

The Global Effects of Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms

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Carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM)

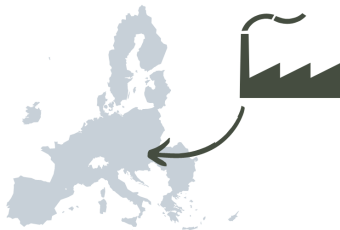
Cement, iron and steel, aluminium, fertilisers, electricity and hydrogen



EU Production



EU production is
subject to the **EU-ETS***
*(Assuming an ETS allowance
price of 90€ per tonne of CO₂)*



Non- EU Production



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
 - Guardian (2024): “India seeks UK carbon tax exemption in free trade deal talks”
 - Bloomberg (2024): “EU CBAM Damaging ASEAN Businesses?”

This paper

- ① Detailed global data on aluminum and steel
 - Key sectors targeted in first phase of EU/UK CBAM
- ② Descriptive analysis of emissions
 - Lower-income countries not more emissions-intensive
- ③ Quantitative equilibrium model of regulation and trade
 - Welfare impacts of carbon taxation and CBAM
- ④ **Results:** competitiveness \uparrow (13%), leakage \downarrow (42%), green incentives \uparrow (\$251B)
 - With similar incidence across lower- and higher-income countries

Literature

- **International climate coordination**

Nordhaus 2015, Böhringer et al. 2016, Kortum & Weisbach 2022, Bourany 2024, Farrokhi & Lashkaripour 2024, Hsiao 2024

- **Environmental impacts of trade policy**

Copeland & Taylor 2003, Kortum & Weisbach 2017, Shapiro 2021, Abuin 2024, Harstad 2024, Casey et al. 2025

- **CBAMs as a specific policy proposal**

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

Contributions

- ① Quantitative global analysis of current CBAM policies
 - Simple equilibrium framework
 - Microdata on key target industries
- ② Distributional implications for lower-income countries

Background

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
- Discussed in Canada, Australia, and Taiwan
- Expansion of Chinese ETS to cover target sectors

Initial target sectors

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

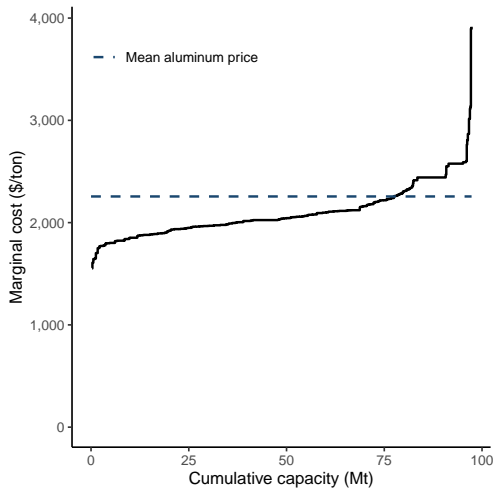


Global data by plant for 2023

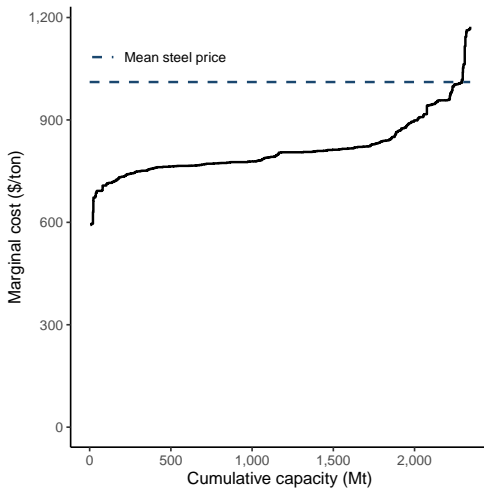
- Aluminum smelters from WoodMac
 - 153 worldwide with some Chinese smelters aggregated
 - Public data and site visits
- Steel mills from Climate TRACE
 - 892 worldwide with capacity above 500k tons
 - Satellite and mill-level sensor data
- Production, capacity, costs, and emissions
 - Primary and secondary plants, Scope 1 and 2 emissions
- China is 50-60% and EU/UK is 5-10% of global production/consumption

Production costs and capacity

Aluminum

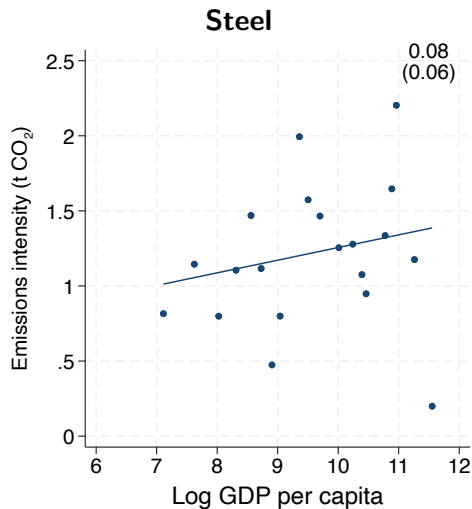
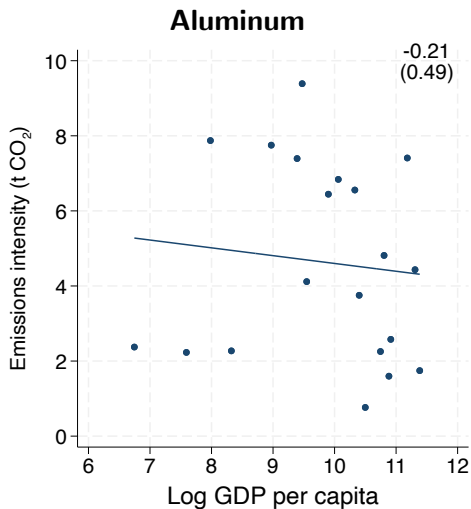


Steel

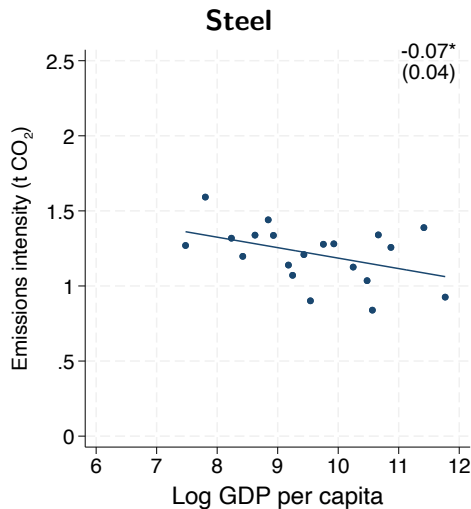
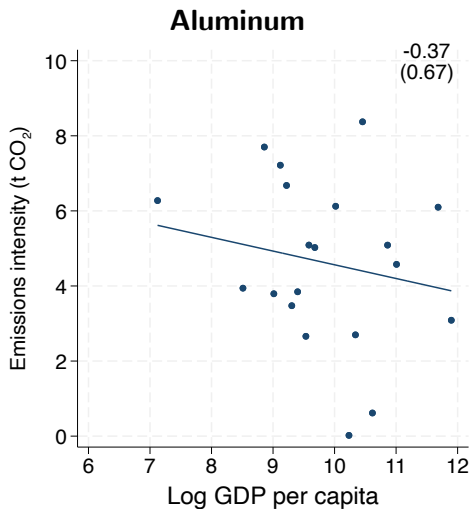


Descriptives

Emissions intensity by income

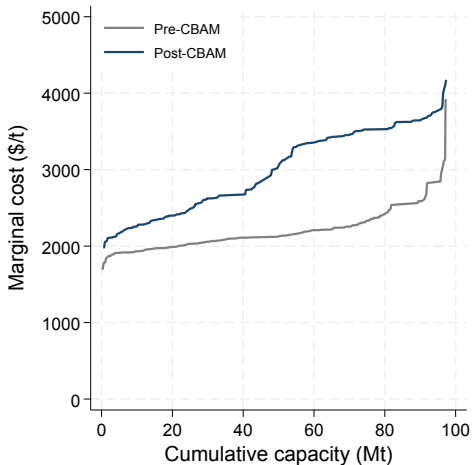


Controlling for compositional differences in production

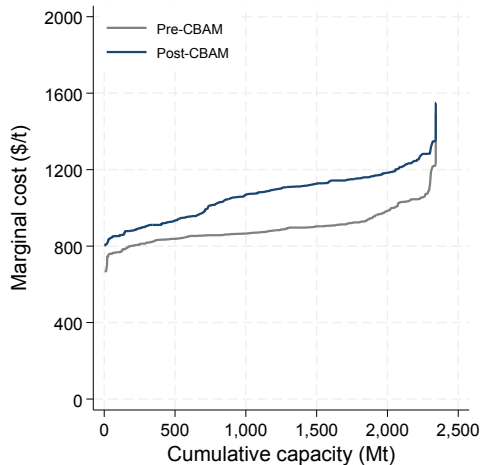


CBAMs add to costs

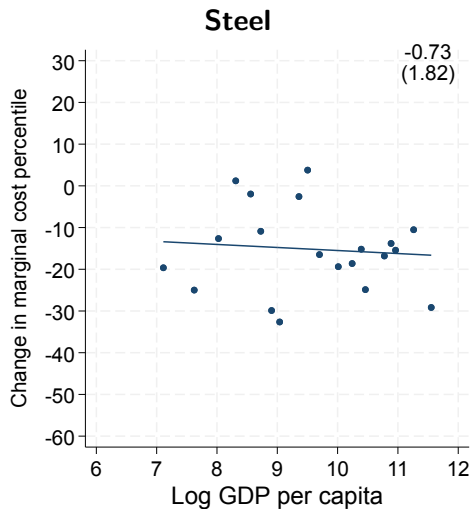
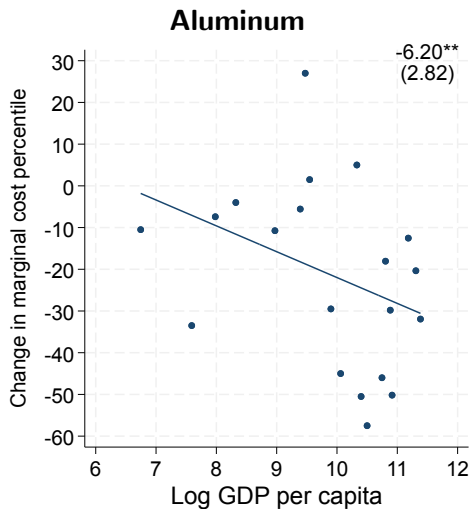
Aluminum



Steel



CBAM impacts by income



Model

Environmental regulation with global trade

- Demand by market, supply by plant
 - Regulated and unregulated markets R and U
- Regulator in R considers a CBAM
 - Plants can shift sales across markets
 - Will quantify distributional effects

Demand by market m

$$\log D^m = \delta^m + \varepsilon^m \log P^m$$

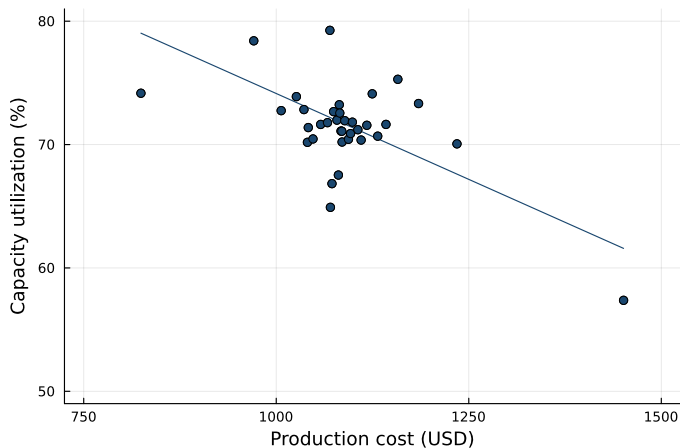
- Log-linear with calibrated $\varepsilon^m = -0.25$ (Söderholm & Ekvall 2020)

Supply by plant i

$$u_{il}^m = \underbrace{\beta(p_i^m - c_i) + \epsilon_i + \epsilon_{il}}_{v_i^m}, \quad o_i^m = \frac{\exp(v_i^m)}{1 + \exp(v_i^m)}, \quad s_i^m = \bar{s}_i o_i^m$$

- Choice to operate lines $\ell \Rightarrow$ capacity utilization $o_i^m \Rightarrow$ production s_i
- Price p_i^m , cost c_i , and observed capacity \bar{s}_i
- Constant marginal costs, so only capture heterogeneity *across* plants
- No market power, but have many plants

Logit estimation with metals j , countries k



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

Carbon taxation

$$p_i^m = P^m - \tau^m e_i$$
$$\log e_i = \log \bar{e}_i - \gamma(\tau^m - \bar{\tau}^m)$$

- Without a CBAM, $P^m = P$ and $D(P^*) = S(P^*)$
- Regulation-induced abatement with calibrated $\gamma = 0.3$ (Sen & Vollebergh 2018)
 - Relative to emissions \bar{e}_i and regulation $\bar{\tau}^m$ in the data

Carbon border adjustment mechanism

$$p_i^m = \max\{p_i^{mR}, p_i^{mU}\}$$

$$p_i^{RR} = P^R - \tau^R e_i$$

$$p_i^{UR} = P^R - \tau^R e_i$$

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

$$p_i^{UU} = P^U - \tau^U e_i$$

- Plants choose destination market with best net price p_i^m
 - Given prices (P^R, P^U) and home regulation (τ^R, τ^U)
 - Pay home + border regulation (without export rebate)
 - Adjustment $\alpha^R = \tau^R - \tau^U > 0$

Markets clear

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

- CBAM induces reallocation and price divergence
 - $P^R > P^U$: R expresses green preference and must pay for it
- Can compute welfare: CS, PS, G, E

Counterfactuals

Policy simulations

- Carbon taxation in market R
 - Relative to zero regulation with $\tau^R = \tau^U = 0$
 - With and without a CBAM
- Evaluate global effects
 - R : EU + UK [+ China]
 - U : all other countries
 - UL : low and lower-middle income (World Bank)
 - UH : upper-middle and high income (World Bank)

Results

- ① EU/UK policy evaluation
- ② CBAMs boost competitiveness
- ③ CBAMs curb leakage
- ④ CBAMs encourage regulation

1. EU/UK policy evaluation

EU/UK carbon taxation at \$100 per ton of CO₂

Impact	No CBAM		With CBAM	
	<i>R</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>U</i>
Price (%)	0.64	0.64	2.52	0.46
Emissions (Mt CO ₂)	-93.2	13.6	-91.3	7.87
Welfare (1B USD)	-0.02	1.02	0.05	0.87
Consumer surplus (1B USD)	-1.22	-11.0	-4.40	-8.20
Producer surplus (1B USD)	-17.8	12.0	-15.5	9.07
Government revenue (1B USD)	19.0	0.00	19.9	0.00
Welfare with emissions reductions (1B USD)	7.94	1.02	8.39	0.87

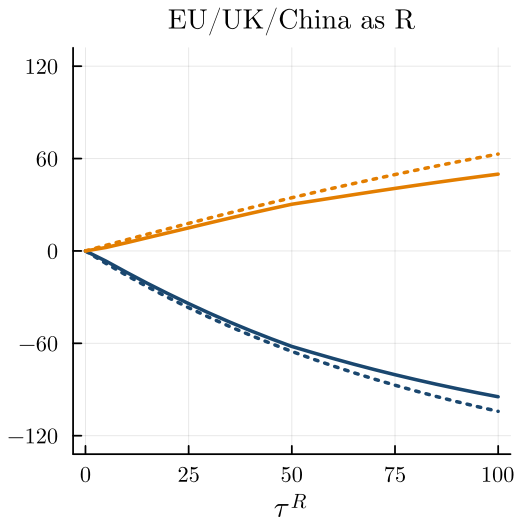
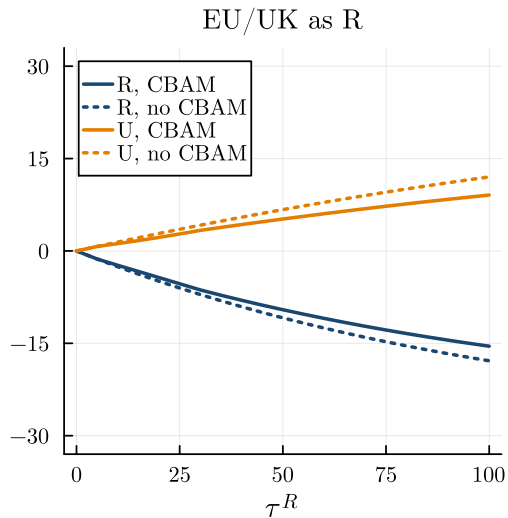
Regulation and reallocation effects

- Without a CBAM, regulation effect alone
 - World price P rises as regulation reduces world supply
- With a CBAM, regulation + reallocation effect
 - Price P^R rises and pulls clean supply to R
 - Price P^U falls as dirty supply pushed to U
- Modest price effects because EU/UK is small
- Modest welfare effects mask large CS/PS/G effects

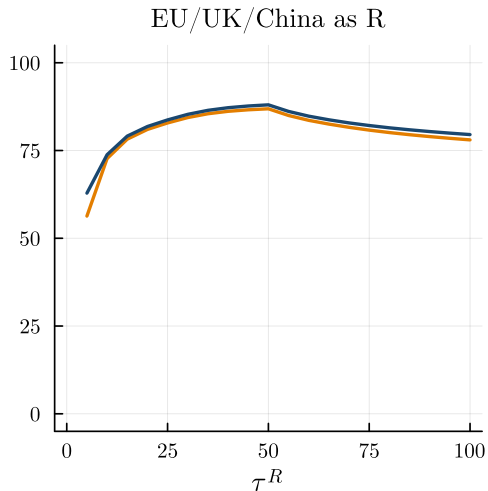
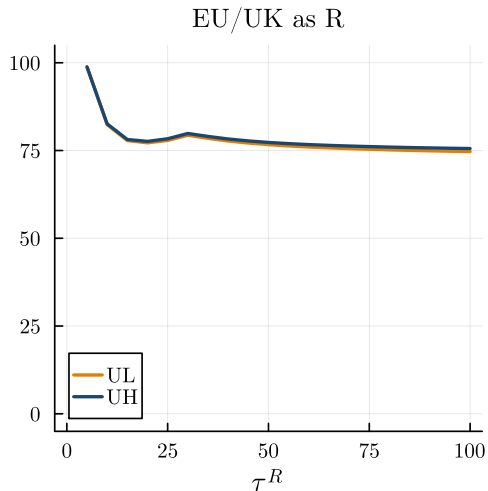
2. CBAMs boost competitiveness

- Regulation in R hurts producers in R , helps producers in U
 - Profits losses in R of up to \$15B (EU/UK), \$100B (+China)
- CBAM reduces losses for R by 15% (EU/UK) and 10% (+China)
 - Also reduces gains for U by roughly 25%
 - But with equal incidence on lower- and higher-income countries

Producer surplus effects (1B USD)



Producer surplus effects (CBAM vs. no CBAM, %)

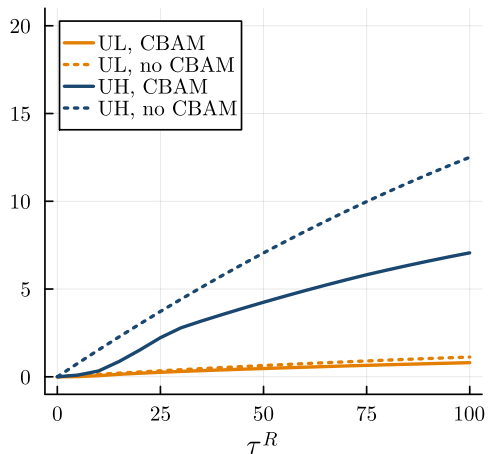


3. CBAMs curb leakage

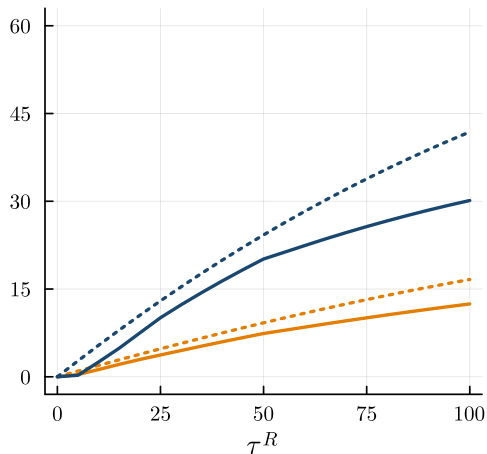
- Regulation in R lowers emissions in R , raises emissions in U
 - Because of higher world price P
- CBAM reduces emissions increases in R by 25-50%
 - With similar pressure on lower- and higher-income countries
- Despite leakage, total emissions reductions are large
 - Up to 1 Gt when R includes China and $\tau^R = 100$ per ton of CO_2
 - Relative to 3.9 Gt in our baseline data

Emissions effects (Mt CO₂)

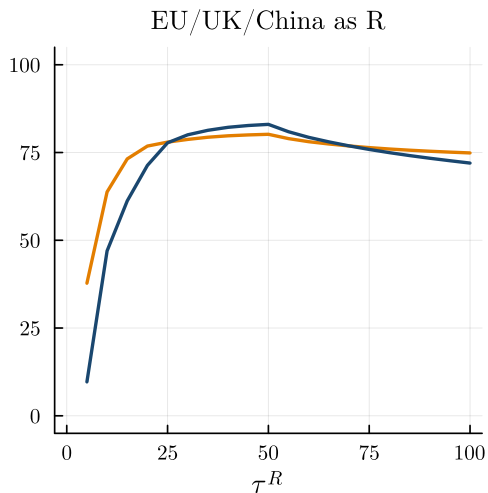
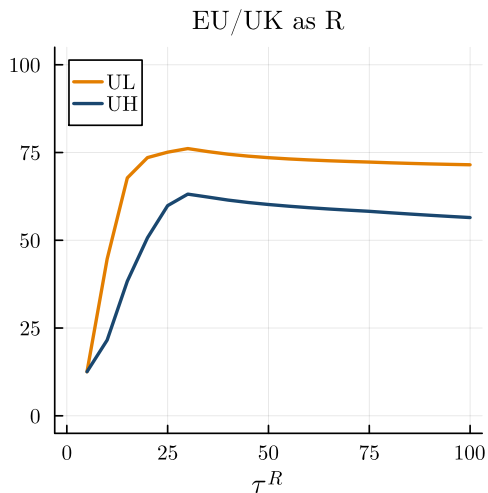
EU/UK as R



EU/UK/China as R



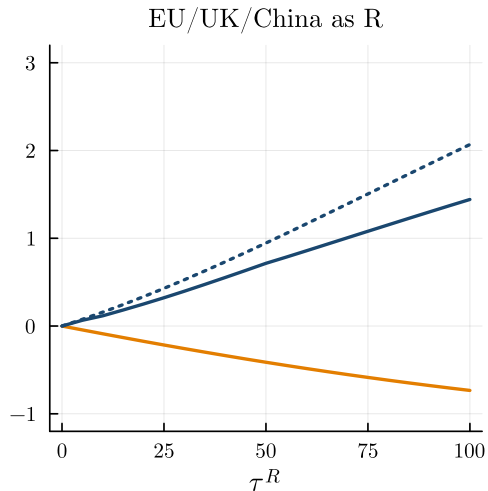
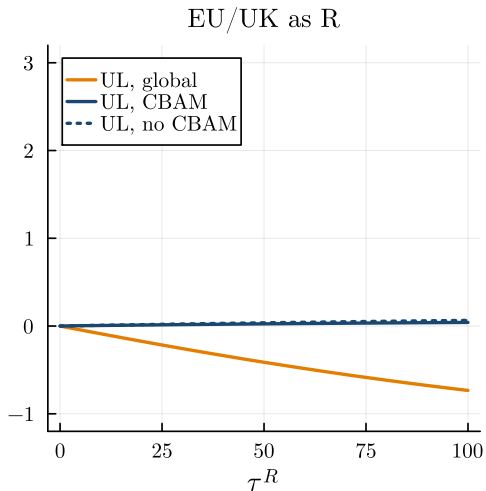
Emissions effects (CBAM vs. no CBAM, %)



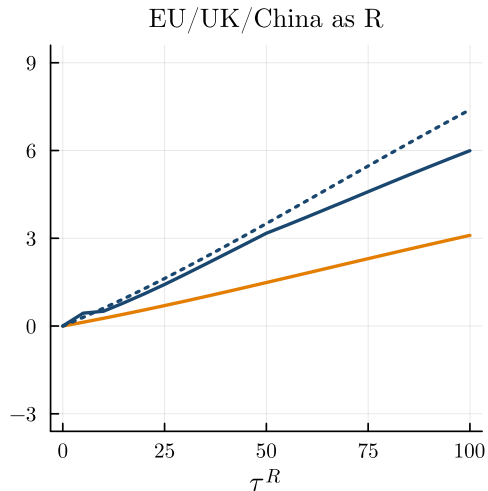
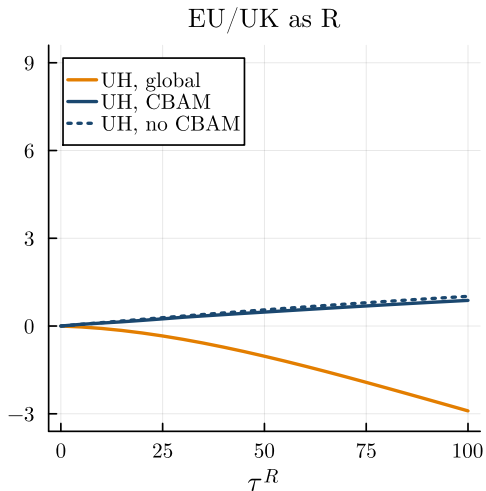
4. CBAMs encourage regulation

- Joining in regulation is mostly unappealing for U
 - Especially given carbon regulation by R , which helps U
 - U gains up to \$7B in welfare by not regulating
- But a CBAM closes the gap for global regulation
 - Reduces welfare gains for U
 - Offers revenue incentives for U
 - Increases emission reductions for U

Welfare effects for UL (1B USD)



Welfare effects for UH (1B USD)



Conclusion

Summary

- Quantitative equilibrium analysis of EU/UK CBAM
 - Emissions intensity not necessarily higher in lower-income countries
- CBAM boosts competitiveness, curbs leakage, and encourages regulation
 - Without disproportionate impacts on lower-income countries
 - Domestic advantages may help to pass carbon regulation