# Designing a Least-Cost Cap and Trade Mechanism for Limiting California's Greenhouse Gases

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#### Outline of Talk

- Inform discussion of construction of cap and trade mechanism to control GHGs caused by California's electricity consumption
- Characteristics of electricity and California electricity market
- Dispatch of electricity generation units located outside of California ISO control area
- Administrative costs of cap and trade mechanism

## California Electricity Facts

- Stylized facts about electricity in California
  - California obtains more than 20% of its energy from imports
  - California is part of electrically interconnected Western Electricity Coordinating Council (WECC)
- Physics of electricity delivery implies that it is impossible to tell which plant is selling to which customer
  - Electricity injected into network flows according to path of least resistance
  - Supply must equal demand at every instance in time and at every location in network
    - Automatic Generation Control (AGC) units ensure this is the case
- Bathtub model of electricity network
  - Suppliers inject electricity into network
  - Consumers withdraw electricity from network

#### NERC Regional Reliability Councils



## California Electricity Facts

- Many ways to create "source of electricity" consumed by a specific customer
- Historically generation unit "selling energy" to customer is created by a forward financial contract
  - Buy 200 MWh contract from generation unit
  - Verify that generation unit produced at least 200
    MWh during that hour
  - Generation unit is deemed to have delivered 200
    MWh of electricity to customer

# "Sources of Supply" to California

Table 2	2006 Gross	System	Power	(GSP)	in	Gigawatt Hours
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Fuel Type	In-State	NW	SW	GSP	GSP %
Coal	17,573	5,467	23,195	46,235	15.7%
Large					
Hydro	43,088	10,608	2,343	56,039	19.0%
Natural Gas	106,968	2,051	13,207	122,226	41.5%
Nuclear	31,959	556	5,635	38,150	12.9%
Renewables	30,514	1,122	579	32,215	10.9%
Biomass	5,735	430	120	6,285	2.1%
Geothermal	13,448	0	260	13,708	4.7%
Small Hydro	5,788	448	0	6,236	2.1%
Solar	616	0	0	616	0.2%
Wind	4,927	244	199	5,370	1.8%
Total	230,102	19,804	44,959	294,865	100.0%

Source: "2006 Net System Power Report," California Energy Commission Publication # CEC-300-2007-007.

# Electricity Supply in Rest of WECC

- Significant amount of hydroelectricity capacity in Pacific Northwest
  - Bonneville Power Administration has roughly 32,000 MW of hydro capacity
  - Significant amount of coal-fired units throughout WECC

	California	AZ-NM	OR-WA	Rest of	Total	% Total
				WECC	WECC	WECC
Large Hydro	29.6	6.9	101.5	17.5	155.5	23%
Nuclear	30.3	28.1	9.0	0	67.4	10%
Renewables	28.5	1.0	5.1	6.1	40.7	6%
Natural Gas	96.2	32.4	22.5	36.9	188	27%
Oil	3.4	< 1	.3	.2	3.9	1%
Coal	3.0	65.8	14.0	146.2	229	33%

Table 2: Energy Produced in 2004 by Major Fuel Source and Sub-Region (TWh)

• Source: Bushnell, Peterman, and Wolfram "California's Greenhouse Gas Policies: Local Solutions to a Global Problem?" CSEM WP 166.

# Electricity Supply in Rest of WECC

- Do California's GHG policies alone have any ability to influence which units outside of California operate and how intensively they operate them?
- Coal is low variable cost source electricity relative to natural gas-fired units at current natural gas prices
  - Will operate if rest of WECC does adopt GHG policies that price GHG emissions
- Nuclear and renewables will operate if available
- Can California alone impact which natural gas and oil-fired units operate outside of California?
  - Neighboring control areas want to dispatch units in least cost manner which implies most efficient gas-fired units will operate outside of California

# Electricity Supply in Rest of WECC

- Conclusion: California's GHG policies will have little if any impact on how electricity outside of California is produced
- California only source-based approach to GHG emissions has lower administrative and compliance costs than load-based approach
  - Set cap on overall amount GHG produced by units located in California
    - Can achieve tangible verifiable goals
- Work to bring more WECC states into sourcebased cap

#### Cap and Trade versus Carbon Tax

- Investors want price certainty into distant future for GHG emissions to justify investments in control technologies
  - GHG tax provides this price certainty
- Cap and trade mechanisms typically yield volatile prices for GHG emissions allowances
  - Dulls incentive to invest in GHG-reducing technologies
  - Greater price volatility implies higher probability that investment in GHG control technology will be ex post unprofitable

Protecting Against Permit Price Volatility with Cap and Trade Mechanisms

#### Cap and Trade Program

- Cap and trade program sets an overall cap on GHCs
  - Create a scarcity price of GHCs emissions allowances
- Currently supply of GHC emissions exceeds demand to emit which implies a zero price



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## The Best of Both Worlds

- California should consider rising floor and ceiling on price of GHG permits
  - Set nominal price floor that increases at rate of price inflation
  - Set nominal price ceiling that increases at rate higher than rate of price inflation
- Price floor enforced by state standing ready to purchase GHGs if price falls below floor
  - A floor of \$20/ton of carbon implies that a household could purchase their annual carbon production from electricity, driving and flying (~10 tons per year) for around \$200
- Price ceiling enforced by state standing ready to issue permits at this price ceiling
- Price ceiling and price floor provide certainly to producers of GHG to allow them to justify investment in GHG reducing technologies

# Auctions versus Allocation of Permits

# Who Should Get Permits?

- Allocation of permits to producers of electricity at start of market can transfer significant financial wealth
  - Can then use permits to raise electricity prices as appears to have been the case in California and Europe
- Permits could be allocated to consumers of electricity
  - Producers would then purchase them from consumers and raise electricity prices
  - Mitigates wealth transfer associated with higher electricity prices
- Trading potentially extremely valuable right similar to financial assets
  - Need similar rules governing market participant behavior as in securities markets
- Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) or Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) oversight of permit market

# The European Experience

- Experience of European Union with GHG permits
  - European governments handed out many permits to firms in their countries
    - More permits than GHG emissions in 2006
  - Prices were initially high because market participants didn't know how many there were
- *The Economist* magazine argues that only beneficiary of program is electricity suppliers in Europe who were able to increase price of all electricity they sold because of permit prices
  - This could have been anticipated from California experience



Permits can enhance market power or inefficiencies in downstream industries that use fossil fuels—RECLAIM market experience

# Scalability of Market Mechanism

- Achieve modest positive and predictable price of GHG emissions into distant future
  - Many rigorous estimates of cost achieving various GHG reductions
  - Use these cost estimates to set ceiling and floor on GHG emission permit prices
- Demonstrate the trading of GHG emissions permits yields lower cost solution to achieving market-wide GHG reduction goals
  - Encourage countries to join mechanism
  - China can sell permits to US and EU GHG producers
    - Recall carbon intensity of output in China versus US
    - EU carbon intensity of output even lower than US
- High initial cost of compliance will only discourage other jurisdictions from joining and may increase GHG emissions
  - Recall long term nature of problem and solution

Questions/Comments For more information http://www.stanford.edu/~wolak