is based on the EU ETS Directive, or
    - (2) through an amendment of the EU ETS Directive directly.

# RGGI's price floor innovation. Now an "adaptive cap."



# RGGI's new design is a big deal

It further infuses economic ideas into environmental policy (Quantities *with* Prices!)

Relevance to the discussion of price supports in the EU setting?

As RGGI is effectively a program that “links” nine states there is implied transfer to the two states that will not implement the price step

Further relevance for implied transfers in the EU?

# Conclusion

- There is strong downward pressure on prices in trading programs.
- The emissions *cap* is an emissions *floor* unless the waterbed effect is addressed explicitly in program design.
- The EU approach has differed from the North American approach, and seems less effective so far.
- Both approaches have improved over time. The new RGGI innovation may offer an enduring model.