

The Allowance Mechanism of China's Carbon Trading Pilots: A Comparative Analysis with Schemes in EU and California

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The Allowance Mechanism of China's Carbon Trading Pilots: A Comparative Analysis with Schemes in EU and California*

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Abstract: The allowance mechanism is one of the core and sensitive aspects in the design of a carbon emissions trading scheme and affects the compliance cost for each entity covered under the scheme. By examining China's allowance mechanism from two aspects—allowance allocation and allowance distribution, this paper compares China's carbon trading pilots with the EU Emissions Trading Scheme and California Cap-and-Trade Program. The comparison identifies the unique features in allowance mechanism and particular issues that affect the efficiency of the pilots. The paper also recommends courses of action to strengthen China's existing pilots and to build valuable experiences for the establishment of the national cap-and-trade system in China.

Keywords: China carbon trading pilot; cap-and-trade; ETS; allowance allocation; climate change

1. Introduction

Due to its rapid economic expansion over the last decade, China has become the world's largest energy consumer and greenhouse gas (GHG) emitter. With growing resources and environmental constraints domestically and the need to meet international commitments for GHG emissions abatement, China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) launched a series of local carbon emissions trading pilots in seven provinces and cities including Shenzhen, Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Chongqing, Guangdong, and Hubei [1], which started operation between 2013 and 2014.

The world's oldest carbon trading scheme is the European Union Emission Trading System (EU ETS), which came into effect in 2005. One of the most widely debated aspects of the EU ETS has been the emissions allowances mechanism for covered installations. Sijm et al. [2] has pointed out that where companies pass on the opportunity costs of pollution licenses into consumer prices, 100% free allocation leads to windfall profits for polluting industry. Benz et al. [3] has argued that a higher share of initial auctioning is better for aggregate welfare, because it pre-empts rent-seeking lobbying costs over the initial division of allowances. Furthermore, Pahle et al. [4] and Golombek et al. [5] have found that the combination of grandfathering and windfall profits in the power sector was distortionary for investments in new power plant capacity. For the decentralized National Allocation Plan (NAP) approach in Phases 1 and 2 of EU ETS, free allocation methodologies under the NAPs were also found to be poorly harmonized across EU due to the high degree of discretion exercised by its Member States [6]. Sartor et al. [7] provided an analysis of the new allocation rules based on historical production multiplied by benchmarks in Phase 3, which showed that the new rules had reduced the scope for windfall gains by participating firms in EU ETS while also effectively mitigating carbon leakage risks.

California's Cap-and-Trade program (CA CAT) is the only economy-wide carbon trading scheme to be enacted so far in the US and is set to become the world's second largest carbon market behind the EU ETS [8]. Shen et al. [9] reviewed the Californian scheme and drew insights for China's pilots from various perspectives including the legal basis, institutional arrangement, program structure and allowance mechanism. Zuckerman et al. [10] identified barriers to cost-effective abatement by industrial firms under the Cap and Trade Program in California, and policy levers that could address those barriers. Schmalensee and Stavins [11] examined the design and performance of California's Cap-and

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47 -Trade system and argued that the system has demonstrated that an initial free allowance allocation
48 aimed at fostering political support can be successfully transitioned over time to greater auctioning of
49 allowances.

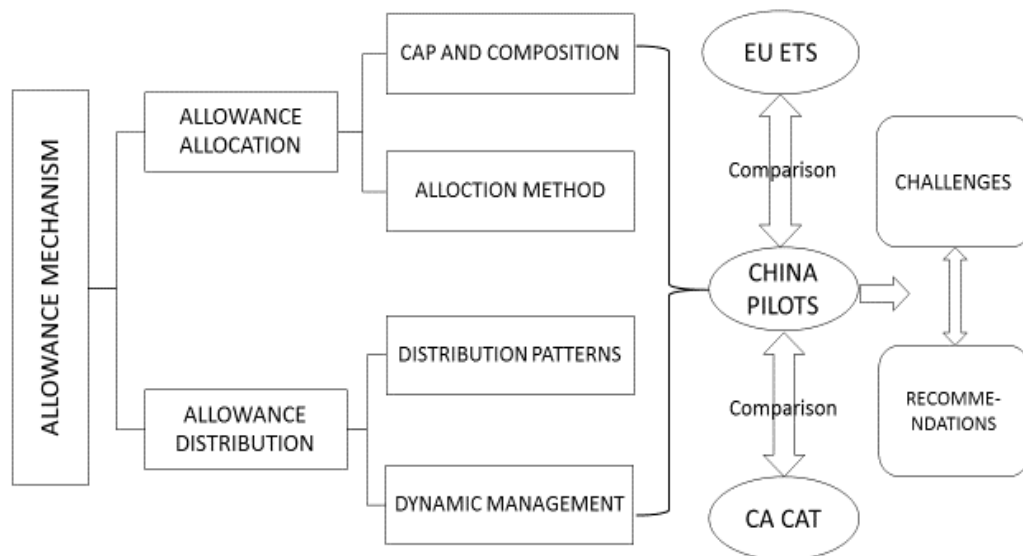
50 The design of the Chinese carbon trading pilots has been studied by a number of researchers. Han et
51 al. [12] and Lo [13] assessed the preparation of the pilots and argued that due to the great difficulties and
52 large scale there would be a tremendous challenges, both practically and theoretically, for the emissions
53 trading in China. Jotzo and Löschel [14], Zhang et al. [15], and Liu et al. [16] conducted a general
54 assessment of China's seven carbon trading pilots, while several other researchers examined specific
55 pilots including their institutional structures and design features, such as Jiang et al. [17] for Shenzhen,
56 Wu et al. [18] and Liao et al. [19] for Shanghai, and Qi et al. [20] for Hubei. To investigate the impact of
57 carbon allowance rules, Zhang et al. [21] used the multi-stage profit model and proposed that under the
58 rules of grandfathering, enterprises covered by an ETS may maximize current profits; however, under
59 the rule of benchmarking, those enterprises may care more about the effect of current decisions on the
60 future profits. Tang et al. [22] formulated a multi-agent-based model and argued that the grandfathering
61 rule is relatively moderate, while the benchmarking rule is more aggressive. To further discuss the
62 issues about China's national carbon market, Zhou et al. [23] and Cui et al. [24] have constructed an
63 interprovincial carbon emissions trading model to evaluate its economic performance and the
64 cost-saving effects. Hong et al. [25] developed a decision support model for establishing benchmarks as
65 a tool for free allocation in the construction industry, and Xu et al. [26] proposed an alternative method
66 derived from Boltzmann distribution to estimate the allowances in the power generation industry.

67 Except for Pang and Duan [27], the existing literature has seldom focused on the design details of the
68 allowance mechanism in China's pilots. Despite a detailed introduction to the methods for allowance
69 allocation adopted by the pilots, Pang and Duan [27] has neither made a comparison with allowance
70 allocation strategies in the international trading schemes nor given a discussion in pointing out the
71 problems and challenges facing China's pilots. As one of the core components in a carbon trading
72 scheme, however, the allowance mechanism affects the compliance responsibility and cost of each
73 covered entity. It is always the most sensitive topic that attracts great attention from the research
74 community, policy makers, and covered entities. Therefore, this paper sets to address the gap by
75 conducting a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the allowance mechanism in China's carbon
76 trading pilots. Through comparing China's pilots with EU ETS and CA CAT, our analysis will focus on
77 allowance cap, allowance composition, allowance allocation method, and distribution and dynamic
78 management of allowances.

79 This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we summarize the analysis framework and
80 methodology used in this study on allowance mechanism of China's seven ETS pilots. In Section 3, we
81 provide a comparative analysis of the allowance allocation mechanism of the China's ETS pilots with
82 EU ETS and CA CAT. In Section 4, we examine the allowance distribution mechanism of the China's
83 ETS pilots. In Section 5, we discuss some key issues facing the allowance mechanism of China's pilots
84 and provide a set of recommendations. The conclusions are given in Section 6.

85 2. Framework and methodology

86 The analysis of the allowances mechanism of China's carbon trading pilots focuses on two aspects -
87 the allowance allocation and distribution of allowances. The allowance allocation determines how the
88 total emission cap and composition of emission allowances is set and how emission allowances under
89 the total cap are calculated for covered entities. The distribution of allowances deals with the allotment
90 of calculated allowances to participating entities and the dynamic management of these allowances in
91 the post-distribution period. They are the two essential and interconnected parts of the carbon
92 allowance system. In this study, we compare the allowance systems in terms of both allowance
93 allocation and distribution in China's pilots with those in EU ETS and CA CAT. Figure 1 shows the
94 analytical framework we developed to guide the analysis of the carbon allowance mechanism in China
95 ETS pilots.



97

98

Fig.1. Analytical framework for comparative analysis of the allowance mechanism in China ETS pilots

99 Our analysis is based on the information we obtained from the government documents, research
 100 literature and expert interviews. The government documents include the EU directives and related
 101 explanatory documents about the EU ETS, the California state law and Air Resource Board files posted
 102 at its web-site on the cap-and-trade scheme, and the China's NDRC regulations and local DRC
 103 administrative measures governing seven carbon trading pilots. In addition to the desk-top research, we
 104 conducted 25 in-person interviews with policy makers and emission-trading experts from the EU,
 105 California, and China pilot provinces and cities. The interviewees include four experts at the California
 106 Air Resource Board (CARB), two policy officers at Directorate-General for Climate Action of
 107 European commission, two managing consultants at ECOFYS and two consultants at the Center for
 108 Clean Air Policy (CCAP), two policy officers at DRC of China's Hubei Province, two managing
 109 experts at Hubei Emission Exchange, two researchers at Tsinghua University in Beijing, one policy
 110 officer at DRC and two managing experts at Environment and Energy Exchange in Shanghai , one
 111 policy officer at DRC and one researcher at Guangzhou Energy Strategy Research Center in
 112 Guangdong, one researcher and one managing expert at Tianjin Emission Exchange, one managing
 113 expert at Shenzhen Emission Exchange, and one managing expert at Chongqing United Assets and
 114 Equity Exchange Group. The interview for CARB experts was conducted when the authors visited
 115 CARB, and the interviews for EU, ECOFYS and CCAP experts were conducted during their visit in
 116 Beijing and Hubei. For the expert interview of China's carbon trading pilots, it was conducted when the
 117 experts visited Hubei or authors visited the pilot.

118 3. Comparative analysis of allowance allocation between EU ETS ,CA CAT and China's pilots

119 3.1 Comparative analysis of emission caps and composition of allowances

120 3.1.1 The emission caps and composition of allowances in EU ETS and CA CAT

121 The EU ETS has decreasing total emissions caps over its three phases. From the first (2005-2007)
 122 phase to the second (2008-2012), the total cap declines from 2,181 million allowances to 2,083 million
 123 per year [28]. Starting from phase 3 (2013-2020), the cap decreases each year by 1.74% of the average
 124 total quantity of allowances issued annually in 2008-2012 to 1,720 million allowances in 2020 [29].In
 125 the EU ETS, there are two types of allowances being allocated: one for the existing facilities and the
 126 other for new capacity.

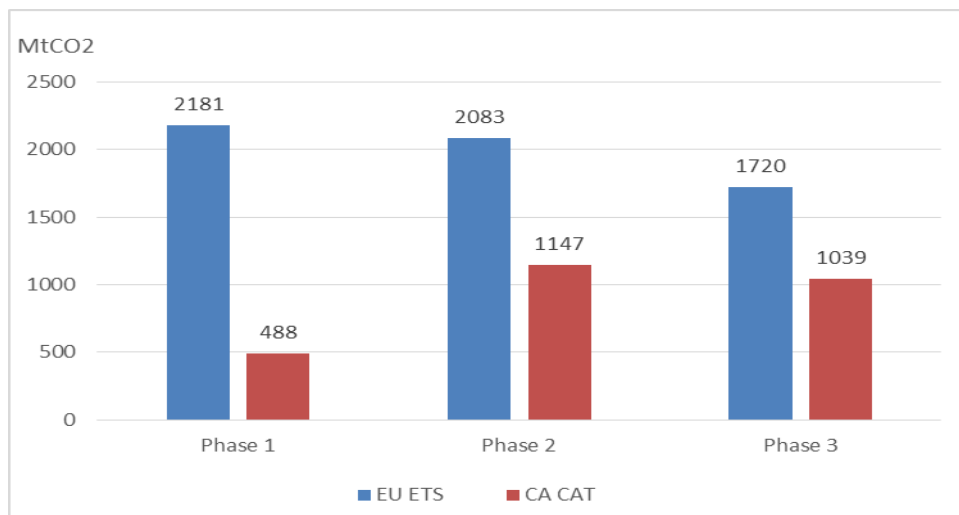
127 Similar to the EU ETS, the CA CAT also has declining emissions caps over time at pre-determined
 128 rates for the covered entities[‡], which are set at about 2% below the emission level of the previous year in
 129 the initial compliance period (2012-2014) and at 3% annually for the second (2015-2017) and third
 130 (2018-2020) compliance periods [30]. In the three separate compliance periods in the CA CAT, the total
 131 allowance caps are set at 488 million, 1,147 million, and 1,039 million allowances, respectively [31].
 132 Different from EU ETS, the CA CAT set aside a certain number of allowances serving as the allowance
 133 price containment reserve to ensure that the auction prices for allowances are kept in an acceptable
 134 range.

135 *3.1.2 Comparative analysis of emission caps and composition of allowances in China's pilots*

136 In China, caps and allowance compositions are quite different among different pilots due to the
 137 various economic structures of these provinces and cities. As shown in Figure 2, in 2013 the local
 138 emission cap ranges from the lowest of 33 million tonnes in Shenzhen to the highest of 388 million
 139 tonnes in Guangdong [32]. In spite of smallest cap, however, the scale of 635 covered entities in
 140 Shenzhen is much greater than that of 184 covered entities in Guangdong. This reflects the significant
 141 difference in economic structures: Shenzhen's economy is largely service oriented while the economy in
 142 Guangdong relies heavily on energy-intensive heavy industry that emits a large amount of carbon
 143 dioxide. Over the same pilot period (2013-2015), caps in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Shenzhen have
 144 been designed to remain unchanged while Guangdong has increased the cap from 388 million to 408
 145 million tonnes to allow industrial facilities to increase their product [33], Hubei has decreased the cap
 146 from 324 million to 281 million tonnes to adapt to the changing economic growth [34], and Chongqing
 147 would reduce its cap by 4.13% per year [35]. Figure 2 shows the respective caps and numbers of
 148 covered entities in China's seven carbon trading pilots.

149 In a developing economy like China, carbon trading pilots are designed differently than the EU ETS
 150 and CA CAT and have taken into consideration the local needs for economic expansion and
 151 industrialization. As a result, Beijing, Shenzhen, Guangdong, and Hubei have divided their allowances
 152 into three parts including separate quotas respectively for existing facilities, production expansion, and
 153 for potential adjustment, and Shanghai and Tianjin divides the allowances allocation into existing
 154 facilities and new production. Only in Chongqing, all allowances are allocated to existing facilities with
 155 no consideration for production expansion.

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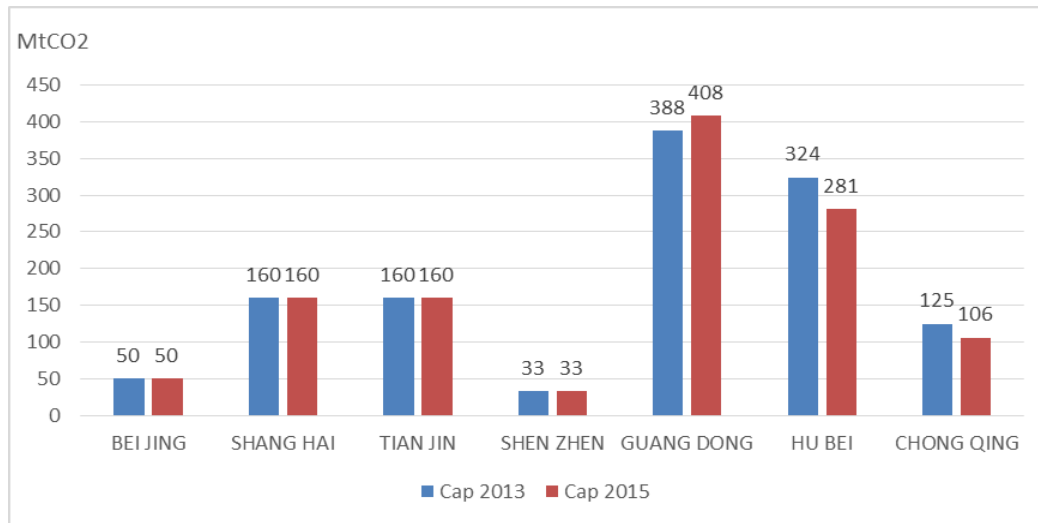


157

158 Source: Ellerman et al. (2010), EC (2009,2012), CARB (2010,2011).

159 Fig. 2. The declining caps of the EU ETS and the CA CAT

[‡] In China's pilots, entities subject to emission caps are called enterprises while these entities are called installations in CA and EU ETS. In this paper, we use the name "covered entities" in referring to the entities subject to emission caps.



161

162

Source: China's carbon trading pilots management rules and allocation plans and SinoCarbon (2014).

163

Fig. 3. The Caps of China's carbon trading pilots in 2013 and 2015

164

3.2 Comparative analysis of allowance allocation methods

165

3.2.1 The allowance allocation methods in EU ETS and CA CAT

166

During the initial implementation of EU ETS, allowance allocation was conducted mainly based on a grandfathering rule, focusing on historical emissions from existing facilities due to issues such as data availability and political feasibility [28]. With the development of the trading scheme and accumulation of emissions data, however, the EU ETS has switched its allocation method to using benchmarks in the third phase and established a benchmarking system that includes 52 types of product benchmarks and various benchmarks for fuels, heat, and production processes. The allowances allocated to each installation for each of its eligible products are determined by four elements: product benchmark, historical production, carbon leakage factor, and cap adjustment factor. The basic formula can be summarized as follows [36]:

167

$$FA_{i,p,t} = BM_p \times HAL_{i,p} \times CLEF_{p,t} \times CSCF_t \quad (1)$$

168

Where $FA_{i,p,t}$ is the total free allocation that entity i receives for its product p in year t . BM_p is the product emissions-intensity benchmark for product p . It is generally measured in tonnes of CO_2 per unit of output, and is based on the average emissions intensity of the 10% most efficient facilities in the EU ETS in 2007-08 [37]. If there is no corresponding product benchmark available, a fallback methodology is used as an alternative [38]. $HAL_{i,p}$ is the reference historical activity (production) level of product p by entity i , and the entity is allowed to choose the highest value of the 2005-08 and 2009-10 medians. $CLEF_{p,t}$ in formula (1) is an allocation reduction factor that is applied to a small minority of products that are not considered to be at risk of carbon leakage, and $CSCF_t$ is a uniform, cross-sectoral correction factor that can be applied to ensure that the total free allocation will not exceed the maximum annual amount of free allocation as defined.

169

In the CA CAT, allowance allocation adopts the benchmarking approach with a benchmark system that consists of 28 different types of products and three fallback benchmark values [31]. For the covered facilities under the CA CAT, the number of allowances is allocated based on the consideration of the following factors: benchmark, three-year moving average output, industrial leakage factor, and cap decline factor. The basic equation for allocation based on product-based benchmarks can be summarized as follows ..

170

$$A_i = \sum_{a=1}^n B_a \times Output_{a,t} \times AF_{L,t} \times c_t \quad (2)$$

171

Where A_i is the number of allowances a covered entity will receive in a given year. In equation (2), the B_a term is the benchmark based on 90% of weighted average or best-in-class emission intensity level for each production activity, which remains fixed in time. The $Output_{a,t}$ term is an annually-updated three-year moving average of product output for each activity. The assistance factor, $AF_{L,t}$ is assigned based on an industry's leakage risk. The cap decline factor, c_t reflects the decreasing total level of allowances available over time relative to the initial 2012 narrow-scope cap [31]. Unlike the EU ETS,

172

199 the fallback method in the CA CAT is based on energy (electricity, fuel, and heat) rather than the
200 production processes.

201 To sum up, through establishing their respective benchmarking systems, the EU and California not
202 only provide fair incentives for cutting greenhouse gases emissions and encouraging energy efficiency
203 improvement, but also effectively protect their industry threatened by international competition.
204 Comparatively speaking, the benchmarking systems of CA CAT is more stringent than that of EU ETS.

205 3.2.2 Comparative analysis of the allowance allocation methods in China's pilots

206 (1) Beijing and Tianjin pilots: historical emissions + historical carbon intensity + industrial
207 benchmarks

208 As shown in Table 1, Beijing and Tianjin adopt a method that combines historical emissions,
209 historical carbon intensity, and industrial benchmarks. In northern China, the facilities that provide
210 electricity and heating are very important for household winter heating, and the quantity of output
211 cannot independently be determined by the covered entities. Therefore, Beijing and Tianjin pilots
212 utilize a unique method of "historical average carbon intensity" to allocate allowances for the industry
213 [39][40].

214 On the one side, this method of considering of historical carbon intensity can ensure that the facilities
215 that provide electricity and heating remain stable and accountable, because the allowances allocated to
216 them are dependent on their own historical average carbon intensity multiplied by actual supply. On the
217 other side, the method is designed to encourage enterprises to at least keep or reduce their carbon
218 intensity to avoid additional emission cost. For the existing facilities and new entrants in sectors other
219 than providing electricity and heat in Beijing and Tianjin, the historical emissions and industrial
220 benchmarks are considered to allocate allowances.

221 (2) Shanghai pilot: historical emissions + industrial benchmarks + early abatement incentive +
222 rolling baseline year

223 By considering early abatement incentives, the Shanghai pilot has made an adjustment to the pure
224 grandfathering based on historical emissions to allow early movers on reducing carbon emissions to
225 receive credits for their efforts. Moreover, the Shanghai pilot has also adopted a "rolling baseline year"
226 to allow enterprises to use the latest year's data if emissions increased over 50% from 2009 to 2011 to
227 calculate their allowances [41]. These adjustments are designed to make allowances allocation fairer
228 and more realistic. In Shanghai pilot, the benchmarking is utilized for allowances allocation in the
229 industry with a single product or business, such as power production as well as aviation, airport and port
230 because it is relatively easy to set the benchmark. However, one difference from EU ETS or CA CAT is
231 that the Shanghai pilot has divided the power generators into six types by setting a corresponding
232 benchmark for each one.

233 (3) Guangdong and Hubei pilots: historical emissions + industrial benchmarks + rolling baseline
234 year

235 Similar to the Shanghai pilot, Guangdong and Hubei pilots combine historical emissions with a
236 rolling baseline year and industrial benchmarks but do not have the early abatement incentives like what
237 Shanghai does. However, the industrial benchmarking is only applied in certain industrial process. For
238 example, in the Guangdong pilot, allowances for the cement clinker production and cement grinding
239 process are calculated by using benchmarking, while allowances allocated for cement mining and
240 another grinding process is allocated by historical emissions methodology [42]. As for the power
241 production in the Hubei pilot, allowances are divided into two categories. One consists of the
242 pre-distribution allowances, which are equal to the 50% of the historical emissions after adjustment
243 using a total adjustment factor and another is the adjusted allowances that are allocated to the power
244 producers that generate more than the pre-distribution [43]. Pre-distribution allowances are determined
245 using the historical emissions method while the calculation of adjusted allowances is based on the
246 industrial benchmarking.

247

248
249

Table 1
Comparison of allocation methods in China's carbon trading pilots, EU ETS and CA CAT

Region	Historical emissions		Historical intensity		Benchmarking	
	Coverage	Allocation formula	Coverage	Allocation formula	Coverage	Allocation formula
BEI JING	existing facilities of manufacturing, other industrial and service sectors	historical average emissions \times decline coefficient	existing facilities in electricity and heat	historical average carbon intensity \times power (or heat) supply \times decline coefficient	new production of the covered industries	Industrial benchmark \times output
SHANG HAI	industrial sectors other than electricity; shopping malls, hotels, commercial buildings, and railway station	historical emissions base + early abatement incentives	none	none	electricity, aviation, airport and port sectors	Industrial benchmark \times generated electricity \times load correction factor; Industrial benchmark \times business volume + early abatement incentives
TIAN JIN	existing facilities of iron & steel, chemical, petrochemical, oil and gas extraction	historical emissions base \times performance coefficient \times industrial emission control factor	existing facilities in electricity and heat	historical average carbon emissions of per unit power (or heat) \times power supply (or heat)	new production of the covered industries	Industrial benchmark \times output
CHONG QING	Aluminum, metal alloys, calcium carbide, cement, steel, caustic soda	the highest of historical annual emissions	none	none	none	none
SHEN ZHEN	none	none	none	none	electricity, water, gas, construction and manufacturing	Industrial benchmark \times output
GUANG DONG	cogeneration, cement mining and other grinding processes, petrochemical, short process steel	historical average emissions \times decline coefficient	none	none	pure power generation, cement clinker production and grinding process, long process steel	benchmark \times historical average output \times decline coefficient
HU BEI	pre-allocated quota of power enterprises; industrial enterprises	historical emissions base \times cap adjustment factor	none	none	ex-post adjustment quotas of electricity producers	Industrial benchmark \times excess or shortage of generated electricity
EU ETS Phase1 & Phase2	power, petrochemical, iron and steel, building materials, paper, aviation	historical average emissions	none	none	new production of the covered industries	Product benchmark \times production capacity
EU ETS Phase3	none	none	none	none	electricity, paper, petrochemical, iron and steel, building materials, chemicals, aviation, aluminum	Product benchmark \times median of historical production \times carbon leakage factor \times cap adjustment factor
CA CAT	none	none	none	none	electricity, oil refining, oil and gas, glass, food processing, cement transportation	Product benchmark \times three-year moving average output \times industrial leakage factor \times cap decline factor

250 Source: Ecofys (2009), EC (2011,2012), CARB (2010,2011), SinoCarbon (2014) and China's carbon trading pilots' management
251 rules and allocation plans.

252 (4) Shenzhen pilot: multi-round game + industrial benchmarking

253 Compared with EU ETS, CA CAT, and the other six pilots in China, the Shenzhen pilot has taken a
254 different approach in allocating the allowances. Shenzhen combines the multi-round game and
255 industrial benchmarking, and utilizes the first method in allocating free allowances to manufacturing
256 enterprises while applying the benchmarking to power and water supply companies [44]. For the
257 manufacturing industry, due largely to a large number of sub-sectors covered by the emissions trading
258 and their big production fluctuation, it is rather difficult for the pilot administration to predict the
259 changes in allowances for meeting the future needs of the enterprises, thus, Shenzhen has designed the
260 multi-round game among participating enterprises to allocate allowances Through the effective design
261 of collective restriction rule, the stimulus and punishment rule, and the information communication
262 mechanism, the pilot administrator can ensure the realization of the carbon emission and carbon
263 intensity reduction targets, and simultaneously encourage covered entities to tell the truth about their
264 carbon emissions and outputs [45].

265 (5) Chongqing pilot: allocation based on self-declaration of covered entities

266 In the Chongqing pilot, the administrator upholds a fairly liberal view that enterprises know their own
267 emissions best, and the government should minimize the intervention to the enterprise. Thus,
268 Chongqing allocates the allowances through self-declaration by enterprises in which the individual
269 amount of allowances is requested by the enterprise itself, while the government is responsible for
270 controlling the total annual allowances (the cap) initially set at the highest total annual emissions of
271 covered entities in 2008-2012 and making the total number of allowances shrinking by 4.13% per year
272 through 2015. Although the self-declaration provides the covered entities with significant freedom, the
273 approach can create more risks that the dishonest will gain in the cost of honest enterprises. It could
274 also prevent from building a dynamic trading scheme and creating right carbon prices.

275 Seven China's pilots have designed various approaches in allocating their allowances. When
276 designing their methods, these pilots have to balance various considerations including continuing
277 economic growth, fast industrial transition, competitiveness, and control of carbon emissions. In the
278 lack of both preparation time and sufficient and reliable emissions data, China's carbon trading pilots
279 mainly rely on historical emissions and carbon intensity with limited benchmarking in allocating their
280 allowances. From the perspective of fairness and achieving emissions reduction, the Shanghai pilot is
281 better than other pilots in terms of allocation. Compared to EU ETS and CA CAT, however, the number
282 of sectors and entities affected by benchmarking in the Shanghai pilot is rather small, and the stringency
283 of the benchmarks needs to be improved.

284 **4 Comparative analysis of allowance distribution between EU ETS ,CA CAT and China's** 285 **pilots**

286 *4.1 Comparative analysis of allowance distribution*

287 *4.1.1 Allowance distribution in EU ETS and CA CAT*

288 In the EU ETS, allowances are distributed to covered entities mainly through free distribution and
289 competitive auction. In its initial phases, in order to attract enterprises to actively participate in the
290 trading system, the EU primarily employed free distribution that accounted for over 95% of the total
291 allowances, while the proportion of competitive auction was below 5% [28]. Starting in the second
292 phase, the proportion of the auction had increased, but is still limited to 10%. The problem with free
293 distribution is obvious and serious. It allows certain business such as power generation companies to
294 obtain a large number of "windfall" gains. Therefore, from the third phase, the European Commission
295 made a change to auction at least 50% of the total permits in sectors other than the energy industry in
296 which permits were obtained 100% through the auction in 2013 [46].

297 In the CA CAT, its allowance distribution is a combination of free distribution, auction, and fixed
298 price sale. Most Californian industrial facilities received free allowances in the initial stage, but the
299 proportion of the subsequent free allowances will vary across different industries depending on the
300 degree of carbon leakage risk in different sectors. For example, high-risk industries will receive 100%
301 free allowances in all three compliance periods while the middle-risk and low-risk sectors will receive a
302 descending number of free allowances [31], as shown in Table 2. On the contrary, the proportion of the
303 allowances to be auctioned will continue to rise. CA CAT is quite unique in auctioning allowances.
304 There are three types of auction including current allowances auction, advance allowances auction, and
305 consignment auction. In addition, CA CAT also sets aside a number of allowances to create an
306 *Allowance Price Containment Reserve* that can be offered through reserve sales at a set price that is
307 adjusted annually with a 5% increase plus inflation.

308 *4.1.2 Comparative analysis of allowance distribution in China's pilots*

309 (1) Beijing, Shenzhen, and Hubei pilots: free distribution + auction + fixed price sale.

310 Similar to the CA CAT, China’s carbon trading pilots in Beijing, Shenzhen, and Hubei utilize a
 311 mixed approach to distribute their allowances, but the proportion of free distribution in these pilots are
 312 no less than 90%. Furthermore, Beijing has set aside up to 5% of total annual allowances as a reserve
 313 which is distributed through an auction or fix price sale in order to stabilize the carbon trading prices
 314 [47]; Shenzhen stipulates that the allowances distributed by auction should not be less than 3% of total
 315 annual allowances and the reserve allowances must be sold at a set price [44]; Hubei reserves no more
 316 than 10% of the total annual allowances, of which 3% are used for price discovery by public auction
 317 and the rest are used for stabilizing the market through fix price sale [48], as shown in Table 2. Despite
 318 the very small number of allowances distributed with auction or sale, the objective is to give pilot
 319 administrators the means and flexibility in making necessary adjustment to the carbon trading markets.

320 (2) Guangdong pilot: free distribution + auction

321 Similar to the EU ETS, the Guangdong pilot has instituted a combination of free distribution and
 322 auction. In encouraging covered entities to actively participate in its carbon trading and pursuing
 323 energy-saving retrofits and emissions reduction, Guangdong has placed a mandate requiring that in the
 324 first year of compliance (2013-2014), all covered entities would not receive their 97% of allocated
 325 free allowances until they completed 3% of auctioned allowances [42]. In addition, the reserve
 326 allowances set for stabilizing the trading market will only be distributed through an auction.

327 (3) Shanghai, Tianjin, and Chongqing pilots: complete free distribution

328 In Shanghai, Tianjin, and Chongqing pilots, allowances are distributed to the covered entities
 329 completely free. For Shanghai, in the period from 2013 to 2015 all allowances will be freely distributed
 330 in one round, but future allowances will be auctioned at an unspecified later time. For Tianjin, although
 331 allowance distribution such as auctioning is in the plan document over time, during the pilot period
 332 however all allowances would be distributed completely free. In the Chongqing pilot, there are no other
 333 plans other than free distribution.

334 In order to establish the initial carbon market and attract enterprises to actively participate in trading,
 335 China's carbon trading pilots have all taken a more realistic approach for getting the allowances
 336 distributed through primarily using free distribution with auction and fixed price sale as the supplement.
 337 The distribution adopted by the China’s pilots is very similar to that of EU ETS and CA CAT in their
 338 early phase, which aim at getting more business support and political acceptance. But, at the later
 339 phases, the EU and California have both shifted the distribution from free to competitive auction.
 340 Although some carbon pilots -- for instance Guangdong, Hubei and Shenzhen -- use auction to
 341 distribute allowances, the proportion of auctioned allowances is too small to have any meaningful
 342 impacts on the cap-and-trade markets.

343 Table 2
 344 Allowance distribution in China’s carbon trading pilots, EU ETS, and CA CAT

Distribution Patterns	China’s Carbon Trading Pilots							EU ETS			CA CAT		
	BJ	SH	TJ	SZ	CQ	GD	HB	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Free distribution	≥ 95%	100%	100%	≤ 95%	100%	≤ 97%	≥ 90%	≥ 95%	≥ 90%	≤ 50%	H:100% L:100%	H:100% L:50%	H:100% L:30%
Competitive auction	< 5%	0%	0%	≥ 3%	0%	≥ 3%	≤ 3%	≤ 5%	≤ 10%	≥ 50%	H:0% M:0% L:0%	H:0% M:25% L:50%	H:0% M:50% L:70%
Fixed price sale	< 5%	0%	0%	≥ 2%	0%	0%	< 7%	0%	0%	0%	≤ 1%	≤ 4%	≤ 7%

345 Note: “H” represents high-level risk of carbon leakage, “M” represents middle-level risk of carbon leakage, “L” represents low
 346 risk of carbon leakage.

347 Source: Ecofys (2009), EC (2011, 2012), CARB (2010, 2011), SinoCarbon (2014), and relevant management rules and allocation
 348 plans of individual Chinese carbon trading pilots.

349 4.2 Comparative analysis on dynamic management of distributed allowances

350 4.2.1 Dynamic management of allowances in EU ETS and CA CAT

351 Compared with China where the economy is experiencing a rapid growth, economic growth in the EU
352 and the U.S. is at a much slower pace. With no significant changes in economic output and more reliable
353 emissions data available in EU and California, it is relatively easy to manage allowances in normal
354 situation. However, the unexpected economic crisis in EU has created a large surplus of allowances in
355 its ETS, depressing the clearing price in the trading market, which results in much weaker desire for
356 businesses to reduce carbon emissions. To address this dilemma, the European Commission has taken
357 the “back-loading” of auctions as short-term solution and created a market stability reserve as a
358 long-term measure. The “back-loading” of auctions was implemented through an amendment to the EU
359 ETS Auctioning Regulation, and postponed the auctioning of 900 million allowances planned for
360 2014-2016 until 2019-2020 [49]. According to the Regulation, the Market Stability Reserve shall be
361 established in 2018 to improve the ETS’ resilience to major shocks by adjusting the supply of
362 allowances to be auctioned, and the placing of allowances in the reserve shall operate from 1 January
363 2019 [50].

364 In order to maintain production activities in California, the CA CAT adopted the product-based
365 benchmarking approach as shown in Table 1, because the amount of allowances received in the future is
366 dependent on continued California output [31]. The product-based benchmarking, which can utilize
367 product output measurements from data gathered on an ongoing basis, is typically called ex post
368 adjustments to the allocation. Besides, the CA CAT has already created the allowances reserve for
369 strengthening market stability.

370 *4.2.2 Comparative analysis of the dynamic management of allowances in China’s pilots*

371 In China’s carbon trading pilots, a large discrepancy between allocated allowances and enterprises’
372 actual emissions exists due to the fast changes in China’s economic output, lack of transparent
373 production information, and incomplete emissions data. It is therefore important for the designers of the
374 China’s pilots to develop necessary measures to adjust allowances to prevent enterprises from having a
375 serious shortage or surplus of allowances.

376 China’s carbon trading pilots have thus designed an important mechanism using the ex-post dynamic
377 tune-up feature. For example, in the Hubei pilot, if an enterprise’s actual emissions increase or decrease
378 by 20% from the allocated allowances, the program administrator will add (if actual emissions went up)
379 or take back (if actual emissions decreased) the difference between the actual emissions and the upper or
380 lower 20% of pre-allocated allowances [43]. Similarly, the Chongqing pilot also includes an ex-post
381 adjustment measure, but the range of upward or downward adjustment is limited to 8% [35]. For the
382 electricity and heat generation sectors, all the seven pilots have pre-allocated free allowances to
383 enterprises before the compliance period begins, then excessive allowances will be taken back, and
384 shortfall will be made up for covered enterprises when the compliance period ends [27]. In addition,
385 Beijing, Shenzhen, Guangdong, and Hubei pilots have also set up an allowances reserve for adjusting
386 the number of allowances in the market.

387 To avoid the early problem in EU ETS of flooding the trading market with excessive number of
388 allowances, both CA CAT and China’s carbon trading pilots have established certain mechanisms for
389 adjusting and controlling the number of allowances in the market. It is clear that creating some types of
390 ex-post adjustment or dynamic management mechanism could provide great flexibility in dealing with
391 the uncertainty of an emissions trading market.

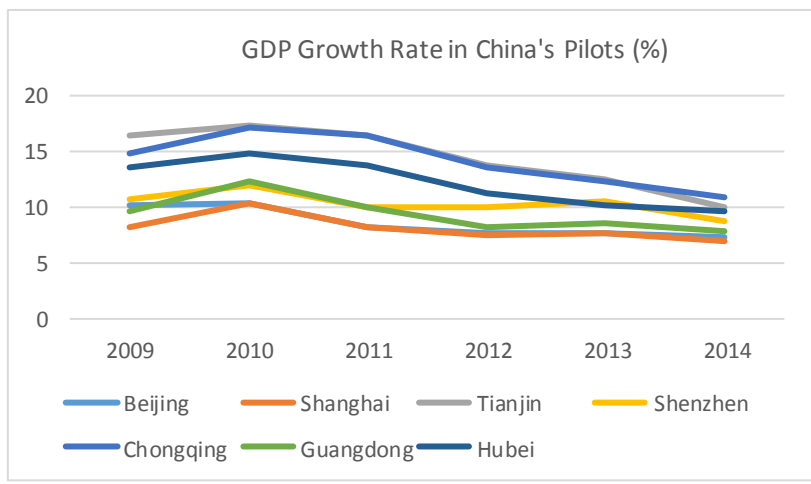
392 **5 Challenges facing China’s carbon trading pilots and recommendations for addressing these** 393 **challenges**

394 There are a number of issues in the design of the carbon allowances in China’s carbon trading pilots
395 due to the limited preparation and lack of reliable production and emissions data. These issues become
396 evident after 1-2 years in operation of these pilots. It is important for China to address these issues to
397 meet the country’s ambition to create a national carbon trade market in 2017. The following section
398 discusses these issues and provides necessary recommendations for the designers of China’s carbon
399 trade programs. .

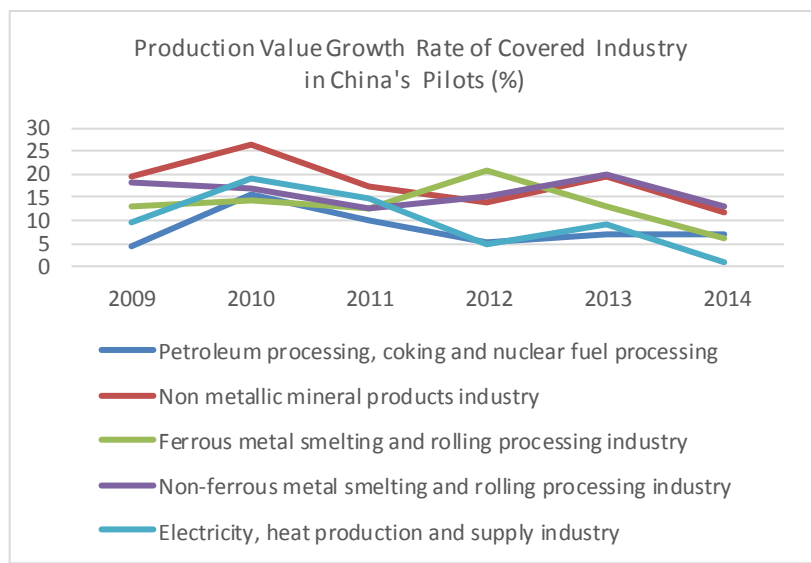
400 *5.1 Prompt adjustment of emissions cap under China’s economic “new normal”*

401 China's pilots relies heavily on historical emissions to set up its carbon emissions cap. However,
 402 since 2013, China has been experiencing significant economic slowdown and entered into the era of
 403 "new normal" in which lower economic growth becomes a typical phenomenon. Fig. 4 shows
 404 decreasing GDP growth rates over the past years in the seven carbon trade pilots while Fig. 5 shows a
 405 clear downward trend of the production value growth rates of key sectors covered in these pilots.
 406 Clearly, cap established based on the prediction of fast economic growth like that in the past Five-Year
 407 Plan (2006-2010) is becoming much looser than the current reality under China's economic "new
 408 normal."

409 It is important for China to be careful on determining its carbon cap so that it can avoid the serious
 410 problem that EU has faced of allocating too many allowances. In this regard, particular experience in the
 411 Hubei pilot worth learning. In addition to the strict control of allowances for existing facilities, the
 412 Hubei pilot has also adopted a dynamic adjustment measure to deal with the oversupply of allowances.
 413 This measure allows the program administrator to take back the enterprise's allowances surplus
 414 resulting from a sharp drop in production, and cancel the allowances in the government reserve and the
 415 new entrants reserve which cannot be distributed until the compliance date, and further reduce the total
 416 allowances of the next year.
 417



418 Source: China Statistical Yearbook, and yearly statistical bulletin of China's pilot provinces and cities.
 419
 420 Fig. 4. GDP growth rate tendency in China's carbon trading pilots (2009-2014)
 421



422 Source: China industrial economy statistical yearbook, and China Industrial statistical yearbook.
 423
 424 Fig. 5. Growth rate tendency of covered industry in China's carbon trading pilots (2009-2014)

425 5.2 To avoid "whip the fast ox" effect caused by the grandfathering

426 Theoretically, free allocation based on grandfathering will create the unintended consequence of
427 "whipping the fast ox" effect that penalizes the entities that take early actions for reducing carbon
428 emissions. In practice, except for Shanghai and Tianjin, China's current carbon trading pilots mostly use
429 historical emissions without crediting businesses for taking early actions to reduce carbon emissions.
430 This effect will more likely deter businesses from taking serious actions in investing in emission
431 reduction.

432 To ensure the allocation to be fair and more effective for achieving an optimal reduction of carbon
433 emissions, China should consider of awarding the covered entities for taking actions such as energy
434 efficiency and emission reduction in allowance allocation. Another way to correct the problem resulting
435 from using grandfathering rule is to use an adjustment factor, which is a decreasing function of the
436 covered entity's recent emission growth. And finally, China needs to transform its allocation scheme
437 from the grandfathering rule to the benchmarking approach that more accurately reflects the actual
438 intensity and to award credits for businesses that have taken actions.

439 *5.3 To solve the problem of double-counting of emissions in the allocation*

440 For China's carbon trading pilots, double-counting has been recognized as one of the outstanding
441 issues in the allowance allocation. For example, all carbon trading pilots require both consumers and
442 producers of electricity power to get allowances for the power they have consumed or produced. This
443 double-counting of emissions will result in over-supply of allowances, creating negative impacts on the
444 emissions trading scheme [51].

445 There are two ways to solve this problem. One is for the carbon trading scheme to cover only the
446 direct emission sources, as what EU ETS and CA CAT have done, and exclude indirect emissions on the
447 user side. The other is for the program administrator to divide the responsibility between the source of
448 generation and source of use and allocate allowances according to the shared responsibility among the
449 power producers, distribution companies, and end consumers.

450 *5.4 To improve the benchmarking method*

451 Benchmarking has been utilized in China's carbon trading pilots but at quite limited scale and for
452 very few sectors. Moreover, the stringency of the benchmarking method in China's pilots needs to be
453 improved. For instance, according to the different types of generating units, Shanghai and Guangdong
454 pilots have respectively set seven and six emissions benchmark values for power generation according
455 to the installed capacity, and Guangdong pilot has set three benchmark values for cement clinker in
456 accordance with the scale of the production line. It will result in that the benchmark value of production
457 with backward technology and small scale is much higher than that of production with advanced
458 technology and large-scale. In fact, this distorted benchmark approach protects the backward technology
459 and emission-intensive production capacity.

460 To improve the effectiveness of its carbon trading scheme, China needs to consider shifting the
461 allocation method from grandfathering to benchmarking according to the principle "one product, one
462 benchmark", which is commonly adopted in EU ETS and CA CAT. This change, however, can only be
463 achieved with sufficient and reliable product and business performance data.

464 *5.5 To increase the proportion of the competitive auction in allowance distribution*

465 In spite of its importance to reduce the compliance cost of covered entities in the initial phase of a
466 carbon trading scheme, free allocation will lead to reduced efficiency for China's carbon trade pilots
467 and increase abatement cost due to the lack of enterprises' motivation for innovation.. Also, the free
468 allocation cannot provide an effective means for the government to obtain necessary revenue to support
469 public and community programs in reducing carbon emissions and decarbonizing the energy system.
470 Distributing the allowances through competitive auction can make enterprises truly realize the
471 "emissions cost", and fully reflect the principle of "polluter pays". It is, therefore, important for China's
472 carbon trading pilots to start moving away from free distribution and transition to competitive
473 auctioning of allowances at least for leakage-prone industries or certain sectors that are characterized
474 as having overcapacity.

475 *5.6 To enhance the timeliness and transparency of information*

476 In China's carbon trade pilots, rules published by the program administrators that govern allowances
477 allocation and distribution lack the necessary clarity and transparency. Most of these rules are described
478 merely in very general terms without specific details [52]. Important information such as what and how
479 various factors are used to determine the allowances have not been provided. However, this type of
480 information is important as it helps covered entities understand the efforts they need to make to reduce
481 their emissions and enables researchers to identify potential flaws in the allowance system design. It will
482 be in China's benefit to strengthen transparency in the design of its allowance allocations and
483 distribution.

484 In this respect, the EU ETS and CA CAT set good examples. They not only timely publicize their
485 legislative documents involving the allowance mechanism, but also develop a large number of
486 explanatory documents providing the details of the allowances allocation and distribution.

487 **6 Conclusions**

488 After two years of preparation, China's seven carbon trading pilots officially launched starting in
489 2013 and 2014. The covered entities in Hubei and Chongqing have completed their first compliance
490 year, while Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangdong and Shenzhen pilots have all completed their
491 second compliance year. Drawn upon experiences and lessons learned from the EU ETS and
492 California CAT, China's carbon trading pilots have designed some effective features in allowance
493 allocation and distribution, which include an allowance allocation rule based on historical emissions
494 combined with some benchmarking, a free allowance distribution arrangement combined with some
495 level of auction, and pre-determined quotas combined with ex-post allowance adjustments. There are
496 also some particular issues related to China's carbon trading pilots. The issues regarding the design of
497 the allowance mechanism include over-supply of allowances, lack of allowance credits for businesses
498 that take early abatement actions, double-counting of allowances, a heavy reliance on historical
499 emissions, and lack of clarity and transparency of administrative rules governing the allowances
500 allocation and distribution. China has announced to launch a national carbon trading market. In order to
501 develop a robust and effective a national level carbon trading scheme in China, it is critical for the
502 country to thoroughly assess the problems that have been revealed in the seven carbon trading pilots
503 and carefully identify ways to address these issues.

504

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621 **Appendix 1**

622 **Interview questions for experts at the California Air Resource Board**

- 623 1. In your view, what are the major differences in CA CAT from EU ETS? Why CA designed its
- 624 trading scheme differently?
- 625 2. Is there a secondary market for CA CAT? Is yes, what the format of that market? Is it regulated
- 626 and if so by whom?
- 627 3. After two years of implementation, what have been the outstanding issues/problems? How CA
- 628 address these issues?
- 629 4. What is the basis and method to determine the emission Cap in California? What are the main
- 630 factors to consider?
- 631 5. From the allowance composition, why CA CAT does not set aside a quota for the California new
- 632 facility? How to calculate and manage the demand for new facilities quota?
- 633 6. In the allowance allocation methodology, from beginning California has completely abandoned
- 634 the use of the historical emissions and taken comprehensive benchmarking method, is there any
- 635 misunderstanding and resistance from participating enterprises? How have you communicated
- 636 with the enterprises?
- 637 7. California makes the products benchmark primarily based on the 90% average carbon intensity of
- 638 products, why is 90% rather than the other number?
- 639 8. Is there a "double counting" problem in allowance allocation in CA CAT? If not, how to avoid it?
- 640 9. For most industrial facilities, in the initial stage allowances are almost freely allocated, but the
- 641 proportion of free quotas will be based on the extent of the industry's carbon leakage risk, then
- 642 what is the basis to determine the industry leakage risk is high or low?

-
- 643 10. California allowance auction design is quite unique, could you introduce how to implement
644 specific quota auction? Such as, on what platform? What entity can participate in? How to use the
645 auction revenue?
- 646 11. California has set a reserve price of \$ 10/ton for quota auction, so what is this based on?
- 647 12. CA CAT specially created the quota reserves to stabilize prices and take a fixed price sale in
648 batches way in 2013 to sell its three batches at the price of \$40, \$45 and \$ 50, respectively,
649 afterward it will increase at an average annual rate of 5% adjusted for inflation. Why should CA
650 CAT take a fixed price sale in batches way? What is the basis for the sale prices set at \$40, \$45
651 and \$ 50, and increase at an average annual rate of 5% ?
- 652 13. At three compliance periods, the proportion for quota reserves to stabilize prices are set at 1%, 4%
653 and 7%, respectively, why has been set up like this?
- 654 14. In addition to CARB auctions, on what platform California allowances are traded? Does trading
655 take the way of bid matching or transfer agreement? Does CARB allow financial institutions and
656 individuals involved in the transaction? Is there any futures trading?
- 657 15. As for the carbon markets link, how will CA CAT e link with Quebec trading market? What are
658 the main difficulties CA is facing in linking CA CAT to other markets? How to overcome these
659 difficulties? In the future, is there links with other carbon markets besides Quebec?
- 660
661
662

663 **Appendix 2**

664 **Abbreviations Nomenclature**

- 665 1. GHG -- Greenhouse Gas
- 666 2. NDRC -- National Development and Reform Commission
- 667 3. DRC -- Development and Reform Commission
- 668 4. EU ETS -- European Union Emission Trading System
- 669 5. EU -- European Union
- 670 6. ETS--Emission Trading System
- 671 7. EC-- European Commission
- 672 8. NAP -- National Allocation Plan
- 673 9. CA CAT -- California's Cap-and-Trade program
- 674 10. AB 32-- Assembly Bill 32(California Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006)
- 675 11. CARB -- California Air Resource Board
- 676 12. CCAP-- Center for Clean Air Policy
- 677 13. MtCO2 -- Million Tonnes CO2
- 678 14. GDP -- Gross Domestic Product