

# The Global Effects of Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms

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July 21, 2025

# Carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM)

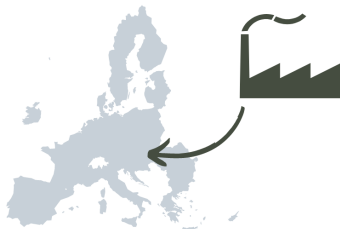


## EU Production



90€

EU production is  
subject to the **EU-ETS\***  
*(Assuming an ETS allowance  
price of 90€ per tonne of CO<sub>2</sub>)*



## Non- EU Production



80€

10€

Non-EU production is  
subject to a lower **ETS**  
and **CBAM certificates**

## Three motivations and one concern

- Boost domestic competitiveness
- Curb foreign emissions leakage
- Encourage foreign regulation
- But may disadvantage lower-income trading partners

# This paper

- Quantitative analysis of EU/UK CBAM
  - Simple equilibrium framework
  - Microdata on key target sectors
  - Global distributional effects
- Results
  - Competitiveness: domestic profits  $\uparrow$  by \$2.4B (13%)
  - Leakage: foreign emissions  $\downarrow$  by 5.8 Mt (43%)
  - Incentives: carbon tax revenue of up to \$251B
  - Incidence: similar for lower-income trading partners

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# Literature

- **Environmental impacts of trade policy**

Copeland & Taylor 2003, Nordhaus 2015, Böhringer et al. 2016, Kortum & Weisbach 2017, Shapiro 2021, Kortum & Weisbach 2022, Abuin 2024, Bourany 2024, Harstad 2024, Casey et al. 2025, Farrokhi & Lashkaripour 2025, Hsiao 2025

- **Leakage and CBAM policy**

Markusen 1975, Copeland & Taylor 1994, 1995, Hoel 1996, Rauscher 1997, Fowlie 2009, Elliott et al. 2010, Fowlie et al. 2016, Kortum & Weisbach 2017, Clausen & Wolfram 2023, Coster et al. 2024

# Policy timeline

- **EU CBAM** proposed in 2021
  - Phase-in starting October 1, 2023 with reporting only
  - Full implementation from January 1, 2026 for target sectors
- **UK CBAM** announced in 2023, targeting implementation by 2027
- Expansion of **Chinese ETS** to target sectors
- Discussions in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Taiwan, and elsewhere

## Initial target sectors

(%)	Trade Intensity	Global Emissions
Aluminum	41	3
Steel	23	11
Electricity	2	33
Fertilizers	60	1
Cement	2	6
Hydrogen	0.1	2



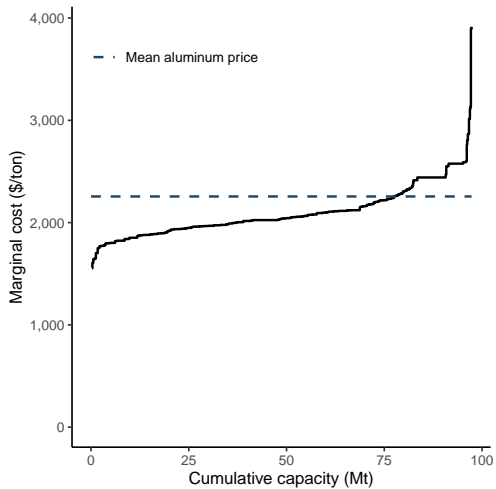
Data

# Global data by plant for 2023

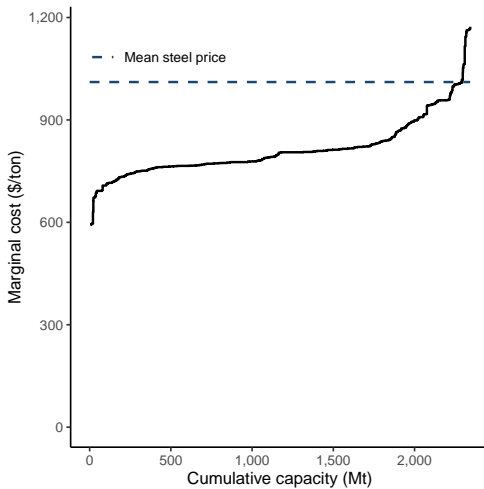
- Aluminum smelters from WoodMac (153 worldwide)
  - Public data and site visits
- Steel mills from Climate TRACE (892 worldwide)
  - Satellite and mill-level sensor data
- Production, capacity, costs, and emissions
  - Subnational carbon taxes and allowances

# Production costs and capacity

## Aluminum

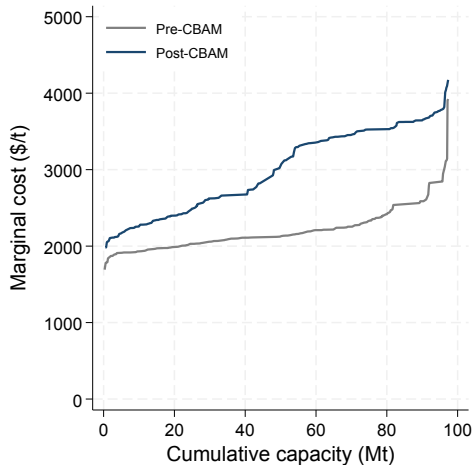


## Steel

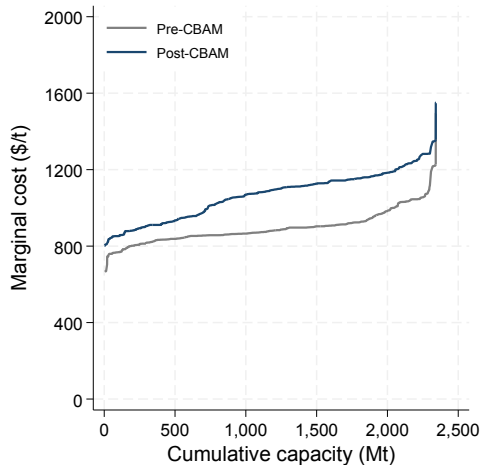


# CBAMs add to costs

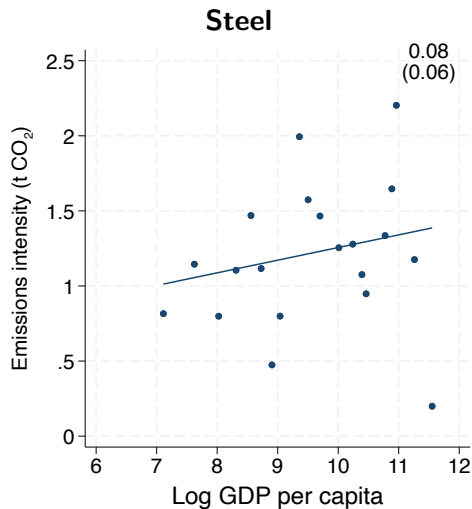
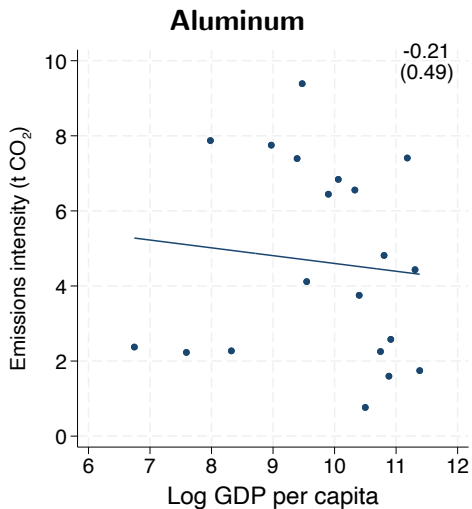
## Aluminum



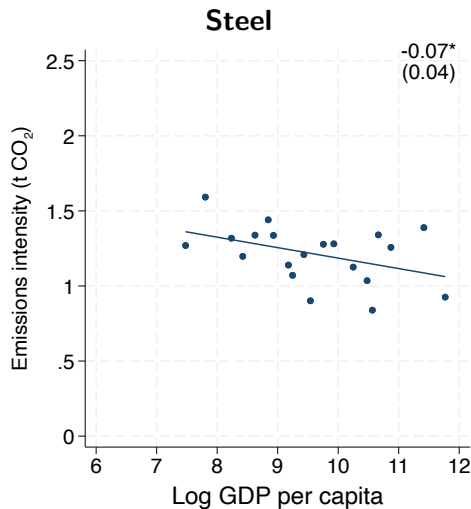
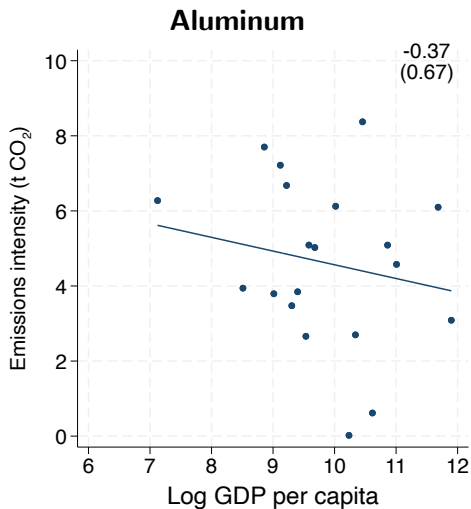
## Steel



# Emissions intensity by income



## Controlling for differences in production (primary, scale, SOE, foreign; age)



The emissions-income gradient is relatively flat

Total emissions			Electricity emissions vs. income				
	Direct	Indirect		Estimate	SE	N	Mean
Aluminum	23%	77%	Elec. Maps (2024)	-3.207	(10.12)	230	314
Steel	91%	9%	Ember (2024)	-13.58	(14.25)	196	430
			Ang & Su (2016)	-94.59***	(27.91)	54	445
			EEA (2023)	-92.33	(68.18)	28	222

## Emissions intensity by country

<b>Aluminum</b>	
	tCO <sub>2</sub>
Kazakhstan	15
South Africa	14
India	14
Australia	13
China	10
Greece	6.8
UAE	6.6
Rest of world	2.9

<b>Steel</b>	
	tCO <sub>2</sub>
Kazakhstan	2.6
Netherlands	2.5
Slovakia	2.5
Austria	2.5
Ukraine	2.4
South Africa	2.3
China	2.2
Rest of world	1.5



## Production by country

Aluminum		
	Mt	%
<b>China</b>	49	58
India	5	6
<b>EU + UK</b>	5	5
USA	4	5
Russia	4	5
Canada	3	4
UAE	3	3
Rest of world	12	14

Steel		
	Mt	%
<b>China</b>	860	51
<b>EU + UK</b>	153	9
Japan	88	5
USA	86	5
India	76	5
Russia	60	4
South Korea	59	4
Rest of world	290	17

Model

# Environmental regulation with global trade

$$p_i^R = P - \tau e_i$$

carbon tax in **regulated** market  $R$

$$p_i^U = P$$

no tax in **unregulated** market  $U$

$$D(P^*) = S(P^*)$$

world market clears at price  $P$  (no CBAM)

- Competitiveness:  $R$  firms pay  $\tau$ , but  $U$  firms do not
- Leakage:  $\tau$  raises  $P$ , and  $U$  firms respond
- Incentives:  $U$  government free rides on lower  $e$ , higher  $P$
- Incidence: depends on firm **data**

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CBAM pushes sales to  $U$ , such that  $P^R > P^U$

$$p_i^R = \max\{P^R, P^U\} - \tau e_i$$

$R$  firms choose destination market

$$p_i^U = \max\{P^R - \tau e_i, P^U\}$$

$U$  firms choose subject to **CBAM**

$$D^R(P^{R*}) = S^R(P^{R*}, P^{U*})$$

market  $R$  clears at price  $P^R$

$$D^U(P^{U*}) = S^U(P^{R*}, P^{U*})$$

market  $U$  clears at price  $P^U$

- Competitiveness:  $\tau$  raises  $P^R$  more, helping  $R$  firms
- Leakage:  $\tau$  raises  $P^U$  less, hurting  $U$  firms
- Incentives:  $U$  government can raise  $\tau^U$  with same  $p_i^U$
- Incidence: depends on firm **data**

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# Empirics

- Demand  $D^m(P^m)$  by market  $m$ 
  - Calibrated elasticity of 0.25 (Söderholm & Ekvall 2020)
- Supply  $s_i^m(p_i^m)$  by plant  $i$ 
  - Using global, plant-level microdata
- Compute welfare:  $CS^m, PS_i, G^m, E_i$

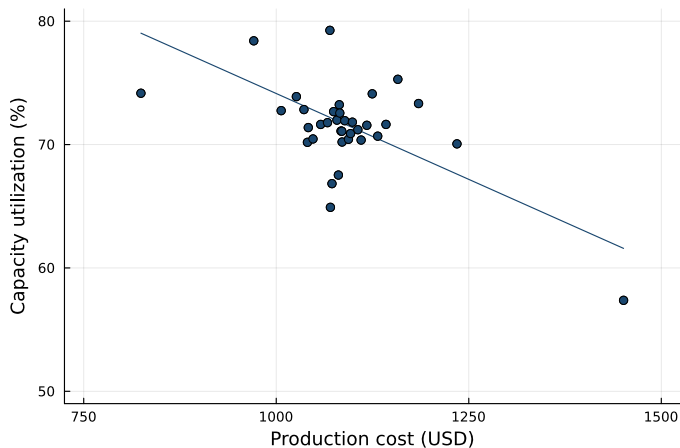
## Supply by plant $i$

$$\begin{aligned} u_{i\ell}^m &= \overbrace{\beta(p_i^m - c_i) + \epsilon_i + \epsilon_{i\ell}}^{v_i^m} && \text{choice to operate lines } \ell \\ o_i^m &= \exp(v_i^m) / [1 + \exp(v_i^m)] && \text{capacity utilization} \\ s_i^m &= \bar{s}_i o_i^m && \text{production} \end{aligned}$$

- Price  $p_i^m$ , cost  $c_i$ , logit shocks  $\epsilon_{i\ell}$ , capacity  $\bar{s}_i$
- Constant marginal costs: heterogeneity across plants, not across lines (CRS)
- No market power: unconcentrated with many plants (and firms)



## Logit estimation with metals $j$ , countries $k$



$$\log \left( \frac{o_{ijk}}{1 - o_{ijk}} \right) = \beta (P_j - \bar{\tau}_k \bar{e}_{ijk} - c_{ijk}) + \mu_j + \mu_k + \epsilon_{ijk}$$

# Counterfactuals

## Policy simulations

- **EU/UK carbon tax** at \$100 per ton of CO<sub>2</sub>
  - With vs. without a **CBAM** in place
- Evaluate welfare relative to zero regulation
  - $R$ : EU + UK
  - $U$ : all other countries
  - $UL$ : low and lower-middle income (World Bank classification)
  - $UH$ : upper-middle and high income (World Bank classification)
- In the paper,  $\tau^R \in [0, 100]$  and coalition with China

## Equilibrium price effects

EU/UK: $\tau^R = 100$		
$\Delta P$ (%)	Market	
	$R$	$U$
Without CBAM	0.64	0.64
With CBAM	2.52	0.46

- Without CBAM, regulation effect alone ( $P \uparrow$ )
- With CBAM, regulation + reallocation effects ( $P^R > P^U$ )
- Modest magnitudes because EU/UK is small

# Aggregate welfare effects

EU/UK:  $\tau^R = 100$

$\Delta W$ (1B USD)	$SCC^R = 100$			$SCC^R = 0$	
	World	$R$	$U$	$R$	$U$
Without CBAM	8.96	7.93	1.03	-0.03	1.03
With CBAM	9.27	8.39	0.88	0.04	0.88

- Without CBAM,  $R$  gains less and  $U$  gains more
- With CBAM, world gains \$307M more (3%) at cost to  $U$
- $R$  gains even if  $SCC^R = 0$ , as CBAM improves terms of trade

## CBAMs boost competitiveness

EU/UK:  $\tau^R = 100$

$\Delta PS$ (1B USD)	Market			
	$R$	$U$	$UL$	$UH$
Without CBAM	-17.8	12.0	0.93	11.1
With CBAM	-15.4	9.04	0.70	8.34

- Without CBAM,  $R$  firms lose and  $U$  firms gain
- With CBAM,  $R$  loses \$2.4B less (13%) at cost to  $U$
- Incidence:  $UL$  gains 26% less,  $UH$  25% less

## CBAMs curb leakage

$$\text{EU/UK: } \tau^R = 100$$

$\Delta E$ (Mt CO <sub>2</sub> )	Market				
	World	$R$	$U$	$UL$	$UH$
Without CBAM	-79.6	-93.2	13.6	1.12	12.5
With CBAM	-83.5	-91.3	7.79	0.80	6.99

- Without CBAM,  $R$  emissions fall and  $U$  emissions rise
- With CBAM,  $U$  rises by 5.8 Mt less (43%) but  $R$  falls less too
- Incidence:  $UL$  rises 29% less,  $UH$  44% less
- If **China** joins  $R$ , world emits 0.8 Gt less (10x impact) vs. 3.9 Gt observed

## CBAMs encourage regulation

$$\text{EU/UK: } \tau^R = 100$$

$\Delta W$ (1B USD)	Market		
	$U$	$UL$	$UH$
Without CBAM	1.03	0.06	0.97
With CBAM	0.88	0.04	0.84
Global tax	-4.20	-0.79	-3.41

- Without CBAM,  $U$  prefers not to regulate
- With CBAM,  $U$  still prefers not to regulate but by \$153M less (3%)
- Incidence:  $UL$  prefers non-regulation 3% less,  $UH$  3% less
- For  $U$ , less gain from free-riding + revenue incentive



## Conclusion

# Summary

- Quantitative equilibrium analysis of **EU/UK CBAM**
  - Boosts competitiveness, curbs leakage, and encourages regulation
  - Without disproportionate impacts on lower-income countries
- Domestic advantages may help
  - To establish carbon regulation in the first place
  - To sustain international coordination