

**“Montreal Strategic  
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## **Regional and Sub-Global Climate Blocs.**

**Barbara Buchner\* and Carlo Carraro\*\***

\* Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei

\*\* University of Venice, Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, CEPR, CEPS, CESifo



**Climate Change control = global governance problem**

**But: broad participation on climate change control is hard to achieve because of:**

- **Public good – free-riding incentives**
  - ⇒ "Quasi" Tragedy of the Commons
  - ⇒ Intrinsic instability of environmental negotiations.
- Large economic and environmental **structural asymmetries** among world regions
- Absence of **supra-national authority**
  - ⇒ ***low environmental effectiveness*** of the Kyoto Protocol

# Therefore....

- **The current climate regime is unlikely to be the final one**
- **Recent discussions on post 2012 already suggest a more complex regime than Kyoto**
  - ⇒ **Including technology policy**
  - ⇒ **Adaptation policy**
  - ⇒ **Special concerns for developing countries**

## In practice a lot of action ongoing...

- Measures are taken at the city, state, country and regional levels
- All these measures resemble the dynamics of trade agreements in the past and even recently with the resurgence of regionalism
- 250 RTA notified to the WTO by December 2002. More than 300 expected by the end 2005.
- Can climate policy follow the same route? I.e. are we going to observe the formation of climate blocs?

# Our approach

## Positive approach

- What are incentives for negotiating countries?

## Theoretic background

- Game-theoretic studies show that equilibrium of a coalition formation games is characterised by several small blocs (agreements); political science studies

## Similarities with trade agreements

- Progress on trade liberalisation mostly through regional agreements
- RTAs may actually often support the WTO's multilateral trading system (Sampson and Woolcock)

**Can regional agreements/sub-global bloc structures lead to better economic and environmental outcomes than the current climate coalition?**

# Lessons from coalition theory

## Non-cooperative game theory:

- If countries are free to decide not only whether to join a coalition but also which coalition:  
generally **more than one coalition** at the equilibrium
  - Usually: co-operators - free-riders
  - At equilibrium, group of co-operators split into several subgroups: several coalitions form
- ⇒ **application to climate negotiations:**  
fragmented climate regime:  
some groups of countries cooperate, others free-ride

# Limitations of game theory

## **Assumption of asymmetry:**

characteristics of the coalitions which form at the equilibrium cannot be identified

- ⇒ **Need for an applied economic analysis:**  
enables identification of the incentives which lead countries to a fragmented regime

# Methodology and main assumptions

- **Focus on Post Kyoto: 2010-2100**
- Priority to **economic incentives**
- **Quantitative assessment** through a simple **integrated model: FEEM-RICE** with endogenous/induced technical change
- **Game-theoretic framework**: six players (EU, JPN, FSU, US, CHN, ROW); 4 strategic variables; dynamic open-loop Nash game; extension of PANE - equilibrium concept (Chander and Tulkens, 1995/97); open membership rule
- Adoption of **cost-effective environmental policies**

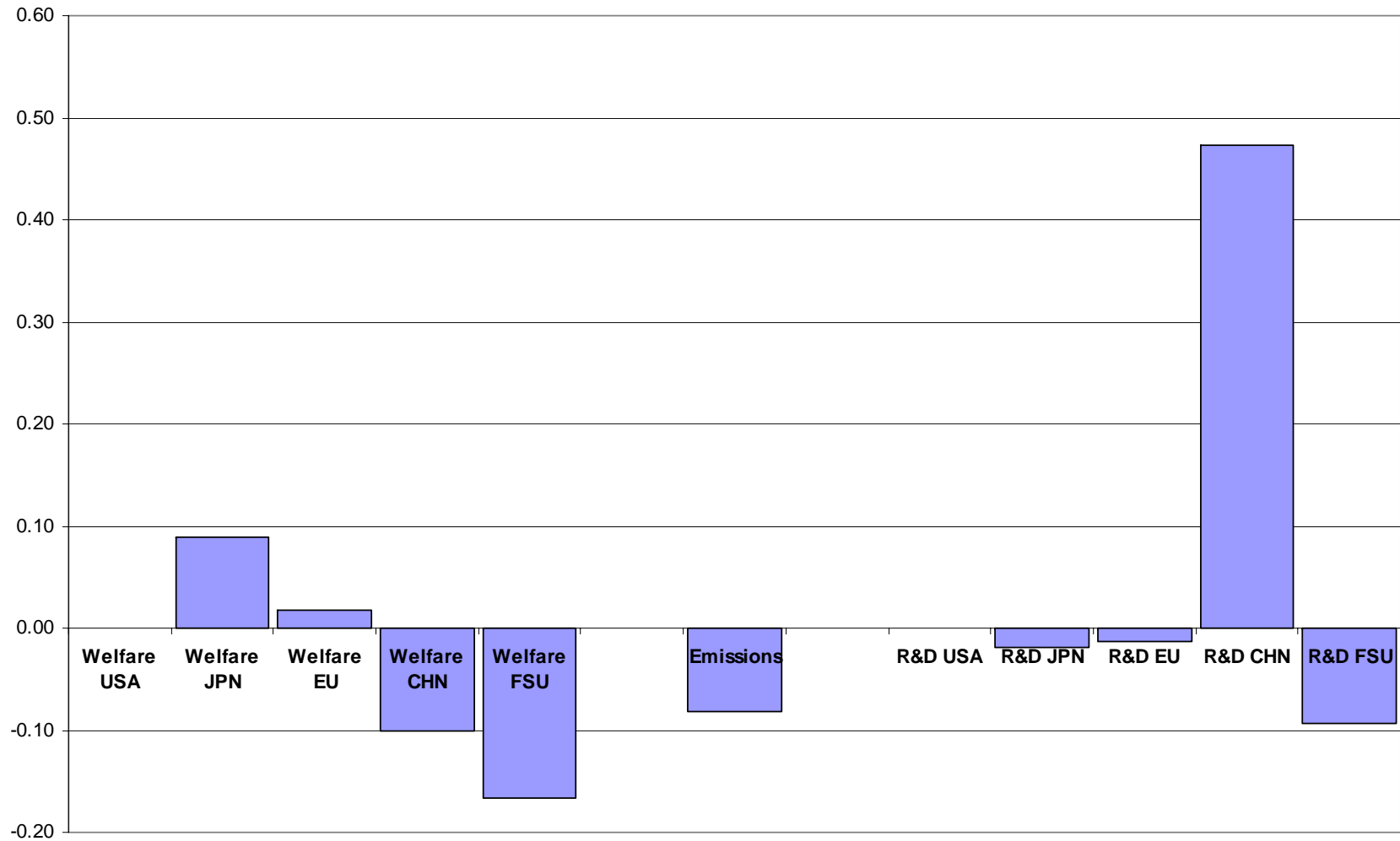
- **Starting point:**  
the existing climate regime
- **Background:**  
news from climate diplomacy
- **Strategy:**  
analysis of ***economic incentives*** to move away from present situation by comparing the current regime to other potential regimes

# Post 2012 - Scenario 1

## A fragmented regime of 2 climate blocs:

- **Bilateral deal between EU and Russia:**  
recent evidence (TACIS; Kyoto)  
beneficial both for EU (high abatement costs)  
and Russia (relations)
- **Bilateral deal between Japan and China:**  
evidence for regional focus in Asia  
beneficial both for Japan (high abatement costs)  
and China (profits, environment); weight to  
region

# Scenario 1: (EU+Russia), (Japan+China)



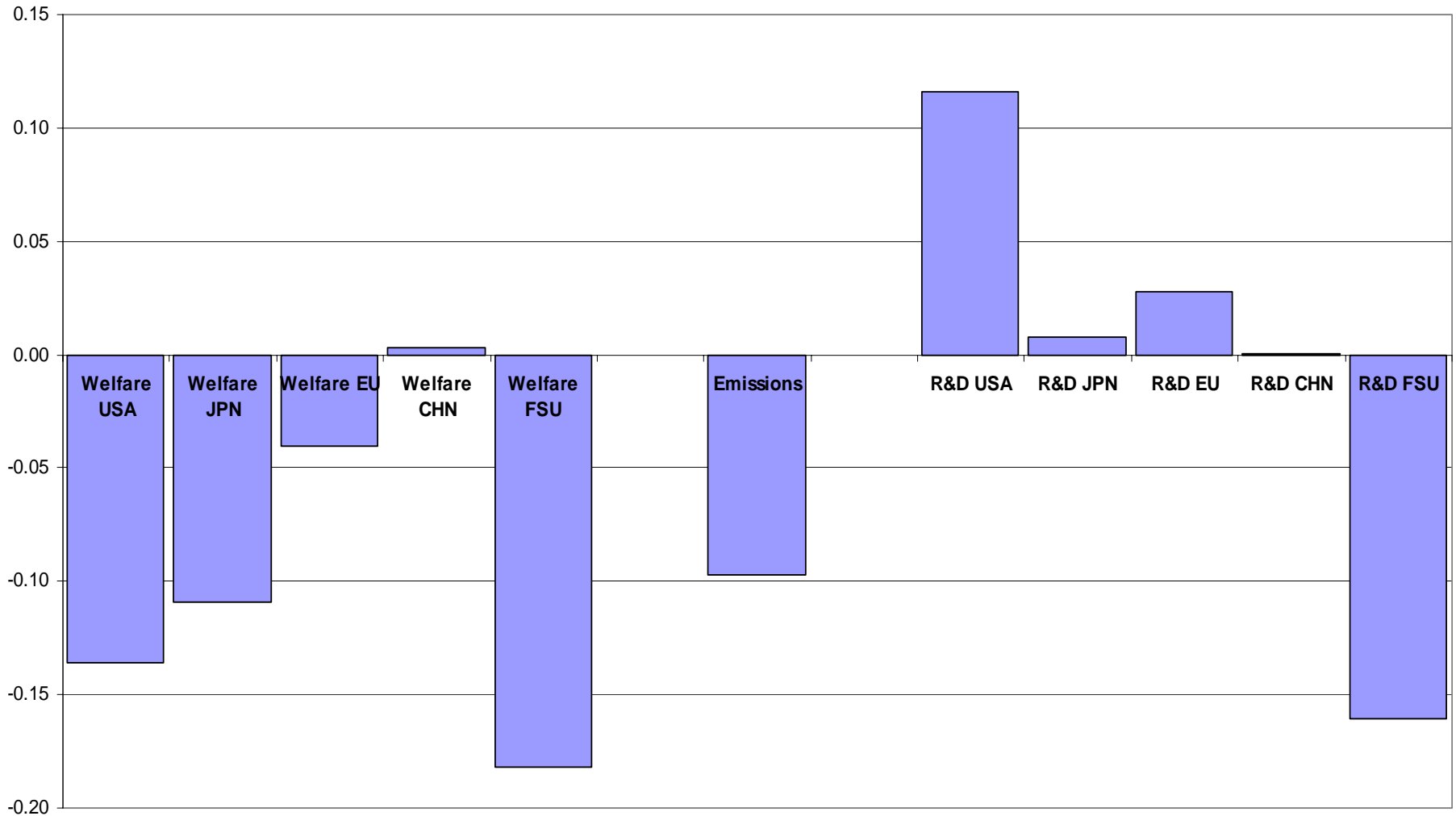
# Post 2012 - Scenario 1: Results

- **Decline in permit price**
- **Japan:** gains thanks to lower abatement costs
- **EU:** small welfare gain due to lower abatement costs
- **China:** decrease in welfare; increase in strategic R&D investments
- **Russia:** main loser due to smaller price, smaller market, decrease in strategic R&D investments
- **Environmental effectiveness:** total emissions decrease because of higher abatement in China

### A fragmented regime of 2 climate blocs:

- **Bilateral deal between US and Russia:**  
US search for alternatives;  
beneficial both for US (high abatement costs)  
and Russia (incentives; relations)
- **Bilateral deal between EU and Japan:**  
Kyoto commitment

# Scenario 2: (US+Russia), (EU+Japan)



## Post 2012 - Scenario 2: Results

- **China:** increases welfare because of increase in global abatement
- **Japan, EU:** lose because of strong increase in abatement costs
- **US:** decrease in welfare due to abatement obligations; increase in R&D investment
- **Russia:** decrease in welfare due to lower permit price, decrease in strategic R&D investments
- **Environmental effectiveness:** total emissions decrease because of higher global abatement

# Post 2012 - Scenario 3

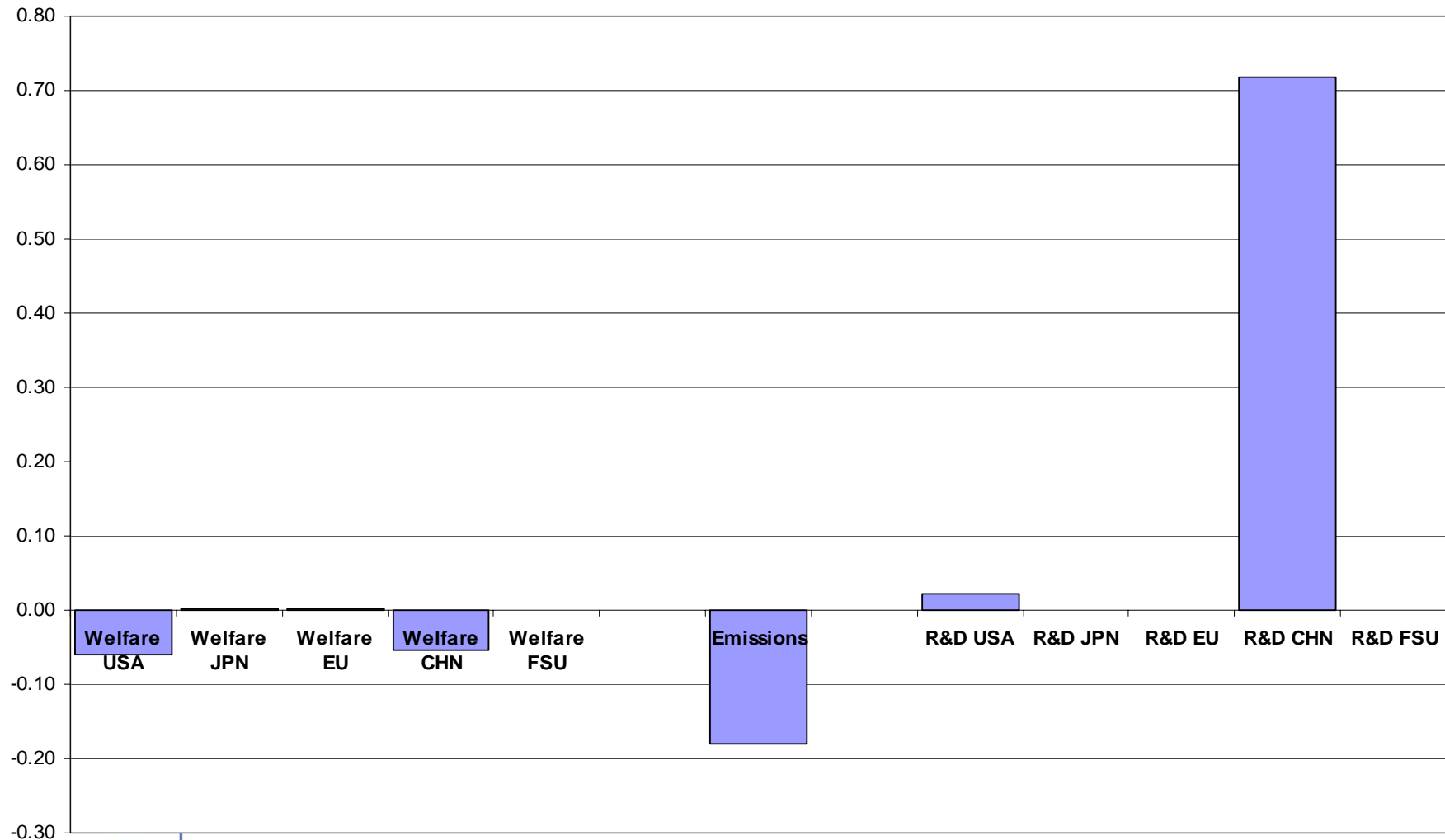
## **A fragmented regime of 2 climate blocs:**

- Bilateral deal between US and China
- Cooperation between EU, Japan and Russia

## **Motivations:**

- US is unlikely to break Annex B-US bloc
- Involvement of developing countries is considered as crucial, in particular for US

# Scenario 3: (US+China), (EU+Japan+Russia)



# Post 2012 - Scenario 3: Results

- **China, US:** lose wrt free-riding; but: very small losses, could be compensated by ancillary benefits
- **China:** large expansion of R&D investments
- **Japan, EU, Russia:** slightly beneficial due to higher environmental effectiveness
- **Environmental effectiveness:** strong decrease in total emissions (-20%) because of higher global abatement

- **Post 2012 – Scenario 1:** profitable to Japan and EU who could therefore implement some compensation scheme for China and Russia; but: unlikely to emerge because US not involved
- **Post 2012 – Scenario 2:** unlikely to emerge because lack of incentives (total welfare of all countries decreases)
- **Post 2012 – Scenario 3:** small welfare losses for US and China, small welfare gains for Annex B<sub>-US</sub>, enhanced environmental effectiveness; more likely to emerge although...

# From the analysis of all coalition structures:

- Consistently with game theoretic analyses, we assessed cost and benefits for all world regions in all feasible coalition structures
- Outcomes compared in terms of both economic efficiency and environmental effectiveness

# Economic efficiency: cross-comparisons

<b>CHN</b>	<b>USA</b>
(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)	(JPN, EU, FSU)
(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)	(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU)
(JPN, EU)	(EU, FSU)
(EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)
(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)	(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)
(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)
(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)
(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)

# Economic efficiency: cross-comparisons

<b>JPN</b>	<b>EU</b>	<b>FSU</b>
(EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(JPN, EU)
(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, FSU)
(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)
(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)	(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)	(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)
(JPN, EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, FSU)	(EU, FSU)
(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)	(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)	(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)	(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)
(JPN, EU)	(JPN, EU)	(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)

# Summary and Policy Conclusions

## Incentives in international climate policy:

- **China, US:** strong incentive to free-riding. If they decide to participate: bilateral bloc
- **Russia:** strong incentive to keep large developing countries out of the coalition
- **Japan, EU:** strong incentive to maintain cooperation with Russia; US involvement not beneficial in short term
- ***current climate regime:*** fairly stable in terms of economic incentives, highly ineffective from environmental viewpoint

# Environmental Effectiveness and Global Welfare

## Ranking according to global welfare and global emissions

Global Welfare	Global GHG Emissions
(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)
(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)
(EU, FSU)	(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)
(JPN, EU, FSU)	(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)
(USA, JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)	(JPN, CHN) & (EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU, FSU) & (USA, CHN)	(JPN, EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU)	(JPN, EU, CHN, FSU)
(USA, JPN, EU, FSU)	(EU, FSU)
(JPN, EU) & (USA, FSU)	(JPN, EU)

# Summary and Policy Conclusions

- 👉 In the *short term*, a move from the current climate regime is not likely.
- 👉 It is unlikely that the US and large developing countries keep rejecting any form of climate cooperation.
- 👉 There seems to be high incentives for the emergence of a two-bloc climate regime:  
**(US+China) - Annex B-US**
  - highest benefits for environment
  - moderate economic costs for cooperating countries

# Insights for this workshop

- ⇒ **Strong incentives for the emergence of fragmented, parallel sub-global strategies; “coalitions of the like-minded”**
- ⇒ **R&D is crucial variable in climate negotiations.**
- ⇒ **These sub-global, bottom-up strategies can be a first step towards global climate change control.**

**Thank you for your attention!**

**barbara.buchner@feem.it**



Fondazione  
Eni  
Enrico Mattei

corso Magenta 63  
20123 Milano - Italy

tel +39 | 02 | 5203.6975  
fax +39 | 02 | 5203.6946  
web <http://www.feem.it>