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ETS2: Fuel for the yellow vests or driver of the green transition?

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A new European carbon market (ETS) for road and heating fuels across the EU

Sectors covered: road transport, buildings, construction, small industry

The ETS2 relies on the "polluter pays" principle

a trading system (buying and selling) "pollution rights" also known as emission allowances or permits. Each allowance corresponds to one ton of CO_2

1 tax

The ETS2 is part of the Fit for55 climate policy package[1]

by 2030 → −55% a reduction in greenhouse gases emissions target (compared to 1990 levels).

The proposed ETS2 covered nearly 50% of the additional emissions from road transport and building targets.

from 2026 Regulated during the Belgian Presidency of the Council of the EU[2]

Functioning and scope

Regulated entities (mining and fuel distributors) → purchase and set allowances → CO_2 emissions generated → National Authorities

National Authorities: mandatory auctions (at 215 €/tonne) → revenues generated → Social Climate Fund (€86.7 billion from 2026 to 2032)

Accompanying measures may include direct income support for and micro-enterprises vulnerable users, up to 37.5% of total costs.

Mandatory national co-financing of at least 25% of the total amount (with €87.7 billion)

National measures to support and assist households and businesses in the transition

The extra costs are fully passed on to households and businesses

Final consumers

Households, small companies or industries facing higher fuel costs due to purchasing traditional vehicles (petrol, diesel, kerosene)

ETS1 covers direct CO_2 emitters (such as heavy industries and power generation)

This additional cost should be fully passed in the price paid by the end consumer, i.e., households or businesses.

ETS2 applies to distributors of fossil fuels and combustibles used in transport, heating and cooling in the "buildings, building construction" and small industry" sectors. All fossil-based products sold by these distributors are subject to emissions allowances.

As the use of fossil fuel products sold by distributors emits CO_2 (petrol, gas/fuel oil for heating), they will have to purchase a number of allowances equivalent to the emissions generated by the use of their products.

The carbon price will result in higher bills for and consumers in Europe.

European Commission estimates:

With a €85/tCO2 price → 13c/L for diesel, 11c/L for petrol

For buildings, the additional cost could be in the range of 10 to 30%, depending on the fossil fuel concerned and the Member State.

The bullish effect of the carbon price will also vary depending on how each Member State decides to allocate the ETS 2 and existing carbon tax.

2026 → Following France's carbon tax example, eight other states[3] have a carbon tax with a scope that more or less encompasses the one of the ETS2 (with differences regard to the use of fossil fuels in buildings).

Example:

FRANCE: ETS2 €85/CO2 + carbon tax 44.60/CO2 → additional cost estimated by the French Court of Auditors[4]: 11 to 13% for gas; 10 to 11% for fuel.

Revisiting[5] modelled the average additional expenditure for an average French household:

1554 + 124 related to transport + 504 related to buildings = 2182

Conversely, other EU countries, particularly in Eastern Europe, who do not have a carbon tax, will see a significant increase in their bills as no carbon pricing mechanism is in place there.

Why a new carbon market, and for what purpose?

The objective of this harmonised price signal is to encourage users to change their behavior by moving towards carbon-free alternatives.

Example:

Internal combustion engine vehicle → electric vehicle; fossil fuel boiler → heat pump

In practical terms, this European carbon price will increase the cost of using fossil fuels (such as gas, petrol, diesel, coal, etc.)

In order to support these changes, the proper use of revenues generated by ETS2 will be crucial.

Each Member State will be able to:

- Use money from the SCF
- As well as revenues from the ETS2

Ex.: France: SCF €1.2 bn/y; ETS2 €6.5bn/y with a 50€/tCO2 price

Measures that could be financed:

- **support for the "transition with decarbonisation"**: e.g. social leasing for electric vehicles or the "thermoelectrics" building renovation scheme in France[6]
- **tax relief** (tax credits, reduced VAT)
- **budgetary measures** (revaluation of the energy charge or the introduction of a universal carbon income) to mitigate the effects of price increases.

The Social Climate Fund

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A Social Climate Fund (SCF) is with an estimated envelope of €86.7 bn over the 2026-2032 period will be financed as follows:

ETS1 REVENUES

(for 2026 only)

50 million → revenues coming from the auctioning of allowances from ETS1 → €4 bn

ETS2 REVENUES

(from 2027)

(min. 150 million) → Revenues from the auctioning of ETS2 and the auctioning of allowances transferred by the Commission based on the market price. → €65 bn

CO-FINANCING SCF

(25%)

Through a mandatory co-financing contribution from Member States for at least 25% → amounting €21.7 bn

Maximum amount of the SCF: €86.7 bn

The disbursement of revenues contributing to the Social Climate Fund must be submitted for validation to the European Commission in the form of a national Social Climate Plan (a mechanism similar to the Recovery and Resilience Plan).

The distribution of revenues via the Fund is based on a series of criteria (total population, proportion at risk of poverty, greenhouse gas emissions, heating degree days, gross domestic product per capita, etc.) in order to ensure that the poorest and most fossil fuel-dependent countries.

Each plan must list the measures and investments that will be financed by the Social Climate Fund. Although it is a **performance-based instrument**, the disbursement of revenues occurs after milestones and targets have been achieved, allowing for the effectiveness of the measures implemented to be assessed.

2026 2032 → The development of the plans must be preceded by a **mandatory public consultation of stakeholders** (local and regional authorities, economic and social partners and relevant civil society organisations). Although a first draft of these plans was expected by 30 June 2025, only 16 states had submitted their plans by 1st October 2025.

ETS2 price scenarios and associated revenues

2026 → If 100% of carbon revenues are to be earmarked for climate action, climate and energy... → ...the exact amount remains unknown, as it depends on the carbon price.

A "central" scenario from the 2027-2032 period → €500 billion → 25% of national revenues[7]

Price (€/CO2):

- 2026: 50
- 2027: 65
- 2028: 80
- 2029: 95
- 2030: 110
- 2031: 125
- 2032: 140

Low carbon price (2027): Deep decline (2028)

Revenues in billion € expected over the 2026-2032 period excluding SCF

Many factors, either political or technical, are likely to cause fluctuation of the CO_2 price, either upwards or downwards:

Rapid implementation of European and national regulations on the transport and building sectors, particularly the main emitting countries, **would reduce demand for emission permits and therefore the carbon price.**

However, we have been able to demonstrate through a prospective analysis[8] that the trend at European level is heading towards a **downward revision of ambition** rather than maintaining climate targets as they stand.

POSTPONING → would lead to a price increase

A deferral, to be decided no later than 15 July 2024, in the event of exceptional prices for gas or Brent crude at during the six calendar months prior to 30 June 2026.

Low price scenario (current) → while being at 65€ (current) / Brent price 100$/barl → while being at 85€ currently

Such a postponement would effectively reduce the Social Climate Fund's budget and could increase pressure on the carbon price.

MARKET STABILITY RESERVE → would lead to a price decrease

Backloading 2027 → The Market Stability Reserve (**MSR**) is an instrument that regulates the market by absorbing surpluses or releasing quotas in order to maintain price stability.

The MSR is supposed to come live in 2028 but changes have been proposed by 19 Member States:

- the launch of the backloading in 2027
- revised and revised forward in a year

2031 → Not end in 2031: the MSR is supposed to expire in 2031 but the end date could be extended.

To address the Member States' concerns, the European Commission has proposed:[9]

- Earlier and more gradual injections of allowances from the MSR in case of lower market liquidity

PROHIBITIONS → would lead to a price decrease

An early auction of the allowances

- 20% (initially quoted (known as "frontloading")
- Operating by taking a portion of the auction volume from the 2029-2030 period.

2027 → 2029 May 2026

This frontloading will make the market more liquid and keep prices low due to excess supply.

Number 2022 → If emissions, from the sectors concerned have not fallen sufficiently, the number of allowances to be released can be expected due to the scarcity of allowances.

This frontloading of allowances should not be confused with the frontloading of carbon revenues as recently proposed by the European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen to finance the Ukraine and Moldova emergency consists in postponing Member States, in advance and via the European Investment Bank, an amount corresponding to expected future carbon revenues in order to pre-finance decarbonisation programs starting now.

SOFT PRICE CAP → would lead to a price decrease

If the carbon price is higher than a threshold (€45/CO2 in 2027-2030) → 100 €/tonne (€90/CO2 in 2031-2032) → compared to the average price of the last 6 months.

which is equivalent to 60€/CO2 in 2027-2030

The mechanism can be triggered twice a year, to release up to 80 million allowances on the market each year in 2027, 2028 and 2029.

LINEAR REDUCTION FACTOR

The Linear Reduction Factor (LRF) determines the rate at which the number of allowances put into circulation (cap) decreases each year. If the LRF were increased, the price would do the same, and vice versa.

This due uncertainty (political and technical) is directly reflected in carbon price projections for 2030:

- wide price ranges
- exceed the majority of them(!) the price modelled by the European Commission in its July 2021 impact assessment

Price estimates (€/CO2) in 2030:

- 100 — Hansen, Hansen-Lee (2024)
- 95 — Hansen, Hansen-Lee (2024)
- 90 — Parry et al. (2024)
- 85 — Bloomberg (2024)
- 80 — Hansen, Hansen-Lee (2024)
- 75 — Carbon Brief (2024)
- 70 — European Commission (2021)
- 65 — European Commission (2021)

The futures market currently prices → the December 2024 price of a €85/CO2 price → 2-year 2025 → However, since its inception, trading has remained largely illiquid for the time being.

Implementation timeframe

APRIL 2023 — Adoption of the revision of the ETS2 directive

31 DEC 2023 — Deadline for applying for an ETS2 exemption valid until 2030 in the case of existing carbon tax

30 JUNE 2024 — Only ireland notified to the European Commission its willingness to benefit from this exemption.

30 JUNE 2024 — Deadline for transposing the ETS2 directive

1 JAN. 2025 — As of 15 October, only 15 Member States have transposed the directive

30 JUNE 2025 — Issuance of emission permits and validation of monitoring plans by national authorities.

30 JUNE 2025 — First draft of the Social Climate Plans are sent to the European Commission.

1 JAN. 2026 — Social Climate Fund enters into force

Preparatory phase with monitoring obligation and emissions reporting

31 JULY 2026 — Revision of the ETS directive

1 JAN. 2027 — ETS2 enters into force

30 JUNE 2027 — Publication of the volume of quotas to be sold for the following year

1 JAN. 2028 — Assessment of ETS2 by the European Commission in Entry into force of ETS2 if a one-year implementation is implemented

1 SEPT. 2028 — MSR enters into force

31 DEC. 2029 — Assessment by the Commission of the appropriateness of the €45/tCO2 threshold triggering the MSR

31 DEC. 2030 — Expiry of the MSR

31 OCT. 2031 — Assessment of the appropriateness of a merger between ETS1 and ETS2

[1] Fitfor55 is a package of proposals aiming at reducing emissions by 55% by 2030 compared to 1990 levels.
[2] Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden.
[3] Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden.
[4] Cour des comptes, "Le financement de la transition écologique", Rapport public thématique, Juillet 2023, p. 87.
[5] Revisting, G. Sgardelis, E. Tagopsou and G. Economidou "Energy Building Stock Modelling Framework for Assessing the Social Climate Fund", Proceedings of the 16th Conference of Sustainable Development, 2025, p. 1.
[6] Ministère de la Transition écologique et de la Cohésion des territoires, "Le financement de la transition écologique", Rapport public thématique, Juillet 2023, p. 87.
[7] Institut Jacques Delors, "Social Climate Fund: Fuel for the yellow vests or driver of the green transition?", Policy Paper, Paul Hutchings, Antoine Lefebvre, Pierre-Yves Cusset, Thomas Pellerin-Carlin, February 2021.
[8] Pierre-Yves Cusset, "Stress-Testing Hydrogen Assumptions", Institut Jacques Delors, Policy Brief, April 2021.
[9] Pierre-Yves Cusset, "Stress-Testing Hydrogen Assumptions", Institut Jacques Delors, Policy Brief, April 2021.