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Published in: Climate Policy

DOI:

10.1080/14693062.2014.979130

2016

#### Link to publication

Citation for published version (APA):

Stenqvist, C., & Åhman, M. (2016). Free allocation in hte 3rd EU ETS period: assessing two manufacturing sectors. *Climate Policy*, *16*(2), 125-144. https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2014.979130

Total number of authors:

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Download date: 17. Dec. 2025

# Free allocation in the 3<sup>rd</sup> EU ETS period: assessing two manufacturing sectors

## **Abstract**

This paper provides an analysis of the EU ETS harmonised benchmark-based allocation procedures by comparing two energy-intensive sectors with activities in three Member States (MS); the cement industry (CEI) and the pulp and paper industry (PPI) in UK, Sweden and France. Results show that the new procedures are better suited for the homogenous CEI, for which allocation is to decrease in a consistent manner. For the heterogeneous PPI - with diverse product portfolios, technical infrastructure and fuel-mixes – the allocation procedures cause dispersed outcomes. The lack of product benchmark curves, biased reference values on fuel-mix and specific energy use as well as other issues, leads to allocations that do not represent the average performance of the 10% most GHG efficient installations. Another issue with the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase allocation procedure is that grandfathering is still present via the historically based production volumes. How to deal with structural change and provisions regarding capacity reductions and partial cessation is an issue, which is highly relevant for the PPI but less so for the CEI. In manufacturing sectors such as cement industry (CEI) and pulp and paper industry (PPI), the new banchmark-based allocation procedures have managed to reduce the EU-wide free allocation in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period compared with the 2<sup>nd</sup> period. For the homogenous CEI the outcome of stricter allocation is consistent between Member States. However, free allocation based on grandfathering of prerecession activity levels and CO2 performances is likely to create long positions in coming years. Our results disclose differing outcomes between sectors and Member States, with cases of conspicuous supply of allowances in the heterogeneous PPI. Lack of product benchmark curves, biased reference values on fuel-mix and specific energy use etc., leads to allocations that do not represent the average performance of the 10% most GHG efficient installations.

## Policy relevance

Free allocation is used for several reasons when developing emission trading schemes. Establising reliable and robust rules for free allocation that shields against high direct carbon costs, is percieved as fair and politically acceptable and still incentivices firms to take action, is a great challenge.

For the debate on structural reformation of the EU ETS, and for sharing experiences with other emerging emission trading systems, the paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the difficulties in effectively applying harmonised rules in industrial sectors that are heterogenous.

Keywords: EU ETS; Allowance allocation; Pulp and paper industry; Cement industry

## 1 Introduction

#### 1.1 A background to EU ETS

The EU emissions trading system (EU ETS) was introduced in 2005 to 'promote greenhouse gas emission reductions in a cost-effective and economically efficient manner' (EC, 2003). Since the start, EU ETS has been subject for scrutiny by different stakeholders. Some authors have called the implementation a remarkable achievement given its timing, novelty and scope, i.e. covering 11,000 power producers and energy-intensive industry installations and half of EU's CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Ellerman et al., 2007). EU ETS has also been hit by criticism due to unresolved issues following the first 'trial period' (2005–2007) and the second 'Kyoto period' (2008–2012). Much of the criticism has concerned the effects and methods for free allocation of initial EU emission allowances (EUAs) (see e.g. Sandbag 2011, Hyvärinen, 2005). Allocating initial EUAs for free instead of auctioning, and thus departing from the "polluters pay principle", has been motivated for many reasons including protecting competitiveness, avoiding carbon leakage, and political acceptability from participating firms and Member States (MS).

In the 1st trading period at least 95% of the EUAs had to be allocated for free to participants (EC, 2003). No overall absolute cap on an EU-level was set a priori but the European Commission (EC) reserved the right to ex-post adjustments to ensure that the national allocation plans (NAPs) were in line with their future Kyoto commitments (EC, 2003). The decision process for free allocation of EUAs was decentralised to MS's NAPs and based on grandfathering of historical emissions. This decentralised approach, together with the free allocation, helped to gain acceptance among MS and participating sectors and enabled a smooth implementation (Skjaerseth & Wettestad, 2009). Some national authorities were overly generous in handing out free EUAs to domestic industries (Andersson & Di Maria, 2011). When this became evident in 2006, it caused a major EUA price drop that was further enhanced by the prohibition against transferring surplus allowances between the two periods (Convery & Redmond, 2007).

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> period, the cap was set 6.5% below the level of 2005 in order to be consistent with EU's Kyoto commitment. The tightened cap influenced foremost power producers that experienced a 13% decrease in allocation (EEA, 2014). For manufacturing sectors the levels of free allocation increased due to overoptimistic growth numbers, e.g. by 8% in pulp and paper and 13% in cement and lime (EEA, 2014). Sector-level surpluses grew even larger in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period as the unanticipated economic downturn caused production declines and reduced CO<sub>2</sub> emissions across European manufacturing industry. For instance, cement and lime industry accumulated a surplus of 282 million EUAs in 2008–2012, which is twice as much as the sector's annual CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (EEA, 2014). In the first two trading periods, only a small share of EUAs was auctioned. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> period up to 10% of allowances could have been auctioned, but due to political-economic dimensions and industry lobbying a few MS auctioned altogether 3% of the cap (EC, 2013a).

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> trading period, auctioning was meant to be the main allocation method (EC, 2009). From 2013, over 40% of EUAs within the EU ETS are auctioned but predominately in the power sector. For the manufacturing sectors free allocation will continue to be applied but with altered allocation procedures. The approach with MS NAPs based on grandfathering of installations' historical emissions is replaced with a methodology based on EU-wide performance benchmark values for a number of defined products within each sectors. The free allocation via the benchmarks will decrease step-wise with an intention to be phased out by 2027 (EC, 2009). However, one important major exception is all sectors that are deemed exposed to significant risk of carbon leakage and, thus, will receive free allocation at 100% of benchmark values until 2020 (EC, 2009). Currently, 96% of manufacturing

industrial emissions are on the "carbon leakage list" and thus deemed by the EC to be exposed to a significant risk for carbon leakage (Lecourt et al., 2013). For reasons of protecting competitiveness and avoiding carbon leakage, the practice of free allocation will most likely still be used far beyond 2027 for energy-intensive industries.

### 1.2 Aim and scope

Theoretical underpinnings and practical experiences of allocation procedures in previous EU ETS periods have been subject to several studies (e.g. Cló, 2010; Demailly & Quirion, 2006; Hepburn et al., 2006). Other studies have analysed corporate responses to EU ETS including how the free allocation has influenced different sectors in terms of e.g. trading behaviour (Martin et al., 2014) and the shaping of climate strategies (Skjaerseth & Eikeland, 2013). The former find that a third of 429 interviewed manufacturing firms do not consider EUAs as a financial asset that could provide profit opportunities but rather see their permit allocation as an EU ETS compliance target (Martin et al., 2014). In particular for the pulp and paper sector there are studies of corporate responses that cover industries in countries such as Italy, Sweden, Norway and Germany (e.g. Gasbarro et al., 2013; Gulbrandsen & Stenqvist, 2013a; Rogge et al., 2011). These studies conclude that EU ETS has brought some organisational changes while the effects are limited in terms of triggering of innovative low-carbon solutions and long-term climate strategies. The carbon price tag is not fully integrated in the firm's operational practices (Rogge et al., 2011) and is anyhow a minor incentive among the many factors that underpin investment decisions in the pulp and paper industry (Gulbrandsen & Stenqvist, 2013a). The lack of stringency with a high share of free allocation, the possibility of different perceptions about real cost versus opportunity costs, and the volatile but often low EUAs price are suggested explanations for the limited effects of EU ETS so far. Thus, among over-allocated manufacturing firms, a more stringent allocation could provide an important signal for stronger abatement and innovation responses.

So far, few studies have been published about the recent implementation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> period benchmark-based free allocation to EU's manufacturing industry; exemptions are e.g. Lecourt (2013), Lecourt et al. (2013) and Sartor et al. (2014). In an extensive assessment of all benchmarked sectors in 20 MS Lecourt et al. (2013) conclude that the 3<sup>rd</sup> period allocation substantially reduces free allocation to benchmarked sectors compared with the 2<sup>nd</sup> period, reward installations with better CO<sub>2</sub> emission performance, and redistribute EUAs foremost between installations within MS. Sartor et al. (2014) use the example of the cement sector – one of the most homogenous industrial sectors in terms of processes and products – to assess the new allocation rules. The analysis shows that moving to benchmark-based allocation has reduced and improved the harmonization of the levels of free allocation compared to the 2<sup>nd</sup> period. However, as the free allocation is also based on historic production output levels, problems of oversupply to individual installations will remain, why the fairness of the system may become questioned by industrial representatives and the general public according to Sartor et al. (2014).

The recent studies provide valuable first insights to the benchmark-based allocation procedures and show that moving from allocation procedures with flexibility on a national level to a methodology based on EU-wide benchmarks should increase the fairness. However, the outcomes have been analysed on an aggregated EU level and not fully addressed the possible divergence between MS or within different manufacturing sectors. Interesting outcomes at sector and installation level could thus be overlooked. Our study intends to fill this research gap by an in-depth study of two sectors in three MS. The aim of the paper is to analyse and explain outcomes of the harmonised benchmark-based allocation procedures in two manufacturing sectors of different complexity in terms of heterogeneity and national

diversification. From this we draw lessons about credibility issues including the ability of the new procedures to create strong incentives for mitigation or trading and the effects from structural changes on CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and allocation levels.

The comparative study covers the cement industry (CEI) and the pulp and paper industry (PPI) in three different MS (i.e. UK, Sweden and France). The CEI is homogenous in terms of products (i.e. cement clinker) and processes and consists of a handful of large international firms, which supply domestic demands via their operations across EU. Its main process is highly fuel and carbon-intensive, not least in monetary terms. The PPI consists of a relatively large number of firms and is heterogeneous with a diversified product portfolio that requires different set ups with regard to processes, integration and energy as well as raw material supply. It is a highly energy-intensive but less carbon-intensive industry due to potentially large shares of biomass fuels.

The three different MS were chosen based on availability of data and by their relevance to respective sector. The main empirical material consists of the National Implementation Measures (NIMs) and the European Union Transaction Log (EUTL).<sup>1</sup>

## 2 The third trading period 2013–2020

#### 2.1 General amendments

EU ETS in its 3<sup>rd</sup> period is characterized by some important changes (EC, 2009):

- A community-wide cap has been introduced based on the EU target of reducing total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions with 20% by 2020. Allowances issued each year shall be reduced by a linear factor of 1.74% compared with the 2<sup>nd</sup> period average annual amount of allowances. By 2020, the allocation to fixed installations shall be 21% below the emission levels of 2005.
- From negligible shares of auctioning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period about half of allowances will be auctioned, primarily to power generators. For a few sub-sectors not deemed exposed to carbon leakage a gradual phase-in from 20% to 70% of auctioning will apply.
- The decentralized approach with free allocation based on past emissions via MS's NAPs is
  replaced by free allocation based on past production volumes and EU harmonized benchmarks
  for manufacturing industry and heat installations via MS's NIMs. Sectors and installations
  deemed exposed to a significant risk of carbon leakage receive free allowances at 100% of their
  benchmark values.

#### 2.2 Benchmark-based free allocation

The benchmark methodology dates some years back when a trio of energy research and consultancy organizations (i.e. Ecofys, Fraunhofer ISI and Öko-Institut) commissioned by the EC developed a first proposal (Ecofys, 2009a). After two years and an 'unprecedented' amount of consultation with industry associations and other stakeholders the EC reached a final decision including 52 product benchmarks plus three more for fuel and heat consumption and certain process emissions (EC, 2011). In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By September 2011, MS were required to submit their list of installations covered by the ETS directive in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period. These lists,referred to as NIMs, cover the proposed benchmark-based free allocations to concerned sectors and installations. As of April 2013 the NIMs of Sweden, France and UK were among few that were available to the authors, which confined the assessment to these three MS. The EUTL is the official registry of allowances and verified emissions under EU ETS.

determining the total amount of free allocation to an installation its different benchmark-related sub-installations are first defined. If activities are not covered by a product benchmark the alternative heat and fuel benchmarks can be applied but each sub-installation must not receive allocation according to more than one benchmark (DG CLIMA, 2011a). The general formula for determining the final free allocation to a sub-installation is:

Free allocation = BM x HAL x CLEF x CSCF

BM: product/fuel/heat specific emission intensity benchmark value.

HAL: historic activity level as median production volume (or heat/fuel use or production) in 2005–2008 or 2009–2010.

CLEF: carbon leakage exposure factor, which is 100% for installations deemed at risk of carbon leakage.

CSCF: cross-sectoral correction factor to adjust proposed annual preliminary amounts (PA) to the maximum amount (MA).<sup>2</sup>

As a starting point, the product benchmark values were to represent the average performance of the 10% most efficient installations in a sector or sub-sector in 2007–2008 (EC, 2009, Art. 10a(2)). It has been disputed if efficient should mean GHG efficient or energy efficient. Industry stakeholders have argued for the latter approach, i.e. for benchmarks values based on energy intensity levels translated to CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by taking the differences in fuel mix into account (Ecofys, 2009b; Ecofys, 2009c). For some sectors this has been heeded, but in general the values have been derived from benchmark curves covering the actual CO<sub>2</sub> emission intensities of existing installations in concerned sector (EC, 2011). The heat and fuel benchmarks, of 62.3 and 56.1 EUAs/TJ respectively, are based on natural gas as the reference fuel and a 90% fuel-to-heat conversion efficiency. Special guidelines are provided for cross-boundary heat flows, e.g. for heat transfers between two EU ETS installations the free allocation is given to the heat consuming installation but when heat is exported from an EU ETS installation to a non-EU ETS installation the heat producer receives the free allocation (DG CLIMA, 2011b).

#### 2.3 Benchmarks for the pulp and paper industry

In the  $2^{nd}$  period there were about 900 pulp and/or paper installations in EU ETS. As an annual average over the  $2^{nd}$  period, they emitted 29.6 Mt CO<sub>2</sub> and were allocated 40.3 million EUAs (EEA, 2014). Thus, the aggregated average emission-to-allocation ratio has been 73%, ranging from 82% in 2008 to 68% in 2012.

European PPI has relatively low CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in relation to overall energy flows as more than half of fuel consumption comes from biomass sources (CEPI, 2013). However, the fuel-mix is geographically diverse; biomass fuels can account for 75–90% of the PPI's fuel consumption (e.g. in Sweden and Finland) or be negligible when natural gas accounts for 90% of fuel consumption (e.g. in Italy, Netherlands and UK) (Ecofys, 2009b). It is also a technically diverse industry that produces numerous products with different degrees of process integration between pulp grades (i.e. virgin or recovered

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the assessment of MS's NIMs the EC had to ensure that the PAs of free allowances did not exceed the linearly decreasing MA as dictated by the community-wide cap (EC, 2009, Art. 10a(5)). If so, a CSCF should adjust the sum of PAs to the MA, which determines the final free allocation. The decision announced in September 2013 clarified that the CSCF implies a 5.7% reduction in 2013 growing to a 17.6% reduction in 2020 (EC, 2013b).

fibre) and paper and board production. Aspects like these have influenced the formulation of benchmark values for the PPI.

Though the PPI represents only 2% of the EU ETS emissions, 11 out of the total 52 product benchmarks were developed for the sector as shown in Table 1. Separate values for pulp and paper products enables allocation to stand-alone pulp mills that produce market pulp as a final product. To avoid double-counting, the allocation to pulp benchmark sub-installations is based only on the share that is exported since pumped pulp produced in integrated mills is not entitled allocation.

The EC's final decision on product benchmark values was reached after an exceptional amount of consultation and negotiation and the heterogeneous PPI involved specific challenges.

Initially, instead of constructing CO<sub>2</sub> emission intensity curves for selected products Ecofys (2009b) used literature values on energy intensity levels that were intended to represent the best practice specific heat consumption for production in non-integrated mills. From these values, emission intensities benchmark values were proposed based on natural gas, with an emission factor of 56.1 kg CO<sub>2</sub>/GJ, as the reference fuel. The PPI represented by the Confederation of European Paper Industries (CEPI) was discontent with, amongst other things, the grouping of products done by the consultants where a number of products fell into categories of "other pulp" and "other papers". According to CEPI the PPI should ideally have 64 product benchmarks, but this was not politically feasible (Gulbrandsen & Stenqvist, 2013b). After negotiations a couple of product benchmarks were added and the EC's decision on 11 product benchmarks in combination with heat and fuel benchmarks could be accepted. Finally, after a sample of non-integrated single product mills had tested the values against their performance it led to modifications of some product benchmark values (Bergman, 2014, personal communication).

The final benchmark methodology for PPI implies that also biogenic CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have become entitled free allocation in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period, which should become evident in countries such as Sweden and Finland where biofuels (e.g. black liquor, bark etc.) dominates the PPI's fuel-mix. In addition to the physical production some mills and foremost stand-alone pulp mills will be freely allocated, via the heat benchmark for their biofuel-based district heating deliveries. In cases when there are no suitable product benchmarks the heat or fuel benchmark approach is also applied, but in this case from an installation's heat consumption perspective.

#### 2.4 Benchmarks for the cement industry

Over the  $2^{nd}$  period there were around 270 cement installations in EU ETS and with 8% of total  $CO_2$  emissions it is the second largest emitting sector (Ecofys, 2009c). As an annual average over the  $2^{nd}$  period, the sector emitted 129.5 Mt  $CO_2$  and was allocated 176.5 M EUAs (EEA, 2014). The oversupply has increased from an emission-to-allocation ratio of 91% in 2008 to 64% in 2012.

The cement manufacturing process follows the three main steps of raw material preparation, clinker production, and cement grinding, of which clinker production is the most energy- and CO<sub>2</sub>-intensive, accounting for 90% of emissions (Ecofys, 2009c).<sup>3</sup> A main issue in the development of product benchmarks was whether such should be formulated on the basis of clinker production or cement production. Ecofys (2009c) proposed a clinker approach as favoured by the majority of EU's CEI represented by CEMBUREAU. However, individual firms specialized in clinker substitution and composite cements argued for a cement benchmark (Raaum Christensen, 2013). From a CO<sub>2</sub> emission intensity curve covering a large majority of the EU-27 installations a benchmark value of 780 kg CO<sub>2</sub> per tonne clinker was found to reflect the average of the 10% best performing installations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The high temperature calcination process converts limestone (CaCO<sub>3</sub>) to lime (CaO) and releases 55% of total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per tonne cement. Remaining CO<sub>2</sub> emissions come from fuel combustion in the cement kiln (40%) and indirectly from electricity use in raw material and clinker grinding, conveying etc. (5–10%) (Ecofys, 2009c).

CEMBUREAU defied and argued for a benchmark value of 837 kg CO<sub>2</sub> per tonne clinker, based on energy intensity levels and coal as reference fuel (Ecofys, 2009c). Eventually, in the final benchmark decision the EC adopted two product benchmarks, one for grey cement clinker at 0.766 EUA per tonne clinker and one for white cement clinker at 0.987 EUA per tonne clinker (EC, 2011). Despite the cost pass-through capacity due to high transport costs resulting in a regional market, the cement sector also qualified as exposed to a significant risk of carbon leakage and was assigned a CLEF of 100%.

## 3 Results

### 3.1 Pulp and paper industry

In 2013, the entire PPI in EU-28 received a free allocation of 31.5 M EUAs after the CSCF adjustment, which is clearly below the average annual allocation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period (40 M EUAs) (EEA, 2014). However, the 2013 free allocation is on a par with the record high emission level in 2008 (32 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>) and the projected free allocation in 2020 (28 M EUAs) is slightly above the current 2013 emission levels of 27.5 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>. For the European PPI there is so far no evidence of sector-level improvement in specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions since the start of EU ETS; production of pulp and paper decreased by 7% in 2005–2012, which correlates with the decrease in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions over the same period (CEPI, 2013; EEA, 2014). The following detailed assessment of PPI in UK, Sweden and France covers around 20% of the sector's installations, allocations and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in EU ETS.

### 3.1.1 United Kingdom

The PPI in UK is Europe's  $8^{th}$  largest paper and board producer with 5% of production and accounts for a negligible share of the pulp production (CEPI, 2013). In the  $3^{rd}$  period of EU ETS, 36 installations are proposed to participate compared with 50 in the  $2^{nd}$  period (EUTL, 2013; UK NIM, 2012). Figure 1 shows the development of  $CO_2$  emissions and allocation since 2008.<sup>4</sup> Physical production and  $CO_2$  emissions have been reduced by 15%, i.e. without improvements in specific  $CO_2$  emissions (EUTL, 2013; FAO, 2013).

Figure 1. Emissions and allocations to PPI in UK, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and UK NIM (2012)

Besides shutdowns the difference in allocation between periods can be attributed to changes in allocation procedures for heat installations, as illustrated with an actual and a contra-factual situation. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> period, energy contractors – that deliver steam and electricity from natural gas fired combined heat and power plants (CHP) – have in some cases been categorised and allocated EUAs as if they belonged to the PPI. This is represented by the base case of actual allocations and emissions in period II (incl. CHP installations). However, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period, the rules for cross-boundary heat flows between installations imply that the heat consuming installation (i.e. the paper mill) is freely allocated according to its product or heat benchmarks (see Section 2.2). The contra-factual case depicts a situation where allocations and emissions attributed to external CHP installations are subtracted from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Since 90% of UK's PPI was excluded from the 1<sup>st</sup> period there are no records for 2005–2007.

the actual situation over the  $2^{nd}$  period, while allocations and estimated emissions for the relevant paper mills are added.<sup>5</sup> This exercise suggests that proposed  $3^{rd}$  period allocation to UK's PPI will not be reduce by 40% as it appears in the base case but rather by 25% as estimated in the contra-factual situation.

When accounting only for the 36 installations listed in the UK NIM the allocation in 2013 of almost 1.4 M EUAs, after CSCF adjustment, is a decrease by 16% compared with the allocation in 2012. For more than half of individual installations the free allocation is reduced and for these short positions can be expected in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period. However, with the introduction of production-based allocation and the changed procedures for heat installations the free allocation to a few larger size mills will increase substantially compared with the previous period. Such mills, often newsprint or liner mills that rely on recovered paper pulp, will be generously allocated through their product benchmarks, while their direct CO<sub>2</sub> emissions remain low whenever steam (and electricity) is provided by external supply contracts. Though short positions can be expected transferred EUAs should provide compensation (EUTL, 2013; UK NIM, 2012).

#### 3.1.2 Sweden

The Swedish PPI is Europe's largest pulp producer and 2<sup>nd</sup> largest paper and board producer, accounting for 31% and 12% of the respective segments (CEPI, 2013). In the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of EU ETS, 52 installations are proposed to participate compared with 58 in previous periods (EUTL, 2013; SE NIM, 2012). Figure 2 shows the development of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and allocation. Between 2005 and 2012, CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have been reduced by half while total production volume has been almost unchanged (EUTL, 2013; FAO, 2013). Thus, there has been a clear improvement in specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

Figure 2. Emissions and allocations to PPI in Sweden, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and SE NIM (2012)

Previously, annual allocation has been around 2.5 M EUAs, which is well above current CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and closer to the emission levels of 2003/2004 (Stenqvist, 2014). Due to generous allocation and abatement measures the emission-to-allocation ratio reached a low level of 40% in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period and generated large amounts of transferable EUAs. Nevertheless, the 3<sup>rd</sup> period allocation will double and reach 4.5 M EUAs in 2013, which is almost five times larger than current emission level (SE NIM, 2012).

There are at least four explanations behind the conspicuous outcome in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period. Firstly, several large and integrated mills are rewarded by the product benchmarks values that are based on non-integrated single product mills. Secondly, biofuels account for more than 90% of total fuel demand in Swedish PPI whereas benchmark values are based on natural gas (Ecofys, 2009b). Thirdly, several mills are heat exporters and receive free allocations for biomass-based heat deliveries to district heating grids. Finally, when product benchmarks have not been applicable (e.g. for dissolving pulp, kraft paper etc.) the fall back approach for heat consumption have rewarded mills with large biomass-based energy flows.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Estimates are based on mill's environmental communication or on production capacity and relevant benchmark values.

#### 3.1.3 France

France is Europe's 5<sup>th</sup> largest paper and board producer and 6<sup>th</sup> largest pulp producer, accounting for 9% and 5% of the respective segments (CEPI, 2013). In the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of EU ETS, 87 installations are proposed to participate compared with 100–120 installations in the previous periods (EUTL, 2013; FR NIM, 2012). Figure 3 shows the development of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and allocation. Between 2005 and 2012, CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have been reduced by 40% while physical production has been reduced by 23% (EUTL, 2013; FAO, 2013). Thus, there has been some improvement in specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

Figure 3. Emissions and allocations to PPI in France, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and FR NIM (2012)

Annual allocation decreased from around 5 M EUAs in the 1<sup>st</sup> period to 4 M EUAs in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period. Besides shutdowns and decreased production output examples of outsourced heat and power supply have contributed to CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reductions in combination with more tangible abatement measures (EUTL, 2013). After CSCF adjustment the allocation is 3.6 M EUAs in 2013. When accounting only for operating installations listed in the French NIM it represents a reduction by 4% compared with allocation in 2012 (FR NIM, 2012). The emission-to-allocation ratio is expected to be 50–70% in the coming years, successively to some extent offset by the CSCF adjustment. A large amount of transferable EUAs is expected to increase the surplus. There will not be a short position on aggregated level but for a third of installations it could be the case over the coming years (EUTL, 2013; FR NIM, 2012).

#### 3.2 Cement industry

For the total production of cement clinker in EU-28 the aggregated amount of free allocation in 2013 is 155 M EUAs after CSCF adjustment, which is 21% below the average annual allocation in the  $2^{nd}$  period (197 M EUAs) (EEA, 2014). The 2013 allocation is even 12% below the relatively high emission level recorded in 2008 (175 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>). However, the reduced allocation does not ensure that the sector will be in a short position over the  $3^{rd}$  period. The emission-to-allocation ratio is currently 83% and the future outcome depends on the sector's ability to recover from its downward trend in production output since 2008 (CSI, 2013). Between 2008 and 2011 there are no evidence for sector-level improvement in specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions; for the collective of installations that reported to the Cement Sustainability Initiative (CSI) the absolute CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reductions are in line with the production decline (CSI, 2013). The detailed assessment of the CEI in UK, Sweden and France covers 17% of the sector's installations, allocations and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in EU ETS (Ecofys, 2009c).

#### 3.2.1 United Kingdom

UK's CEI accounts for 5% of cement production in EU-27 (CSI, 2013). Twelve installations are proposed to participate in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of EU ETS compared with 17 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period (EUTL, 2013; UK NIM, 2012). Four cement plants have been shutdown and one gas-fired power station must no

longer receive free allocation (UK NIM, 2012).<sup>6</sup> Figure 4 shows the development of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and allocation since 2008.<sup>7</sup> The CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have been reduced by 30% while physical production decreased by 25% (CEMBUREAU, 2013; EUTL, 2013). Thus, specific emissions have improved slightly.<sup>8</sup>

Figure 4. Emissions and allocations to CEI in UK, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and UK NIM (2012)

The emissions-to-allocation ratio has been 55–80% in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period. Similar to the case of UK's PPI two scenarios are used to demonstrate allocation and emission levels with or without inclusion of records for one power station (EUTL, 2013). After the CSCF adjustment the allocation of 6.6 M EUAs in 2013 represents a reduction by one third compared with 2012. When accounting only for the twelve operating installations listed in UK's NIM the reduction is 25%, which is still 20% above the emission level in 2012. With transferable EUAs UK's CEI can recover from its downturn without facing a short position in the coming years but succesively the situation may become stricter (EUTL, 2013; UK NIM, 2012).

#### 3.2.2 Sweden

The Swedish CEI accounts for 1–2% of cement production in EU-27. In the  $3^{rd}$  period, as in previous periods, three cement plants are proposed to participate in EU ETS (EUTL, 2013; SE NIM, 2012). Figure 5 shows the development of  $CO_2$  emissions and allocations. In 2005–2012 emissions increased by 12%, which could reflect a large production output in 2012 at unchanged or increased levels of specific emissions (EUTL, 2013). However, the Swedish CEI does not report to CSI and production data is insufficient over the period.

Figure 5. Emissions and allocations to Swedish CEI, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and SE NIM (2012)

From emission-to-allocation ratios around 100% in the  $1^{st}$  period increased allocation caused ratios of 80–90% in the  $2^{nd}$  period (EUTL, 2013). In 2013, after CSCF adjustment, the allocation is reduced by 25% and even 20% below the emission level in 2012. Thus, the sector is expected to experience short positions in the  $3^{rd}$  period.

#### 3.2.3 France

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In the 2<sup>nd</sup> period, this power station was categorised under the cement sector and received 585,000 EUAs/year in free allocation (EUTL, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Records for 2005–2007 are excluded since half of UK's CEI was exempted from the 1<sup>st</sup> period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Self-reported company data to CSI shows that fuel-mix carbon-intensity and specific gross CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per tonne clinker improved by 5–7% in 2008–2011 (CSI, 2013).

The French CEI is the third largest in EU-27, accounting for 11% of cement production (CSI, 2013). As in previous periods 30 cement plants are proposed to participate in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period (EUTL, 2013; FR NIM, 2012). Figure 6 shows the development of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and allocations. In 2005–2012, both emissions and physical production decreased by 15% (CEMBUREAU, 2013; EUTL, 2013). Thus, there has been no change in specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.<sup>9</sup>

Figure 6. Emissions and allocations to French CEI, including all installations within each period. Data source: EUTL (2013) and FR NIM (2012)

Similar to the Swedish case, the emission-to-allocation ratio changed from around 100% in the 1<sup>st</sup> period to 80–90% in the 2<sup>nd</sup> period (EUTL, 2013). In 2013, after CSCF adjustment, the allocation is estimated to be 18% below the 2012 allocation but slightly above the emission level. With transferable EUAs the sector as a whole does not face an imminent risk to be in a short position but for one fifth of the installations it is more likely to occur (EUTL, 2013; FR NIM, 2012).

### 3.3 Summary of results

Our detailed analysis of allocation in the selected sample of sectors and MSs points to conspicuous outcomes in the PPI. Compared with the coherent outcomes of stricter allocation in the CEI, the assessment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> period allocation in PPI gives three distinguishable outcomes.

In UK, the allocation becomes stricter. In France, the situation is close to business-as-usual with a continued long position. In Sweden, allocation reaches a conspicuously high level, being twice as large as the 2<sup>nd</sup> period allocation and almost five times larger the actual emission level. The main explanations of the dispersed outcomes of the benchmark rules are the use of biomass fuels and the economies of scale in process integrated mills. The level of over-allocations clearly reflect the share of biomass in the PPI's fuel-mix, which is about 90% in Sweden, 50% in France and 5% in UK (Ecofys, 2009b).

#### 4 Discussion

Auctioning is the theoretically preferred method of allocating emission allowances as it corresponds to the "polluters pay principle", reduced administrative costs, greater transparency and perceived fairness (e.g. Hepburn et al., 2006). Despite this, free allocation of emission allowances will most likely continue to be used for reasons of protecting competitiveness and avoiding carbon leakage. Establising reliable and robust rules for free allocation that shields against high direct carbon costs, is percieved as fair and politically acceptable and still incentivices firms to take action, is a great challenge.

In view of the annually decreasing cap, currently at -1,74%/year, the issue of free allocation could be viewed as minor issue for the overall effectiveness of EU ETS with the argument that the economic incentive, via the opportunity CO<sub>2</sub>-cost, is equal to all participants on the margin. However, arguments from business economics and bottom-up studies on firm behaviour suggest that free allocation and firm-level oversupply of EUAs could dampen firm responses in terms of innovation and investments in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Self-reported company data shows that fuel-mix carbon-intensity and specific gross CO<sub>2</sub> emission per tonne clinker is almost unchanged in 2005–2011 (CSI, 2013).

low-carbon solutions and thereby decrease the efficiency of the system (Abrell et al., 2011, Gulbrandsen & Stenqvist, 2013a; Martin et al., 2014; Rogge et al., 2011; Skjaerseth & Eikeland, 2013). Furthermore, allocation substantially more compared to expected emissions could damage the perception of the system among stakeholders such as NGOs and competing industries see e.g. (Sandbag 2011; Hyvärinane 2005).

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> trading period, the methods used for allocating free allowances were changed to a system based on EU-wide benchmarks. Two of the most contentious issues with the previous NAPs were the use of grandfathering based on historical emissions and the lack of harmonisation across MS. Abandoning the NAPs and introducing EU-wide benchmark methodology implies a strong harmonisation which means that all installations will receive the same treatment with no national flexibility. This should mitigate previous concerns over perverse incentives and strategic behavior from national authorities and result in a more fair and acceptable allocation.

The aim with the new benchmark methodology was also, in general, to allocate less free allowances than needed putting most firms in a short position and thereby forcing them to engage actively in either trading or mitigation. Below we explain the reasons for the outcomes on firm-level allocation of our sample and discuss the consequences of a harmonised benchmark methodolygy on PPI. We also discuss the problems with the rules for managing structural change with a focus on the PPI.

The results from our sample shows that foremost the PPI will most likely continue to be in long positions during the 3<sup>rd</sup> trading period, with the Swedish PPI being an extreme example. The outcomes of the allocation to the PPI can be explained by several factors. The benchmark values for the PPI could not be determined with CO<sub>2</sub> emission intensity curves reflecting the 10% most efficient producers as the sector was too complicated with many products, processes and configurations. Instead, the PPI's product benchmarks were derived from literature values on energy intensity levels, with natural gas a reference fuel, and then tested on a sample of non-integrated single product mills. Regarding size and process integration, the free allocation based on benchmarks and ex ante production outputs clearly rewards large producers. Especially for large integrated mills, which are potential net producers of steam, the benchmark values based on non-integrated mills represents a windfall gain. The Swedish situation is illustrative. For the ten largest producers of which nine are integrated mills the average emission-to-allocation ratio is 20% in 2013, for outliers even 5%. For the ten smallest producers six stand-alone mills are expected to be in short positions in 2013. Sweden's favorable factor conditions for a low-carbon production of pulp and paper products (e.g. the access to raw materials and renewable energy) and the fact that its PPI started to phase-out fossil fuels already in the 1970s (Lindmark et al., 2011) are generously rewarded in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period of EU ETS. In international comparisons the Swedish PPI do stand out as the most CO<sub>2</sub>-efficient (IEA, 2007). Seen from this perspective the new allocation procedures rewards the best performing installations in terms of specific CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. However, the product benchmark values for pulp and paper products do not represent the average performance of the 10% most GHG efficient installations in 2007-2008 (EC, 2009, Art. 10a(2)). For Swedish PPI, one would have to go back to the early 1980s in order to find emission levels that correspond to allocation levels determined for the 3<sup>rd</sup> period. Since then fossil fuel use and related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have been reduced by 80% while physical production has increased by 50% (Stenqvist, 2014).

Long-term and reliable rules for free allocation streching over a full trading period of 5 to 8 years will always have to deal with the fundamental fact that the economy and the industrial structure constantly changes causing problems with i.e. closures, new entrants provisions, and that allocation will partly be based on historical emissison levels and mitigation actions. Managing structural changes in the economy is a general problem with the EU ETS as this can create unexpected 'bubbles' of oversupply

resulting in depressed EUA prices (Karpestam & Andersson, 2011). This problem is currently being discussed for the EU ETS in general but the effects of structural changes in the economy has also effects on the free allocation methodology, especially how to manage closures, new entrants or significant changes in capacity in existing installations.

Allocating allowances for free based on historical emissions (i.e. grandfathering) is the main concern here and this method was abandoned in the 3<sup>rd</sup> period. However, a certain degree of grandfathering is still present. Both the production volumes and CO<sub>2</sub>-performances, either based on benchmark curves or literature values, are determined on historical prerecession records. This is especially important for the PPI which is in a transformative stage with many closures, downsizing and structural changes in production capacity that will put to test the regulated provisions for closures regarding continued free allocation (DG CLIMA, 2011c). In particular the newsprint segment has suffered from diminishing market demand and excess capacity. In Sweden and France, and generally so in Europe, newsprint production fell by 20% between 2007 and 2012 (FAO, 2013). Firms of the Swedish PPI, which accounts for one fifth of EU's newsprint production, have announced additional temporary or permanent shutdowns of paper machines in this segment (Stenqvist, 2014). For five large integrated mills expected production declines are in the range of 20 to 30% compared with the activity levels of 2007 (Danske Bank, 2013). Acknowledging the reduced demand and bleak prospect for newsprint and to some extent other publication/graphic paper grades, it appears unlikely that the historic activity level (2005-2008) will be relevant for the future production levels until 2020 (RISI, 2014). In cases like these, installations and national authorities have to decide whether reduced production is a case of partial cessation or a case of significant capacity reduction influenced by a physical change (DG CLIMA, 2011c). It is probable that the former applies in the case of planned production declines, which are related to weak market condition. Due to generously set thresholds for allocation adjustements installations can reduce their activity levels by half and still receive the full initial levels of free allocation over the 3<sup>rd</sup> period (DG CLIMA, 2011c). The implications can be described for the five Swedish newsprint mills mentioned above. Together these mills have an emission-to-allocation ratio below 20%; their verified emissions were 200,000 t CO<sub>2</sub> in 2012 and the free allocation is 1.25 M EUA in 2013. Despite decreased activity levels by 20-30%, from 2013 beyond, the full over-supply will remain.

To sum up, the combination of the historic activity level, the biased benchmark values and the generous rules for reduced activity levels are less suited for a sub-sector such as newsprint, which is under major structural transformation. Thus, over-allocations are likely to persist and be further enhanced in the PPI over the 3<sup>rd</sup> period.

## 5 Conclusions

The new allocation rules for the EU ETS have managed to reduce the allocation compared with the  $2^{nd}$  period, which was expected. However, this assessment shows that the new rules are not likely to put analysed sectors in short positions within the next few years, with the potential exception being the Swedish CEI. In the CEI the outcome is foremost due to the large production declines observed since 2005-2008. In the PPI the main reason for this outcome is the apparent inability of the benchmark rules to provide a stringent representation of the (fossil)  $CO_2$  emissions intensities in this heterogeneous sector where the biomass share of fuel-mix ranges from 0 to above 90% in different MS.

The EU harmonized allocation procedures are more easily adopted in homogeneous sectors. This assessment demonstrates large differences between the homogeneous CEI and the more difficult and

diverse PPI. The outcomes of the new allocation procedures in CEI are much more coherent than in PPI; the  $3^{rd}$  period allocation will result in stricter allocations to CEI in all three MS compared with the  $2^{nd}$  period allocation.

Another problem that has been highlighted is how to deal with structural change. In the PPI the problems with structural change is very relevant, while the CEI is expected to display a stable development. The EC has issued a set of rules and procedures for the treatment (i.e. adjustment of allocation) of closures, capacity reductions and partial cessation of operations. The compliance of MS and installations in all sectors will be essential to avoid subsidies and to successively increase the share of auctioned allowances.

For the current and future debate on structural reformation of the EU ETS, and for sharing experiences with other emerging emission trading systems in the world, it should be worth looking into how to solve problems with the free allocation based on harmonized benchmarks for a selected number of industries as one might expect that free allocation will continue to be used in some ways.

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