

# The Global Effects of Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanisms

Kimberly Clausing, UCLA

Jonathan Colmer, Virginia

Allan Hsiao, Stanford

Catherine Wolfram, MIT Sloan

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# Carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM)

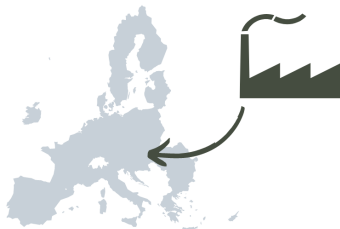


## EU Production



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**

# Climate change is a collective action problem

- Individual countries bear the costs of carbon regulation
  - While the benefits are shared globally
- CBAMs aim to realign incentives
  - Improving domestic competitiveness
  - Reducing emissions leakage
  - Encouraging carbon taxation abroad
- But CBAMs may disadvantage lower-income trading partners

# This paper

- Quantitative analysis of European CBAM policies
  - Global equilibrium framework + microdata on key sectors
- CBAM impacts for a \$100 European carbon tax
  - Competitiveness: domestic profits  $\uparrow$  by \$1B
  - Leakage: foreign emissions  $\downarrow$  by 17.1 Mt
  - Incentives: Chinese costs  $\downarrow$  by \$1.5B
  - Incidence: similar for lower-income trading partners
- CBAM facilitates a Europe-China coalition
  - Marginal abatement costs  $\downarrow$  by \$30 per ton

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# Literature

- International climate action and incomplete regulation

Markusen 1975, Copeland & Taylor 1994, 1995, 2023, Hoel 1996, Rauscher 1997, Elliott et al. 2010, Nordhaus 2015, Böhringer et al. 2016, Kortum & Weisbach 2017, Clausen & Wolfram 2023, Harstad 2023, 2024, Brunel & Levinson 2025, Farrokhi & Lashkaripour 2025, Hsiao 2025

- Environmental effects of trade policy

(Global equilibrium modeling) Böhringer et al. 2012, Larch & Wanner 2017, Shapiro & Walker 2018, Kortum & Weisbach 2023, Abuin 2024, Caliendo et al. 2024, Coster et al. 2024, Casey et al. 2025, Farrokhi et al. 2025, Garcia-Lembergman et al. 2025

(Microdata + heterogeneity) Fowlie 2009, Fowlie et al. 2016, Fowlie & Reguant 2022, Chen et al. 2025

# 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
- Elsewhere in Europe
  - UK and Norway targeting 2027 implementation
  - EFTA subject to EU ETS and thus exempt
- Expansion of **Chinese TPS** to target sectors
- Discussions in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Taiwan, and elsewhere



## Initial target sectors

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



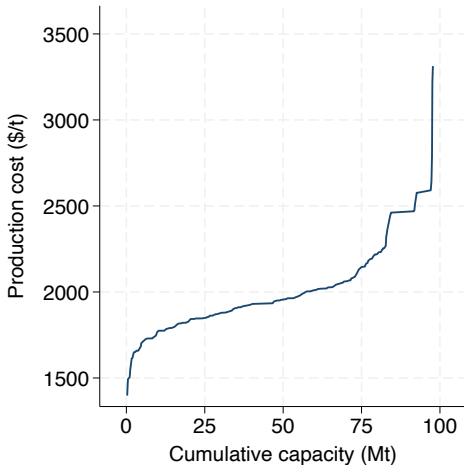
Data

# Global data by plant for 2023

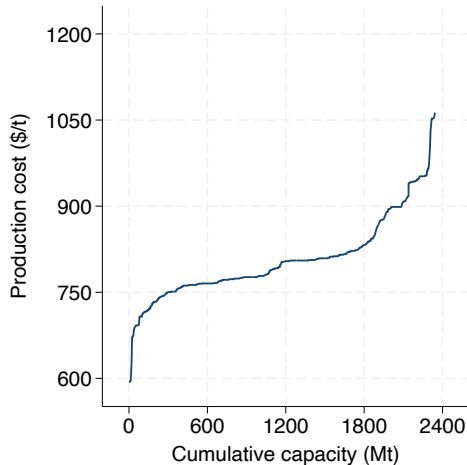
- Aluminum smelters from WoodMac (153 worldwide)
  - Public data and site visits
- Steel mills from Climate TRACE (892 worldwide)
  - Satellite and mill-level sensor data
- Production, capacity, costs, and emissions
  - Subnational carbon taxes and allowances

# Production costs and capacity

## Aluminum



## Steel



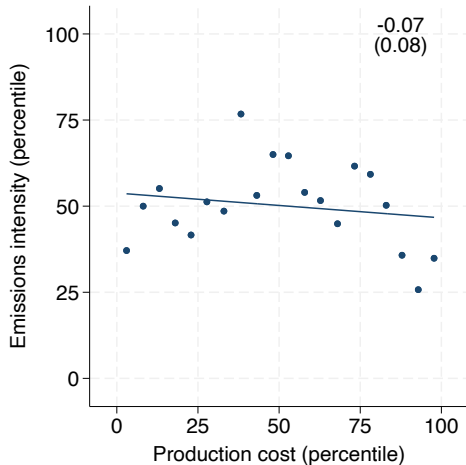
## Production quantities

<b>Aluminum</b>		
	Mt	%
China	49	58
India	5	6
Europe	5	5
USA	4	5
Russia	4	5
Rest of world	18	21

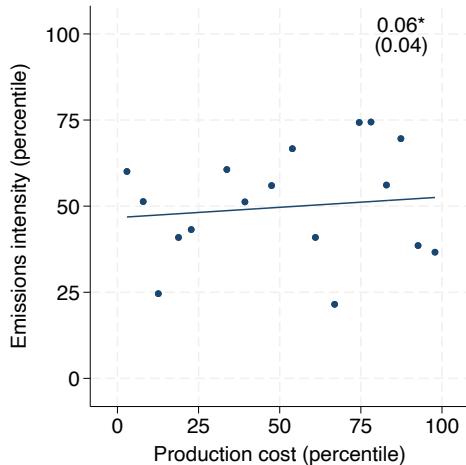
<b>Steel</b>		
	Mt	%
China	860	51
Europe	153	9
Japan	88	5
USA	86	5
India	76	5
Rest of world	409	24

# Carbon pricing shifts the competitive landscape

## Aluminum

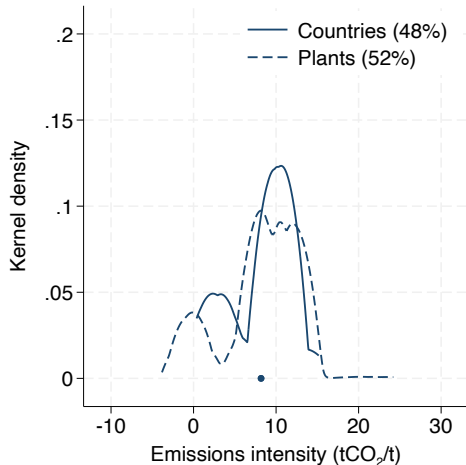


## Steel

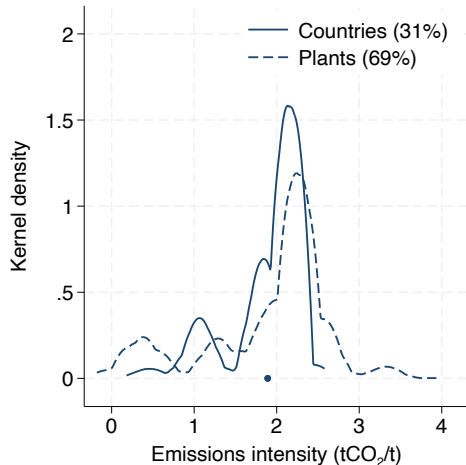


# Heterogeneity both within and across countries

## Aluminum



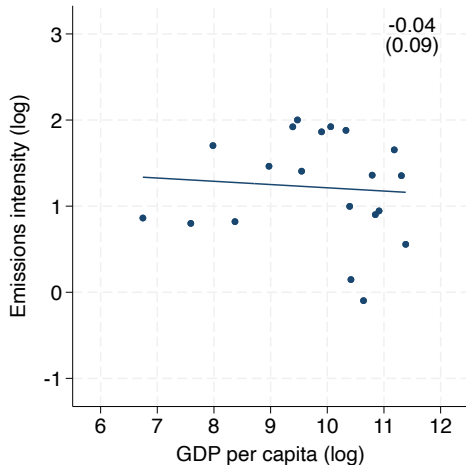
## Steel



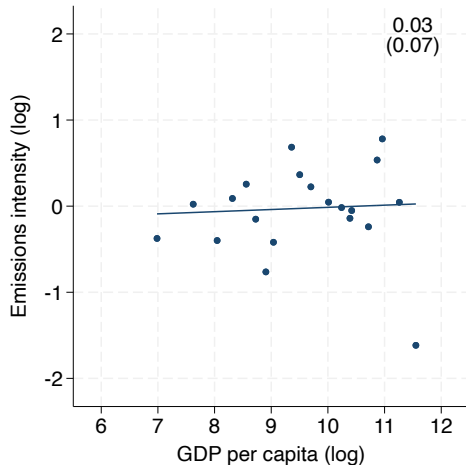


# Flat emissions intensity by income

## Aluminum



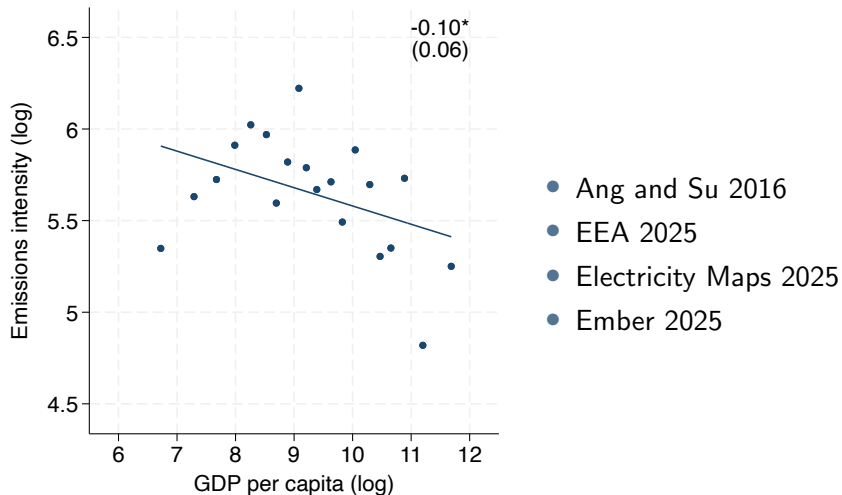
## Steel



## Even controlling for differences in production

	Aluminum		Steel	
	GDP	Controls	GDP	Controls
GDP per capita (log)	-0.0378 (0.0896)	0.0148 (0.111)	0.0252 (0.0728)	-0.0921 (0.0597)
Primary production (%)		0.990** (0.440)		1.461*** (0.279)
Average production (Mt)		0.585* (0.309)		0.202* (0.111)
State ownership (%)		-0.271 (0.291)		0.474** (0.201)
Foreign ownership (%)		-0.105 (0.367)		-0.541* (0.297)
Average plant age (years)		-0.00933 (0.00662)		-0.00259 (0.00249)
Observations	38	34	77	77

# Electricity emissions intensities explain aluminum



## Compressed emissions intensities explain steel

<b>Aluminum</b>	
	t
Kazakhstan	15.2
South Africa	14.2
India	13.5
Australia	12.7
China	10.2
UAE	6.6
Bahrain	6.6
Qatar	6.6
Saudi Arabia	6.5
Oman	6.4
World average	8.2

<b>Steel</b>	
	t
Kazakhstan	2.6
Ukraine	2.4
South Africa	2.3
China	2.2
Serbia	2.2
Vietnam	2.1
India	2.0
Australia	1.9
Brazil	1.9
Japan	1.9
World average	1.9

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  $e$
- 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**

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

markets clear at prices  $(P^R, P^U)$

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

- 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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- Incidence: depends on firm **data**

## Demand $D^m(P^m)$ by market $m$

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

- Estimated with historical global data for metals  $j$ , years  $t$ 
  - Assuming common elasticity and world prices
- Endogeneity: positive demand shocks raise prices in equilibrium
  - Instrument: Australia's share of global ore production

## Demand $D^m(P^m)$ by market $m$

$$\log D_{jt} = \delta_j + \delta_t + \varepsilon \log P_{jt} + \epsilon_{jt}$$

- Estimated with historical global data for metals  $j$ , years  $t$ 
  - Assuming common elasticity and world prices
- Endogeneity: positive demand shocks raise prices in equilibrium
  - Instrument: Australia's share of global ore production

## Demand elasticities

	Estimate	SE	Obs
1976 to 2024			
OLS	-0.730***	0.080	98
IV: Australian share of ore production	-0.930***	0.098	98
1998 to 2022			
OLS	-0.462***	0.053	50
IV: Australian share of ore production (AU)	-0.733***	0.134	50
IV: concentration of ore production (HHI)	-0.743***	0.152	50
IV: both AU and HHI	-0.728***	0.132	50

Supply  $s_i^m(p_i^m)$  by plant  $i$

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

- Price  $p_i^m$ , cost  $c_i$ , logit shocks  $\epsilon_{il}$ , capacity  $\bar{s}_i$
- Constant marginal costs: heterogeneity across plants, not across lines (CRS)
- No market power: unconcentrated with many plants and firms
- No dynamic response: new construction is expensive and slow

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

$$\log \left( \frac{o_i^m}{1 - o_i^m} \right) = \beta(p_i^m - c_i) + \epsilon_i.$$

- Costs  $c_{ijk}$  are data, assuming  $MC = AC$ 
  - Only need to estimate  $\beta$ , rather than full cost structure
- Endogeneity: aggregate supply shocks raise prices in equilibrium
  - Fixed effects: compare plants within markets, eliminating common prices
- Endogeneity: costs are correlated with unobserved technology
  - Fixed effects: compare plants that are observably similar

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

$$\log \left( \frac{o_{ijk}}{1 - o_{ijk}} \right) = -\beta(\bar{\tau}_{jk}\bar{e}_{ijk} + c_{ijk}) + \mu_{jk} + \epsilon_{ijk}$$

- Costs  $c_{ijk}$  are data, assuming  $MC = AC$ 
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- Endogeneity: aggregate supply shocks raise prices in equilibrium
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## Supply elasticities

	Estimate	SE	Obs
OLS	-0.358***	0.076	1,055
FE: country-metal	0.241	0.224	1,005
FE: country-metal + controls	0.583**	0.231	987
FE: country-metal-group	0.602**	0.238	833

Observables: primary production, state ownership, foreign ownership, plant age



# Counterfactuals

# Policy simulations

- **European carbon tax** at \$100 per ton of CO<sub>2</sub>
  - With vs. without a **CBAM** in place
  - Isolates the marginal impact of the CBAM
- Evaluate welfare relative to zero regulation
  - Europe ( $R$ ), China ( $U/R$ ), and rest of world ( $U$ )

## Equilibrium price effects

Europe:  $\tau^R = 100$

$\Delta P$ (%)	Europe	China	Rest of world
Without CBAM	0.41	0.41	0.41
With CBAM	1.22	0.33	0.33

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

## CBAMs boost competitiveness

Europe at  $\tau^R = 100$

$\Delta PS$ (1B USD)	Europe	China	Rest of world
Without CBAM	-23.07	4.02	3.04
With CBAM	-22.07	3.17	2.61

- Without CBAM,  $R$  firms lose and  $U$  firms gain
- With CBAM,  $R$  loses \$1B less at cost to  $U$

## CBAMs curb leakage

Europe at  $\tau^R = 100$

$\Delta E$ (Mt CO <sub>2</sub> )	Europe	China	Rest of world	Global
Without CBAM	-24.81	4.85	2.84	-17.12
With CBAM	-24.03	3.34	2.23	-18.45

- Without CBAM,  $R$  emissions fall and  $U$  emissions rise
- With CBAM, global emissions fall by 1.33 Mt more

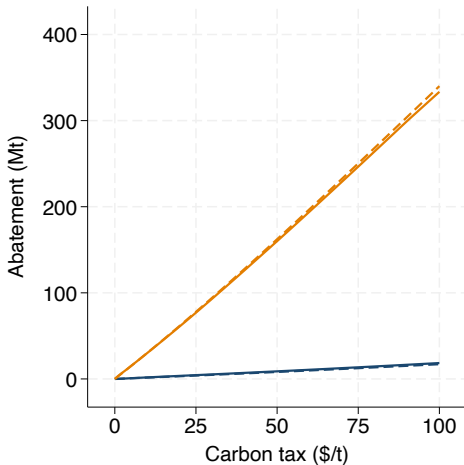
## CBAMs encourage Chinese regulation

Europe at  $\tau^R = 100$ ; China joining at  $\tau^R = 100$

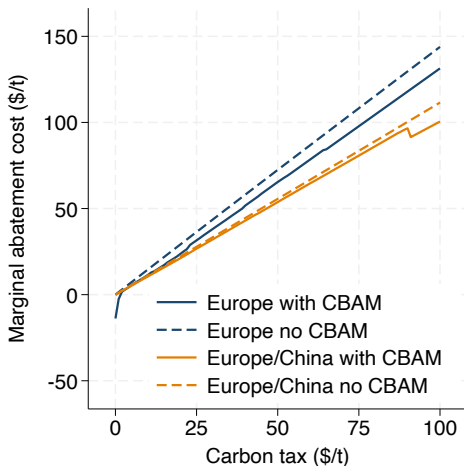
	Europe:	With CBAM		No CBAM
		With CBAM	No CBAM	No CBAM
Chinese welfare (\$1B)		-18.22	-20.05	-19.69
Global emissions (Mt)		-314.9	-321.6	-322.9
Average cost (\$/t)		57.86	62.34	60.98

# Global abatement

## Abatement

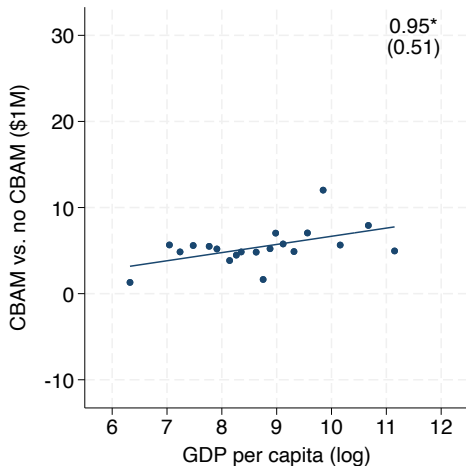


## Marginal abatement costs

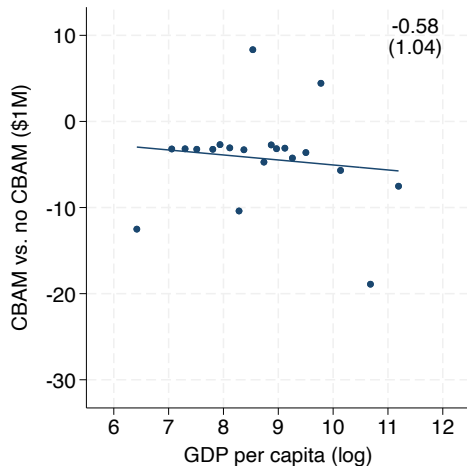


# European CBAM impacts by income

## Consumer surplus



## Producer surplus





## European CBAM impacts by country

### Consumer surplus

Largest gains		Largest losses	
(\$1M)		(\$1M)	
China	841	Germany	-340
USA	114	Italy	-221
India	79	France	-116
Japan	52	Spain	-109
South Korea	36	Poland	-88

### Producer surplus

Largest gains		Largest losses	
(\$1M)		(\$1M)	
Germany	203	China	-847
Italy	167	India	-79
Norway	156	Russia	-66
France	87	Japan	-42
Iceland	77	Canada	-39

## Other counterfactuals

- Implementing firm- vs. country-level regulation
- Green technology and expansion
- Phasing out EU allowances
- Partial border adjustment

## Conclusion

# Summary

- Quantitative equilibrium analysis of European **CBAM policies**
  - 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