

The Energy Sector Governance Association, in collaboration with the World Bank, is conducting a study on poverty reduction and economic growth in low- and middle-income countries through sustainable energy sources: exploring direct and indirect carbon pricing instruments and understanding the factors that drive carbon prices (World Bank, 2024). Over the past three decades, countries around the world have been implementing energy, climate change, and fiscal policy instruments that directly or indirectly price carbon on economic actors using existing energy sources, through energy taxes and energy subsidies, and contribute to reducing carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions.

The total carbon price (TCP) indicator has been developed to assess the carbon price signals resulting from the combination of direct carbon pricing instruments with institutional instruments that serve as indirect carbon pricing, mainly energy taxes and subsidies (Agnolucci et al., 2023b).

Direct carbon pricing mechanisms, as developed by Agnolucci (2023a), are mechanisms that directly place a price on carbon emissions, while indirect carbon pricing policies impose costs on specific energy sources or energy carriers that produce carbon emissions by affecting the relative prices of goods and services. An energy carrier is defined as "a substance or phenomenon that can be used to produce mechanical work or heat, or to drive chemical or physical processes" (ISO13600, 1997).

In the energy value chain, transporters are considered as intermediate stages between primary energy sources, such as crude oil and coal and their final uses, such as cooling or heating. A system that categorizes the different instruments with carbon price signals, including price and non-price policies, and details their objectives is presented in the table below.

Table 1. Price and non-price policies and their objectives in carbon pricing

Policy	Policy classification		Tools
Pricing policy	Carbon price	Direct carbon pricing	Carbon taxes Commercially acceptable performance standards
		Indirect carbon pricing	Fuel (excise) tax Fuel subsidies (consumption) (production)
	Promoting technology and production	Support for renewable energies	Food tariffs, subsidies for technology deployment
		Other taxes and trade standards	Clean energy standards, tradable renewable portfolio standards, energy efficiency tax credits, VAT differential for cars, motor vehicle taxes
A policy without a price	Standards (non-commercial) and other regulations		Technology mandates, air pollution standards, fertilizer regulations, fuel efficiency, energy efficiency building codes.
	Public investment		Public transportation infrastructure, other infrastructure for innovation.
	Information policy		Certification, product labeling and ratings, information disclosure policies
	Other policies		



Direct carbon pricing involves measures that impose costs on carbon emissions directly or in proportion to the carbon content of a product. Direct carbon pricing initiatives, typically implemented through carbon taxes and emissions trading systems (ETS), aim to set a clear price on emissions, expressed as a monetary unit per tonne of carbon dioxide (tCO₂).

Table 2. Direct and indirect means of determining carbon pricing

Category	Elements	Data source and direction
Direct Carbon Pricing Tools	Carbon tax, emissions trading systems	World Bank, Carbon Pricing Dashboard IMF (Parry, Black and Vernon 2021). Energy taxes and subsidies for energy consumption are calculated based on
Indirect Carbon Pricing Tools	Energy (fuel) taxes, energy consumption subsidies, VAT exemptions	variable supply costs and retail prices in the database. VAT exemptions are calculated from economy-wide and fuel-specific VAT rates.

Energy subsidies cost billions of dollars in public and private funds each year. There are different approaches to quantifying energy subsidies, used by relevant multilateral agencies such as the International Energy Agency (IEA), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) think tanks. Most efforts to quantify energy subsidies focus on consumption subsidies and produce estimates of global averages using different methodologies.

There are two main approaches to quantifying energy subsidies: the price-gap approach and the inventory approach (Kojima, 2017). The price-gap approach measures the gap between the fair market prices and the prices charged to consumers, while the inventory approach calculates subsidies based on an inventory of government actions that benefit the production and consumption of fossil fuels.

The costs of energy subsidies to the economy, society, and the environment often outweigh their benefits. Common objectives for providing energy subsidies include ensuring affordable energy for households, reducing the impact of energy price volatility on consumers, increasing the competitiveness of local firms, facilitating the transition of households from traditional solid fuels, reducing negative health and environmental impacts, and promoting the natural development of fossil fuel extraction (Kojima, 2016).

Despite the goal of protecting the poor, the bulk of the benefits of universal price subsidies accrue to wealthy households, which consume more energy than poor households and are therefore considered "regressive" (del Granado et al., 2021). Especially in low- and middle-income countries, universal energy price subsidies disproportionately benefit high-income households and may further exacerbate social and gender inequality by diverting resources away from progressive and inclusive social programs (Kuehl et al., 2021).

Energy subsidies impose significant financial costs and create distortions in the economy. They divert fiscal resources from other spending priorities such as infrastructure or human development, exacerbate financial inequality (Flochel and Gooptu, 2017), and promote capital- and energy-intensive economic development. While energy subsidies reduce current inflation by dampening energy price increases, they do so only at the expense of future inflation. In the energy sector, the lack of full cost recovery and dependence on subsidies can affect the financial and operational

rate of USD 20. Over the past two decades, direct carbon pricing has become an integral part of the policy instruments used to mitigate climate change (Carbon Pricing Leadership Coalition, 2017; OECD, 2021c; UNDP, 2021).

The IEA’s latest estimates, using a price gap approach, put subsidies at over US\$1 trillion by 2022 (IEA, 2023). These figures fall short of the level of spending needed to achieve Sustainable Development Goal 7.1 of affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all, for which annual financing needs are in the range of US\$10 billion.

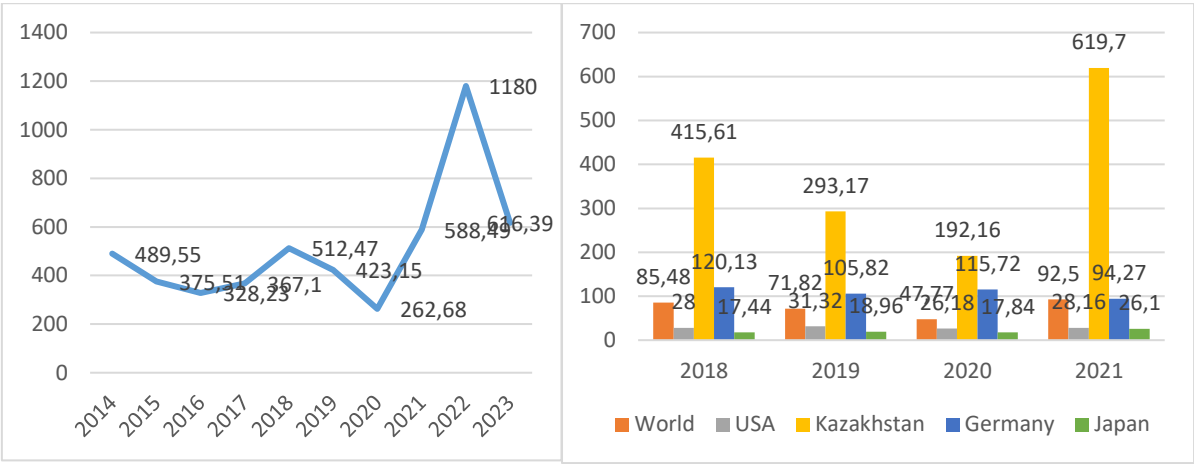


Figure 1. Global net fuel consumption subsidies (billion, \$) and change in fossil fuel subsidies per capita (\$)

Global fossil fuel subsidies amounted to \$5.9 trillion in 2020, or 6.8 percent of GDP, and are expected to increase to 7.4 percent of GDP in 2025, as the share of fuel consumption in emerging markets continues to grow. Only 8 percent of the 2020 subsidy reflects underpayment for supply costs, and 92 percent reflects underpayment for environmental costs and repealed consumption taxes.

Effective fuel pricing by 2025 would reduce global carbon emissions by 36% below baseline levels, consistent with limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius, while raising incomes equivalent to 3.8% of global GDP and avoiding 0.9 million local air pollution emissions. This includes production and consumption subsidies, and is projected for 2021, before the energy crisis. Surprisingly, the countries providing the largest subsidies are major fossil fuel producers: major oil producers such as Saudi Arabia, Turkmenistan, Libya, and Algeria spend more than \$500 (sometimes more than \$1,000) per capita to support fossil fuel production. These subsidies can amount to more than 10% of GDP. Countries in Europe, North and South America, and East Asia typically give less than \$100 per capita, while in Africa and South Asia, it is even less than \$20, and sometimes close to zero.

This estimate is much higher than the numbers we looked at earlier because it includes not only explicit subsidies (i.e., direct payments) but also implicit subsidies – the social costs of burning fossil fuels. When we burn fossil fuels, we pollute local air, which harms human health, and contribute to climate change, which in turn leads to environmental and social harm. The IMF also links fossil fuels to the social costs of road accidents and congestion. Economists typically refer to

these indirect costs, which are not reflected in market prices, as “externalities” rather than “subsidies.”

Many countries, including most G20 countries, are implementing or exploring some form of domestic carbon pricing – compliance instruments (emissions trading systems and carbon taxes) and/or domestic carbon credit mechanisms. According to the World Bank’s State and Trends in Carbon Pricing Panel, there will be 75 carbon pricing instruments in place in 2024, covering 24 percent of global emissions. The increasing adoption of these instruments could significantly contribute to global emissions reductions.

Carbon pricing in the European Union has played a significant role in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, with a 47% reduction in sectors covered by the EU Emissions Trading System since its launch in 2005. Today, the EU’s share of global emissions is below 7% and declining. Building on the successful experience of the EU, the Working Group aims primarily to share lessons learned from the EU and to support other jurisdictions in developing and implementing effective domestically compliant carbon pricing and carbon market instruments (such as carbon taxes or emissions trading systems). All countries should adopt carbon pricing as a central part of their climate strategies to cover 60% of global emissions by 2030, reduce global greenhouse gas emissions and reduce the risk of carbon leakage.

CONCLUSION

The process of supporting the "Green Economy" around the world is developing rapidly. Also, subsidizing electricity with the aim of reducing poverty may not always yield positive results. Since the bulk of the benefits of universal price subsidies fall on rich households, which consume more energy than poor households, it is advisable to develop an effective system of subsidies. Although the disadvantage of setting carbon prices for energy consumption is that it may lead to an increase in the price level, in an open market environment, it will become a tool for encouraging energy consumers to use energy-saving devices effectively and to transition to "Green Energy".

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