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# Allocation: The Realities of Policy Choices



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IEA-EPRI-IETA Workshop  
Paris, 9 October 2007

**How Markets Work<sup>SM</sup>**

# Agenda



- **Overview**
- **Current Allocation Issues**
- **Starting Point: Implications of “Idealized” Alternatives**
- **Complexities in “Real World” Allocation Choices**
  - Aims
  - Empirical
  - Timing
- **Implications for Decision Making**



**Fundamental dilemma:  
Desire for simple and transparent approach vs.  
Account for multiple complexities**

- **Major categories of complexity**
  1. **Many (competing) aims** expressed or implied
  2. **Empirical uncertainties** in cost burdens (and other impacts)
  3. **Timing considerations** magnify complexities
  
- **Implications—“simple” solutions (e.g., 100% auctioning) *not* really simple, and tradeoffs inevitable**
  
- **Solution?**
  - **Prioritize/focus aims**
  - **Develop “reasonable” choices** that deal with major tradeoffs
  - **Develop trajectories** that provide appropriate transitions

# Traditional Allocation Approach as Illustrated in EU ETS



## ■ Phase 1 (Start-up period)

- Allowances mostly allocated for free (auctioning limited to 5%)
- Allocation in two stages (sector, then facilities) *only to participants*
- Allocation to facilities largely on the basis of “grandfathering” (historical emissions)
- New entrant allocations (benchmark formula varied by Member State)

## ■ 2008-12: Phase 2 (First commitment period of Kyoto Protocol)

- Greater use of benchmarking and auctioning (but limited to 10%)
- Allocations only to participants (emitters)

# Emerging Allocation Issues in US Proposals and Post-2012 EU ETS



1. Interest in **auctioning** (100%?) to “solve problems”
  - “Excessive” electricity prices and “windfall profits” often mentioned
2. Interest in **benchmarking** to “solve” other problems
  - “Level playing field” often mentioned
  - “Performance standards” based on benchmark and “actual” production
3. Interest in **avoiding adverse competitive effects and leakage**
4. Interest in **providing compensation** to diverse groups, including non-participants

# Starting Point: “Idealised” Options All Efficient and All Maintain the Cap



- **Three major options: (1) emissions-based “grandfathering;” (2) benchmarks; and (3) auction**
- **Choice among “ideal” options does *not* alter:**
  - Firms’ decisions to control emissions
  - Total compliance costs of achieving the cap
  - Effects in product markets (e.g., electricity price effects)
  - Maintenance of EU-wide cap
- **Note “idealized” allocations based on historical information (*not* “updating”)**
- **Implication of “idealized” options: choice of allocation is “only a question of distribution”**
  - **But this is too simplistic!**

# Complexity 1: “Real World” Allocation Confronts a More Complex Set of Aims



## 1. Other “traditional” environment and efficiency aims

- Environment—avoid “leakage” of emissions
- Efficiency—avoid high administrative costs
- Coordination—improve scope for linkage with other trading programs

## 2. “Fairness” aims

- Many perspectives on what is “fair,” including compensate for “stranded costs”

## 3. Other energy/economy aims

- Avoid competitive disadvantages
- Promote energy security
- Promote renewables and other “clean energy”
- Improve efficiency of tax system

# Implications of “Real World” Complexity in Aims



- **General result: tradeoffs among allocation options are more complex than “just distribution”**
- **Auctioning (particularly 100%) does not “solve *all* problems”**
  - Failure to compensate for “stranded costs”? Competitiveness effects?
  - Regulated jurisdictions see higher electricity prices (“fairness” effects)
  - No “simple” way to distribute auction revenues
- **“Updating” features can further some aims**
  - E.g., new entrant allocations, closure rules, output-linked allocation
  - Leakage can be reduced by keeping capacity, investment, and output within the EU (while maintaining cap)
  - Also: Competitiveness, consumer impacts (lower prices)



# Complexity 2: Hard to Quantify “Stranded Costs” and Other Ultimate Cost Burdens



- **Ultimate burdens depend upon complex market responses**
  - Carbon, fuels, electricity, other products, labor
  - Empirical studies of free allocation to compensate for “stranded costs” vary widely (e.g., cement, iron and steel range from 30% to 100% “required”)
  
- **Implications**
  1. **Many groups bear costs (or gain “windfall profits”)**
    - Emitters, customers, fuel producers, employees
  1. **Determining percentage free allocation to make parties “whole” is difficult, if not impossible**
  2. **“All or nothing” choices (e.g., 100% auction) do not reflect large empirical uncertainties in cost burdens**

# Also Difficult to Quantify Effects on *Other* Aims



- **Size** of greater “leakage” due to higher product prices?
- **Size** of efficiency loss from new entrant allocations / closure rules (updating) – and benefit from reduce leakage?
- **Size** of security gain from diversity of generation / local fuels?
- **Size** of tax efficiency gain from *actual* use of auction revenues?
- **“All or nothing” choices also do not reflect these other empirical uncertainties**

# Complexity 3: “Real World” Timing Factors Tend to Magnify Complexity



- **Many factors change over time, thus complicating choices**
  - Stranded costs/market dynamics/new entrants
  - Control technologies/costs
  - Overall cap
  - International context
  - Aims/priorities
  
- **But, time also provides opportunities to change allocations over time**
  - Compensate “stranded costs” over limited time period
  - Use trajectories to provide transitions
  - Respond to international context changes
  - Length of allocation/compliance periods

# Implications of “Real World” Complexity in Timing



- **Gains from varying allocation over time**
  - Opportunity to avoid “all or nothing” decisions
  - Provide for trajectories that reflect the importance of change
- **But, importance of regulatory certainty means allocation decisions should not change frequently**
- **Key policy dilemma: complexity vs. simplicity?**

# Solutions to Policy Dilemma?



## 1. Prioritize/focus aims

- Determine which aims are most important for GHG cap-and-trade
- Other policies for other aims

## 2. Develop “reasonable” choices that deal with major tradeoffs

- Both “analytical” and “political” considerations
- Choice among alternatives not “all or nothing”

## 3. Develop trajectories that provide appropriate transitions

- Time adds to complexities *but also* provides opportunities
- Allocations are not “all or nothing” choices

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