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White Paper

How flexible emission fees can drive transition to fossil-free and sustainable living

The Swedish Sustainable Economy Foundation

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WHITE PAPER

How Flexible Emissions Fees Can Drive Transition to Fossil-free and Sustainable Living

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ABOUT THE FOUNDATION

Established in 1995, the Foundation's purpose is to offer systemic approaches and solutions to the challenge of developing society in a sustainable way. The Foundation develops and supports the development of these solutions mainly in the area of economics. The Foundation takes a non-political, holistic approach to promoting these solutions through research and development, education and spread of information.

HOW TO USE THIS WHITE PAPER

This white paper is written as an introduction to flexible fees and how to apply the mechanism to create the zero-emission society. To help readers understand the thinking behind the mechanism, the paper offers an introduction the basic scientific thinking behind pollution, the basic economic thinking behind externalization and how the circular economy could function in a world that respects the limitations of nature whilst seeking to maximize the economic benefit to citizens.

The practicalities of fee-setting are described in the sections starting with "A Description of Höglund's mechanism".

The worked examples will provide insight into how the mechanism could function, followed by a section explaining how the mechanism could drive the introduction of the circular economy.

THE FOUNDATION'S VIEW: HARNESS MARKET FORCES TO CREATE A PROSPEROUS AND POLLUTION-FREE SOCIETY



Although large inputs of energy are good for the economy, the damage from emissions and use of natural resources, like water, may create costs far outweighing the benefits of this growth

MARKET FORCES

The Foundation recognizes that market forces represent a powerful, dynamic potential to change that could be harnessed to promote sustainable development.

EMISSIONS WILL ULTIMATELY COST

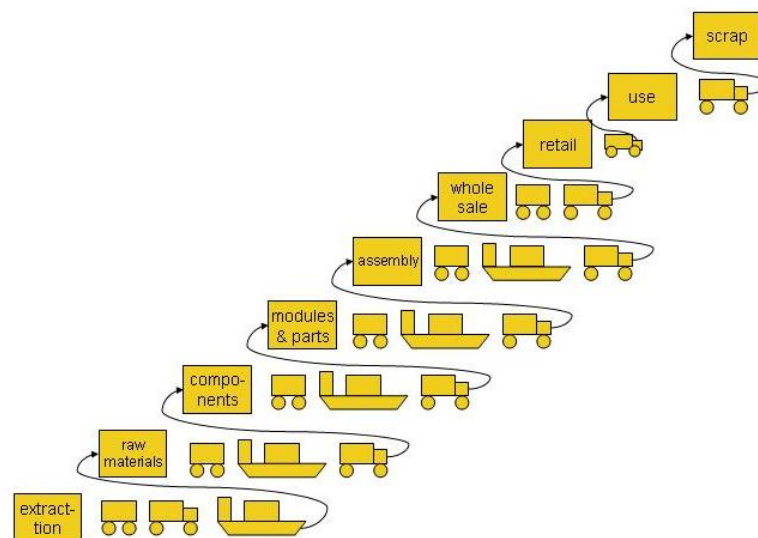
On the other hand, market forces alone do not bring sustainable development and can ultimately present society with huge costs if emissions, for example, are not curbed.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS WHITE PAPER

This paper examines the pricing of emissions and depletion of natural resources. It analyses the interplay between development of supply chains, economic growth and the costs to society of emissions, resource depletion and waste handling. It introduces the subject of emission fees, and the use of market forces to stimulate clean technology (cleantech) and the development of a culture appropriate to nature. Later sections present the Höglund flexible emissions fee mechanism as a way of stimulating this development, using the principles of dynamic control Höglund developed for diesel engines, among others.

For readers seeking more advanced knowledge the paper provides footnotes, references and sections offering deeper analysis.

GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAINS BRING US ALL KINDS OF GOODS – AND TIE US INTO DEPENDENCY ON FINITE MATERIALS



SUPPLY CHAINS BRING GOODS AND SERVICES TO THE MODERN CONSUMER

In striving to reach high levels of organizational effectiveness and efficiency, services come to consumers via long supply chains of interlinked, highly specialized firms. The chain starts with raw materials, like sand, which make up components in, for example, electrical devices which eventually end up in the refuse collection system.



Public and private waste streams represent an additional cost for the product over its lifetime, especially if biological and mineral nutrients are emitted to burden and degrade the environment. However, waste streams also represent potential sources of raw materials for new products.

THE ACCUMULATION OF BIOLOGICAL AND MINERAL SUBSTANCES IN SOCIETY

The range of products available today to the average consumer comes at a price to societies and the environment in all segments of the chain. Along the supply chain, emissions flow into natural and societal sinks. In many cases, the substances are in a form that makes them in principle unrecoverable. (For example when metals are in special alloys, or materials are fixed together.)

In other cases, these materials represent a biological burden on ecosystems (e.g. the Baltic sea is experiencing algal bloom due to excess nutrient emissions)

As an illustration, the table below shows the massive throughput of materials needed to keep London functioning.

Material throughput of London, UK population circa 7,5 million

Input, millions of tonnes		Output, millions of tonnes	
Water	1,000	CO ₂	60
Food	2.4	Household waste	4
Fuel	20	Industrial waste	11.4
Timber	1.2	SO ₂	0.4
Plastics	2.1	NO _x	0.28
Metals	1.2	Sewage	7.5
Glass	0.36		
Cement	2		
Building materials	36		
Oxygen	40		
Paper	2.2		

Source: New Scientist

An example of waste streams pouring massive amounts of potentially useful material into the biosphere is that of accumulation of plastic in the oceans. Reporting in the journal *Science*¹, researcher Richard Thompson, a senior marine ecology lecturer at the University of Plymouth, says “the action of waves and the elements work to break plastic objects down into fragments tiny enough to be ingested by countless other marine organisms.”

He argues that the very life of animals in the sea may be threatened. Apart from releasing potentially dangerous chemicals plastic also absorb toxins. These may then be transported to organisms that eat the plastic.”

Such toxic chemicals include PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls) and DDE (dichlorodiphenyldichloroethylene), which are derived from pesticides and other manmade substances. These agents are known endocrine disruptors—chemicals that interfere with the reproductive, developmental, and immune systems of animals.

Some idea of the scale of this accumulation can be gleaned from how researchers from the Algalita Marine Research Foundation in Long Beach, California, found that the mass of plastic fragments in parts of the central Pacific Ocean is six times greater than that of resident plankton.

LEGAL CONTROL AND ENFORCEMENT LAG BEHIND DEVELOPMENT

Commercial development naturally moves faster than the development of legislation and control. This can lead to situations where the economic realities surrounding a business make it cheaper to, for example, use materials mined in a far-off country and shipped to its factory, rather than recovering materials from its already sold and discarded products.

Recycling, repairing and reusing all sound like strategies that would use less energy, be simpler to manage and represent a better solution for society as a whole. In practice, however, firms demonstrate *de facto* that there is more profit in a linear, energy intensive approach to material handling.

¹ Thompson *et al.* (2005). *New Directions in Plastic Debris Science* 18 November 2005
<http://www.sciencemag.org>



Model T ford 1923. Photo: Biscuit in pursuit, FlickrR

Take the example of fuel economy: the 1908 Ford Model T went at 25 miles per gallon. As of 2004, the average fuel economy of cars and trucks was 24.6 miles per gallon².

² See <http://www.dailyfuelconomytip.com/miscellaneous/100-years-of-improvement/>

WASTE REPRESENTS A MARKET FAILURE AND IS A SIGN OF INEFFICIENCIES

MARKET FAILURE AND EXTERNALIZATION

In today's complex societies and supply chains, then, costs incurred for the provision of products and services with the extraction, production, supply and disposal of materials are not all born by the firms along the supply chain.

Costs for everything from educating workers, to health care, for roads, railways, and for cleaning up pollution and for refuse disposal are not fully born by the firms. This is called externalization of costs³. When society incurs harsh costs for externalization, for example when air pollution causes health care burden, the term "market failure" is used⁴.

Waste in itself actually represents unused resources and are signs that society is not functioning as efficiently as it could. Waste represents business potential given the right conditions.

The Foundation sees these failures as situations where the context within which the firm operates is not effective in ensuring that market forces preserve the environment or health.

Identifying ways to create a context for market forces to operate within where costs are not externalized must be the major tasks of governments. At the least, it befalls government to do everything in their power to introduce monitoring and control mechanisms to curb externalization as they have no mandate to allow degradation of the nation's ecosystem or depletion of resources human, natural, mineral or otherwise.

The failure to effectively internalize harmful externalities in the economic system, pervading almost all aspects of human life, has resulted in an unsustainable lifestyle and a potentially lethal conflict of interests both locally and globally.

Anders Höglund, TSSEF

SUPPLY CHAINS POLLUTE, AND ARE ONLY PROFITABLE IF THE COSTS TO POLLUTE ARE NOT FACTORED IN.

The notion of "externalities" has become familiar in environmental circles. It refers to costs imposed by businesses that are not paid for by those businesses. For instance, industrial processes can put pollutants in the air that increase public health costs, but the public, not the polluting businesses, picks up the tab. In this way, businesses privatize profits and publicize costs if we take the idea seriously, not just as an accounting phenomenon but as a deep description of current

³ The question of the environment is viewed, in the traditional economic framework, as being related to the externalization of costs. That is, market economics assumes that a good which is underpriced, is overconsumed. Externalization of cost, in this view, will be corrected by pricing the overconsumed resources which are being used, for example the work of [Lester Thurow](#) and also see [Pigovian taxes](#). Not all economics study accepts this paradigm, and, instead, there is a seven decade old tradition of viewing economic relationships as being based on the scarcity of energy, rather than price, as the central feature of economics.

⁴ One definition of market failure is: "A condition that arises when unrestrained operation of markets yields socially undesirable results".

human practices, its implications are positively revolutionary. A recent report ⁵ commissioned by the United Nations and compiled by The TEEB for Business Coalition concludes that no major industry would be profitable if pollution costs were internalised. The report states: *"No high impact region-sectors generate sufficient profit to cover their environmental impacts"*.

FOSTERING DEPENDENCE ON FINITE RESOURCES IS AN UNSUSTAINABLE LONG-TERM STRATEGY FOR SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

Many long-term visions of business expansion and development of nations take no account of the availability of essential material. For example: according to a study, titled "Metal Stocks and Sustainability,"⁶ all of the copper in ore, plus all of the copper currently in use, would be required to bring the world to the level of the developed nations for power transmission, construction and other services and products that depend on copper. The researchers believe scarce metals, such as platinum, risk depletion in this century because there is no suitable substitute for use in devices such as catalytic converters and hydrogen fuel cells. They also found that, for many metals, the average rate of use per person continues to rise. As a result, the report says, even the more plentiful metals may face similar depletion risks in the future.

There are energy constraints to growth too. To quote sustainable development expert Richard Heinberg;⁷ "The most cursory examination of our current energy mix yields the alarming realization that about 85 percent of our current energy is derived from three primary sources—oil, natural gas, and coal—that are non-renewable, whose price is likely to trend higher (and perhaps very steeply higher) in the years ahead, whose EROEI⁸ (net energy yield for energy used for extraction) is declining, and whose environmental impacts are unacceptable."

Several technological changes we have witnessed over the last decades have been rapid: the spread of mobile phones, the Internet, digital music players. All of these examples are, however, light in terms of materials and energy intensity. Technological infrastructure like transport systems, power generation and waste water purification and handling all take decades to transform. A report sponsored by the United States Government⁹, concludes: "The depreciated value of existing U.S. transportation capital stock is nearly \$2 trillion and would normally require 25 – 30 years to replace."

Another report, by the Pacific Institute on behalf of Ceres, ¹⁰ finds that water stress is rapidly becoming a key strategic risk to commerce. Several business sectors are at risk, including clothing production, food production, metals and mining and electricity production

⁵ NATURAL CAPITAL AT RISK: THE TOP 100 EXTERNALITIES OF BUSINESS, TRUCOST PLC 2013
http://www.teebforbusiness.org/js/plugins/filemanager/files/TEEB_Final_Report_v5.pdf

⁶ Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA. By Robert Gordon and Thomas Graedel of Yale University and Marlen Bertram of the Organisation of European Aluminum Refiners

⁷ http://richardheinberg.com/MuseLetter_203_March_2009.html

⁸ Energy Return on Energy Invested. For a deeper discussion of the relation of EROEI see the article at <http://www.chrismartenson.com/forum/implications-eroei-peak-oil/11020>

⁹ Peaking Of World Oil Production: Impacts, Mitigation, & Risk Management, Robert L. Hirsch, SAIC, February 2005

¹⁰ http://www.pacinst.org/reports/business_water_climate/full_report.pdf

Material suppliers, like oil companies and metals and mining, have an economic interest in businesses being dependent on their materials. Their mandate is to maximize profits as long as possible until the asset runs out. Conservation, taking depletion into account and minimizing societal dependency risks are not written into the articles of association that govern these organizations. The formation of legal bodies operating under these tenets is accepted practice, the benefits of the creativity and effectiveness these structures unleash is seen as outweighing their downsides.

Given that businesses cannot be expected to act in the interests of the national economy, and that replacement of existing heavy infrastructure would take a long time, and given the scarcity of metals and impending lack of water, governments would be wise to start to:

- steer their country's economy to be less dependent on finite materials
- ensure the ecosystem can provide water, building material, wood for fuel, etc. in sufficient quantities to supply essential services.

IN A DECLINING ECONOMY, LOSS OF FAITH IN MARKET FORCES WILL BRING DEMANDS FOR SANCTIONS REGARDLESS OF THE PROMISE OF MARKET FORCES.

Thanks partly to the development of modern media, consumers are becoming more aware of how global supply chains work, the conditions of the workers along them and the downsides of the emissions created. Increasingly, opinion is going against the negative sides of these practices and, in the light of the current economic downturn, a negative backlash against the highly paid executives who control these chains.

If banks and large corporations are to retain their credibility and license to continue, consumers and voters need to be assured that mechanisms are in place to ensure that externalization is effectively controlled, and development is moving in a positive direction.

THE ARGUMENT FOR RESTRICTION OF EMISSIONS AND MATERIAL DEPLETION

Restricting emissions and depletion:

- ultimately reduces material supply costs to businesses
- encourages recycling and breaks dependence of the economy on finite resources
- preserves the ability of the environment to provide vital services
- ensures the long term stability of the economy

There are four main arguments the Foundation puts forward for governments to start now to develop restriction mechanisms on emissions and material depletion.

Firstly, that the extraction, refining, transport and processing of materials is

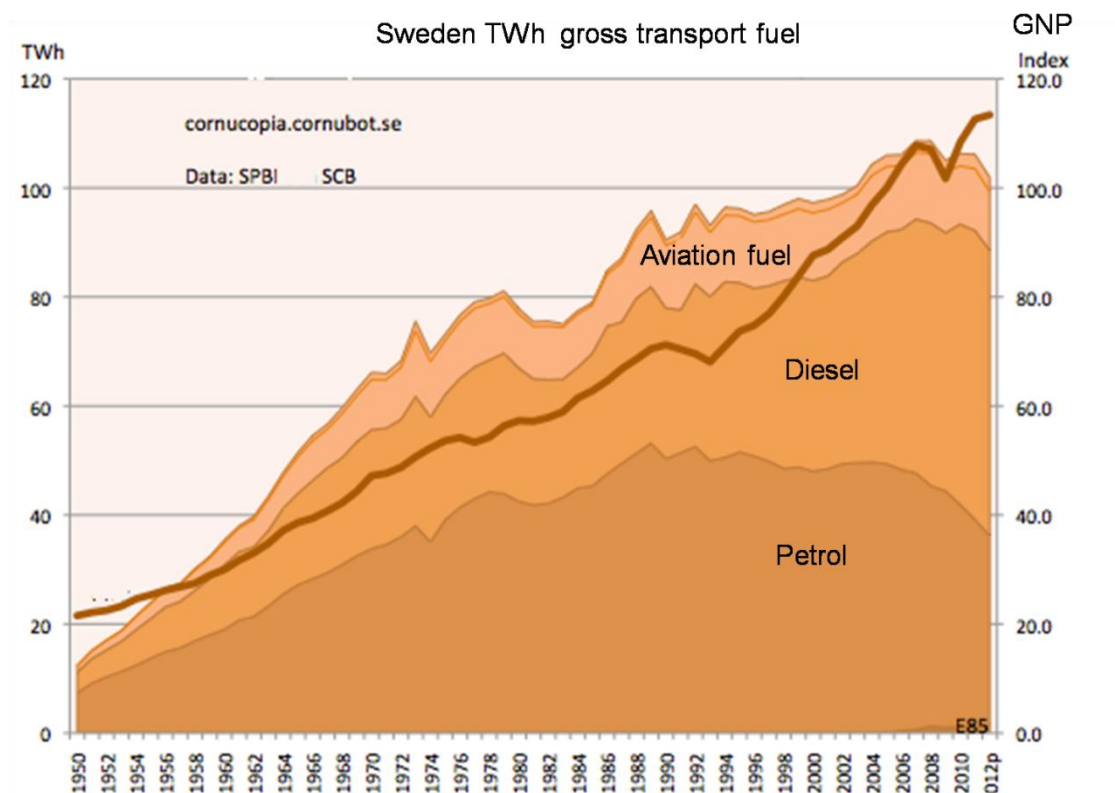
cheaper than recycling represents a temporary dysfunction, or market failure. This has come about in part, as civil rights groups make us painfully aware, through social inequalities along the supply chain. As materials continue to deplete and living standards rise, businesses relying on cheap raw materials will be badly hit. As larger industries, like the transport industry, have long replacement cycles, these need to start to adapt in a timely fashion to preserve long-term economic stability.

Secondly, emissions and accumulation of materials create costs and represent unused potential¹¹. An economy which uses energy and materials effectively is more competitive than one that takes energy invested in mineral extraction and literally dumps it on a waste heap¹².

Thirdly, as consumers and voters are becoming aware, material accumulation can damage ecosystem services which affects productivity and ultimately slows economic growth.

Finally, restricting material depletion reduces the risk of businesses being forced into dependency on cheap and available materials that soon become scarce. Scarcity voids the value of the investment in machines and infrastructure the firms made to incorporate just these materials.

This dependency on non-renewables can be illustrated by the diagram below that shows GNP plotted against fuel use. As the diagram shows, GDP and fuel use have been increasing at a similar rate. This is despite claims that a so-called decoupling of Swedish economy from fuel dependency has taken place. The total investment in vehicle fleet will be of no use if there is no fuel to drive it. The average life time of a large lorry is about 20 years, and Sweden hopes to be fossil-fuel independent by 2030. To respond in the 17 years between now, 2013 and 2030 for conversion or substitution of the fleet to be profitable, the market needs stimulation.



¹¹ A Swedish example: Phosphorus costs 2kr a kilo to import, 20kr a kilo to buy in fertilizer, 200kr a kilo to remove from waste water and 3500kr a kilo to remove from the Baltic sea

¹² The book "Cradle to Cradle" (see references) argues that extraction and emission need never occur in the future, and economic growth is dependent on reuse and recycling of resources

DEFINING SYSTEM BOUNDARIES FOR EMISSIONS CONTROL

In which areas do we urgently need Government control of emissions? To answer this question we turn to the following illustration from the paper published in Nature called “a Safe Operating Space for Humanity.”¹³ According to the paper, responsible management of releases to the environment needs to encompass these nine areas. The three areas in red are particularly acute, with phosphorus trailing close behind.

PLANETARY BOUNDARIES				
Earth-system process	Parameters	Proposed boundary	Current status	Pre-industrial value
Climate change	(i) Atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration (parts per million by volume)	350	387	280
	(ii) Change in radiative forcing (watts per metre squared)	1	1.5	0
Rate of biodiversity loss	Extinction rate (number of species per million species per year)	10	>100	0.1-1
Nitrogen cycle (part of a boundary with the phosphorus cycle)	Amount of N ₂ removed from the atmosphere for human use (millions of tonnes per year)	35	121	0
Phosphorus cycle (part of a boundary with the nitrogen cycle)	Quantity of P flowing into the oceans (millions of tonnes per year)	11	8.5-9.5	-1
Stratospheric ozone depletion	Concentration of ozone (Dobson unit)	276	283	290
Ocean acidification	Global mean saturation state of aragonite in surface sea water	2.75	2.90	3.44
Global freshwater use	Consumption of freshwater by humans (km ³ per year)	4,000	2,600	415
Change in land use	Percentage of global land cover converted to cropland	15	11.7	Low
Atmospheric aerosol loading	Overall particulate concentration in the atmosphere, on a regional basis	To be determined		
Chemical pollution	For example, amount emitted to, or concentration of persistent organic pollutants, plastics, endocrine disrupters, heavy metals and nuclear waste in, the global environment, or the effects on ecosystem and functioning of Earth system thereof	To be determined		

Boundaries for processes in red have been crossed. Data sources: ref. 10 and supplementary information

¹³ *Nature* **461**, 472-475 (24 September 2009) | doi:10.1038/461472a; Published online 23 September 2009

The challenge is to identify national or international supply chain entry and exit points into the systems above. Flexible fees can then be introduced to control them.

As an example, the Earth-system boundary is crossed by carbon dioxide when burning fossil fuels. Entry points into the supply chain are at extraction or import. Here import duties or extraction duties could be applied.

For plastics, fees could be levied on sales of raw plastic pellets.

What is interesting from a fee-setting point of view is the elements involved in the critical boundary areas: carbon, C; nitrogen, N and phosphorous P. These three elements make up the major part of the challenge of transitioning from the industrial age to something more sustainable. Just this realization seems to bring sustainability closer within reach.

HAVING DEFINED BOUNDARIES, HOW DO WE APPROACH VALUING THE ECO-SYSTEMS WITHIN THEM?

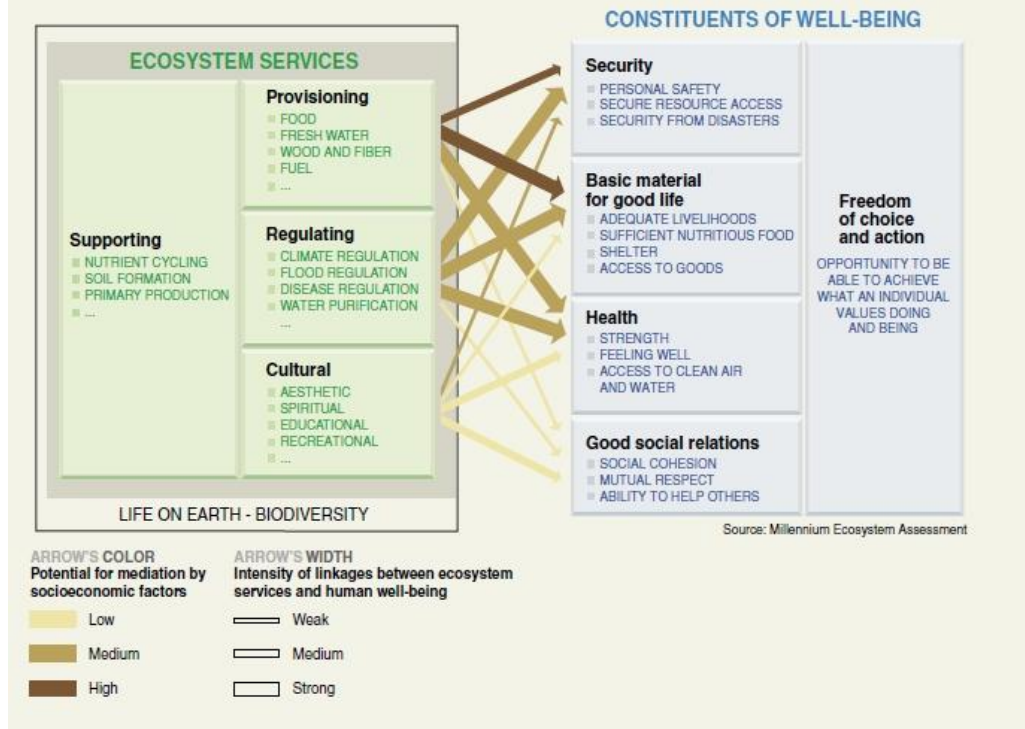
The “invisible hand of the market” setting the price of goods has been praised for its efficiency since the term was coined by Adam Smith. The economist Friedrich Hayek wrote: “[t]he marvel is that in a case like that of a scarcity of one raw material, without an order being issued, without more than perhaps a handful of people knowing the cause, tens of thousands of people whose identity could not be ascertained by months of investigation, are made to use the material or its products more sparingly; i.e., they move in the right direction.”

Nonetheless, as Hayek himself noted, the price mechanism does not provide perfect information and does not necessarily lead to a perfectly efficient distribution of resources. The price mechanism falls short when a voluntary transaction between two parties affects a third party, producing some sort of harm to an innocent bystander. This is known as the problem of externality, and it is why pollution and environmental degradation pose a challenge to the free-market system.

From an ecological point of view, environmental degradation is a general term, and one that is difficult to connect to economic value. Eco system services were given prominence in the work done for the Millennium Assessment in their Guide to the Millennium Assessment Reports. What the report elegantly reminds us of is that for our life on Earth, nature does most of the work. As you can see from the diagram below, eco systems support, provide and regulate giving us what we need to eat, clothe, house and make ourselves secure. That is not forgetting the cultural and aesthetic experience.

Figure A. LINKAGES BETWEEN ECOSYSTEM SERVICES AND HUMAN WELL-BEING

This Figure depicts the strength of linkages between categories of ecosystem services and components of human well-being that are commonly encountered, and includes indications of the extent to which it is possible for socioeconomic factors to mediate the linkage. (For example, if it is possible to purchase a substitute for a degraded ecosystem service, then there is a high potential for mediation.) The strength of the linkages and the potential for mediation differ in different ecosystems and regions. In addition to the influence of ecosystem services on human well-being depicted here, other factors—including other environmental factors as well as economic, social, technological, and cultural factors—influence human well-being, and ecosystems are in turn affected by changes in human well-being. (See Figure B.)



Eco-system services is more useful as a starting point for pricing pollution, as any action that degrades eco-system services by definition also harms the economy. The diagram below illustrates how eco-system services, divided into supporting, regulating, provisioning and cultural provide the basis of our well-being.

Finding a clear mechanism by which to put a value on the services is still difficult. There are possibilities, however, but to understand these, it is necessary to explore what it is that nature does that provides these services.

Ecologists describe how all eco-systems strive to become mature. You probably have the idea somewhere in the back of your mind, how smaller animals give way to large predators, small plants become forests, rushing water becomes a swamp, etc.

Ecologists like Odum describe nature as tending towards maturity. As the table below explains, natural systems develop so that growth slows, but nutrient recycling maximizes.

Table 1. Major tendencies describing the development incurred during ecosystem development, based on a selection of Odum's (1969) 24 attributes of maturity. These ecosystem indices can all be quantified using the Ecopath model.

Ecosystem attributes	Developmental stages	Mature stages
Gross production/biomass	High	Low
Biomass supported / energy flow	Low	High
Total organic matter	Small	Large
Niche specialization	Broad	Narrow
Size of organism	Small	Large
Mineral cycles	Open	Closed
Nutrient exchange rate, between organisms and environment	Rapid	Slow
Role of detritus in nutrient cycling	Unimportant	Important
Nutrient conservation	Poor	Good

The various aspects of ecological maturity are explained below.

Gross production. This means the total amount of biomass that accumulates in the system. Note that as a system matures, the slower biomass increases. For example, young trees grow very fast, older trees grow much slower.

Biomass supported. As the system matures, more biomass is in the system – more trees grow, more animals and plants move in, and they are larger.

Total organic matter. As above, the more mature the system, the more in the eco-system.

Size of organism. In immature systems, the organisms are small. As the system matures, and there is more for predators to eat, for example, the more and larger the organisms become.

Niche specialism. As the system matures so does diversity. More specialized organisms move in.

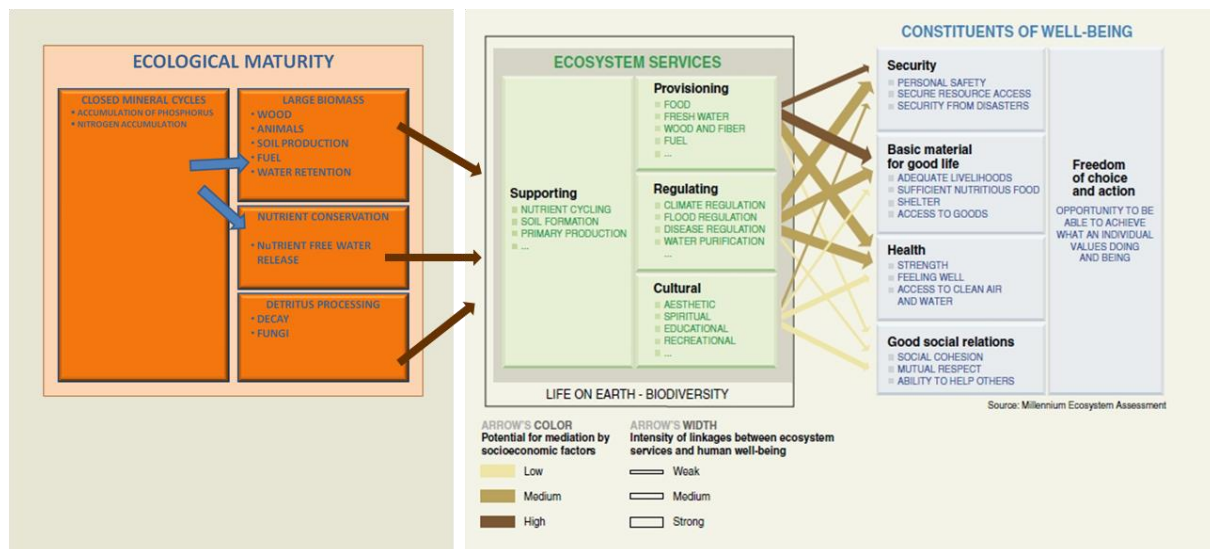
Mineral cycles. Eco systems need minerals to cycle in them in order to function, so to have more biomass they must retain nutrients.

Nutrient exchange rate organisms <> environment . Immature systems “leak” both heat and nutrients to other eco-systems.

Role of detritus in nutrient cycling. As the system matures, detritus is more and more important as a source of minerals and energy for the organisms in it. Nutrient conservation. Mature systems conserve minerals and do not leak them to other systems.

Ecological maturity is quite easy to identify scientifically: for example by testing the water leaving the area, and taking infra red pictures of the area from the air to identify solar energy capture levels.

Because of its clarity and simplicity, the measure of maturity could be accepted as a sound basis for fee establishment. The diagram below explains the relationship of ecological maturity to ecosystem services.



It could be argued that a reduction in ecological maturity, as it emits nutrients and heat, is similar to an industrial situation where pollutants are emitted. From this point of view, they are both of interest as object to levy fees on. We take this approach up later in this paper.

Two widely discussed approaches to pricing pollution have been cap and trade and a straight pollution tax. The idea of a pollution tax dates back even further than cap and trade — to the work of economist Arthur Cecil Pigou in the 1920s. Pigou believed that negative externalities caused by market interactions justified government intervention. And he showed that the way to reduce damaging externalities was for government to tax the activities leading to them, based on the amount of damage they caused — thereby giving offenders very real, material reasons to cut back on their harmful behavior.

A general measure, therefore, of the impact of any emission or intervention would be its effect on ecological maturity. The cost of the emission is the same as the cost of ensuring ecological maturity is maintained.

THE ARGUMENT AGAINST MAXIMISATION OF GNP AS PROGRESS YARDSTICK

It has been claimed that emissions fees sufficiently high to galvanize a migration to non-polluting technology would reduce economic growth and create more harm than good. The truth is that every fee in the economy is also a revenue. What determines the real economic result is how the money is used.

It is common in model calculations of the effects of emission fees on the growth of GNP to ignore the fact that the GNP figure does not only include produced benign goods and services but also, to a large fraction, products and activities that are both unwanted and/or directly harmful.

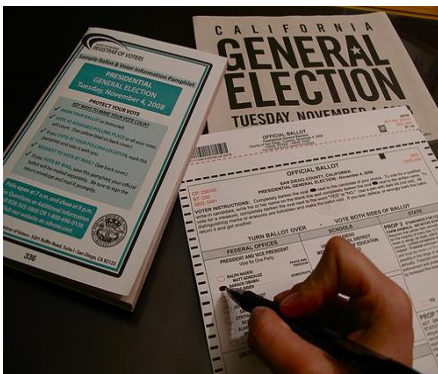
Therefore it is a mistake to believe that maximum GNP growth is the most important criterion when ranking different development alternatives.

NEED TO CONTROL EMISSIONS WHILE RETAINING ECONOMIC GROWTH

As illustrated above, Governments have no legal mandate to allow degradation of a nation's resources, how does this align to the task of stimulating economic growth short term as well as long term?

Clearly, governments need to demonstrate that they have control mechanisms in place to curb externalization whilst creating the conditions for economic growth.

Increasing taxes is often called for to require polluters to cease. (This approach is called Pigovian taxation.¹⁴) However, taxes are traditionally difficult to apply effectively and are seen as an unpopular way to exercise government.



Politicians face the question: how can we preserve the environment, reduce waste and be seen to be stimulating economic growth at the same time?

THE PROBLEM WITH REGULATION

Regulation as a strategy can backfire. If it is more profitable to break regulations than to keep them, there will always be a temptation to break the rules. In such a case, regulation will bring with it costs of enforcement and prosecution. If it is profitable to abide by regulations, then the incentive will be to follow the regulations.

Example: CO₂ emissions from cars

Reducing the CO₂-emissions from new cars, by imposing a maximum allowed level of CO₂-emissions measured in grams/km, is not a good idea. In reality it is a textbook example of bad economics due to the fact that the real cost of reducing those CO₂-emissions is many times higher than achieving exactly the same emissions reduction by treating all CO₂-emissions the same by using one single CO₂-fee.

¹⁴ Because the market mechanism fails to factor in the total cost to society, output decisions are flawed, resources are allocated inefficiently, and [social welfare](#) is reduced. One method of reducing the effect of this market failure is to impose a tax equal to the amount of the negative externality (or impose a subsidy in the case of a positive externality).

THE PROBLEM WITH EMISSION RIGHTS TRADING

Emission rights trading is the notion that by allowing trade of emission rights, they will become more expensive and thereby encourage less emissions. This system has not demonstrated that it produces a rise in the price of emission permits. In its simplest form, it does not aim at reducing emissions, just the distribution of the rights to emit.¹⁵

THE PROBLEM WITH APPEALING TO PEOPLE'S GOOD NATURE

The conception that the environmental problems facing humanity can be solved by informing and educating people to change their lifestyle and take a personal (economic) responsibility for the global problems, may be based on good intentions but unfortunately this conception is not only ineffective but also counterproductive since it has shifted the focus from, and delayed, the elimination of life-threatening systemic errors.



For example: they may taste better, and give a better conscience when eating them. They may even be better for health, but organically grown vegetables, which are always far more expensive than conventionally grown vegetables, have not succeeded in the market.

THE PROMISE OF CLEAN-TECH APPLIED TO EXISTING TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

As argued above, existing technical infrastructure represents a huge investment and takes a long time to replace. For example, diesel engine technology is not only widespread in trucks, boats, electrical generators etc, but is supported by a network of suppliers, manufacturers, service networks and surrounding technology it is integrated into, for example, vehicle electrics and control systems.

A rapid dismantling of such technology, so integrated into the fabric of society would be costly, time consuming and wasteful of the capital, materials and intellectual, invested.

In this context, the existing technological landscape presents a barrier to new advances. Its introduction to be successfully will require massive investments in changes to the existing technological landscape.

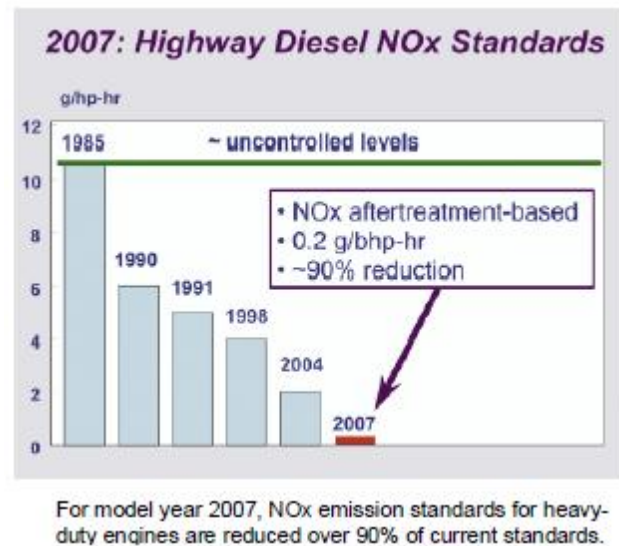
On the other hand, existing technology carries a legacy of inefficiency and high emissions.

¹⁵ The problem with trading rights can be illustrated with an extreme example. Consider child abuse as the externality to be reduced. Say you allow everybody to strike kids, e.g. 10 times. Since some people do not like hitting kids, or have found other ways to communicate with them, they can sell their 'hitting rights' to other people, more prone to hit kids. This way, the total amount of child abuse would not diminish, but you have created a new market.

CLEANTECH TAKES EXISTING TECHNOLOGY AND ADDS LAYERS OF CONTROL AND CLEANING
This Cleantech approach takes outdated, inefficient, polluting technology and with the application of advanced computer control and some addition of cleaning technologies produces services with less emissions more efficiently.

EXAMPLE: DIESEL ENGINE

Advanced computer control of the combustion of the diesel engine, combined with advances in particle filtration have transformed this once dirty and environmentally detrimental technology to an efficient, clean transportation solution. This new development is called Control Engineering. Control engineering is the engineering discipline that focuses on the modeling of a diverse range of dynamic systems (e.g. mechanical systems) and the design of controllers that will cause these systems to behave in the desired manner.



ADVANTAGES: REDUCED NEED FOR NEW INFRASTRUCTURE

This is, then one of the promises of cleantech: to take existing technology and build a control and cleaning layer to make it perform to modern standards.

MAINTAIN ECONOMIC STABILITY

This approach has the benefit of being relatively fast compared to scrapping and replacing existing technology. It also creates more economic stability, reducing the need for firms to raise capital for new infrastructure throughout supply chains. Diesel technology has been successful in reducing NO_x. Diagram courtesy of the United States Environmental Protection Agency.

COMPARISON BETWEEN ECONOMY AND DIESEL ENGINE

Most economic instruments and regulatory mechanisms used today, with the exception of electronic trading, originate back to the period before ubiquitous computing, global supply chains and awareness of risks of externalized emissions costs.

The table below illustrates the opportunities afforded by modern technology for applying fees and changing them to adapt to conditions.

Then	Now
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paper document based trading, with long lead times for accounting • Minimum of statistics • Long and slow methods of communication (e.g. surface post) • Labourious calculations required 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computerised trading and tax system • Multiple statistics collection points • Fast communication • Calculations can be handled by modern computer technology

Application to political economics means applying control approaches to supply and value chains containing pollutants. More specifically, as combustion is controlled by the millisecond depending on conditions in the piston chamber, emissions can be controlled in real time by a variable fee depending on the behavior of these supply and value chains and the markets, including financial markets, that influence them. At the same time, the fee is not just to be seen as a cost, but a revenue into the economy. This revenue stream can also be harnessed to drive sustainable development.

This would simultaneously eliminate a major systemic error by creating an incentive structure, in the economic system, which is beneficial for stable, sustainable development.

CONTROL ENGINEERING

The analogy to the Diesel engine can go one step further: it is an example of CONTROL ENGINEERING is the engineering discipline that designs systems to produce desired behaviors.

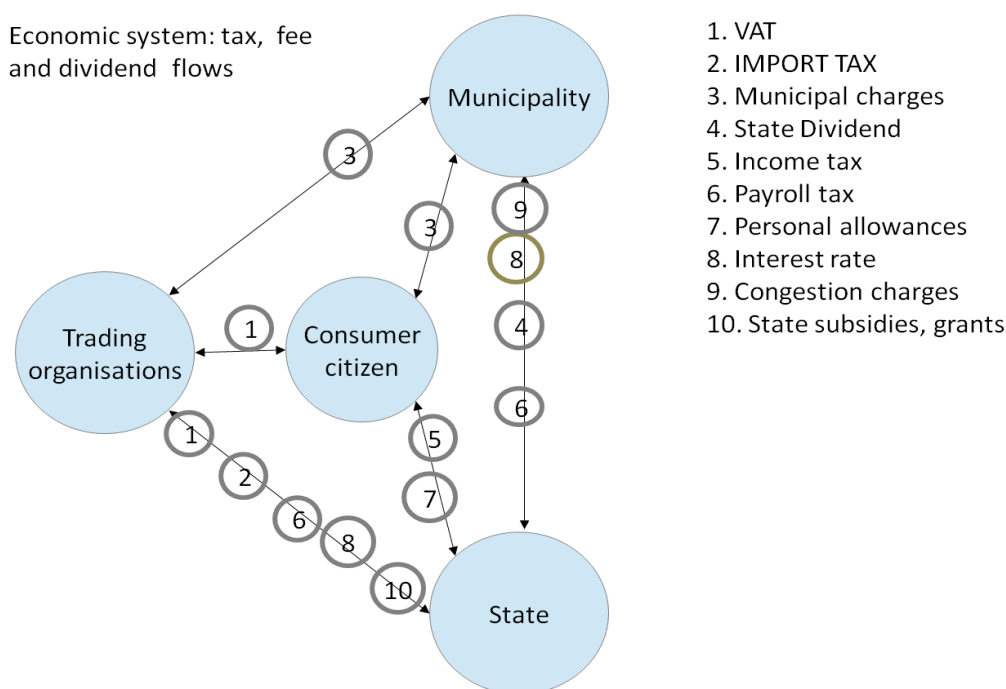
Typical for control engineered environments are:

- sensors that measure the behaviour of the object being controlled
- feedback that is sent to
- actuators that can make corrections toward desired performance.

It was by applying control engineering to the problem of Diesel engine pollution that engine developer Anders Höglund was able to radically reduce emissions. Thanks to developments in digital control, the fast feedback needed to control the exact combustion in the engine could be achieved, Later, Höglund explored the idea of applying the same principles to the economy.

FINDING THE ACTUATORS AND SENSORS IN THE ECONOMY

ACTUATORS. The diagram below, rather simplified, shows the economic actuators available to the political economist.



SENSORS. Information gathered from market prices, futures contracts, sales data as well as measurements in the field of recipient burden should provide a rich enough decision basis for managing the flow of the substance through the supply chain.

DESCRIPTION OF HÖGLUND'S FEE MECHANISM

BASIC CONCEPT

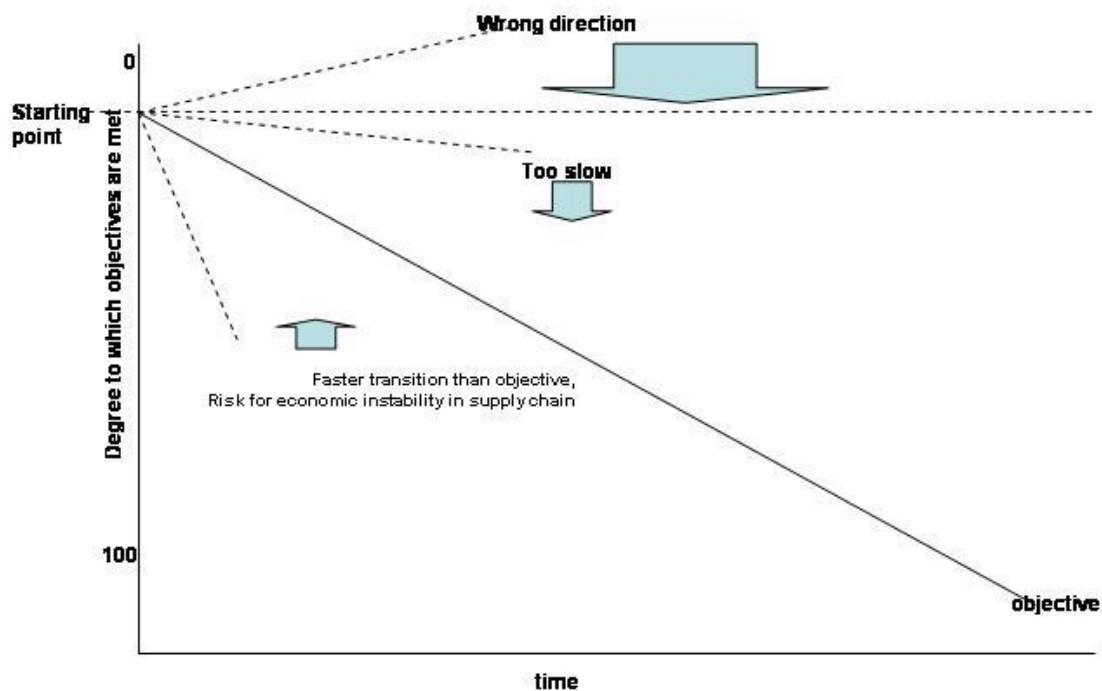
An emissions fee scheme is set up for substances that government goals call for reduction or elimination of their release into the public waste stream or environment. The size of the fee will be increased if sales and emissions increase, and decreased if the rate of reduction is faster than the objective. If the fee is *sufficiently* high, and if there is market uncertainty as to how large the next fee will be, market forces will work to change the behavior of supply chains¹⁶.

¹⁶ A thorough theoretical analysis of Höglund's mechanism has been carried out by IVL, The Swedish Environmental Research Institute. The report may be downloaded from <http://tiny.cc/F6Dxl>

The market will react based on a wide range of factors, including availability of futures markets to hedge the cost of fees, as well as availability of technology and methodology to eliminate emissions.

The fee mechanism allows for the revenue collected to be redirected to firms, for example to introduce cleantech.

Fees can change the speed and direction of development



THE SIZE OF THE FEE DEPENDS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF THE MARKET. THE LARGER THE GAP BETWEEN OBJECTIVE AND ACTUAL, THE LARGER THE FEE (BLUE ARROW)

The mechanism is like a form of control engineering in that:

The behavior of the system is identified as producing no pollution whilst the economy thrives.

The sensors measure the introduction into the national market of the polluting substance, the financial markets' reaction and insurance facilities, the sales of clean-tech and rate of abatement.

The corrections are to the fee to import or extract the substance. If the rate of abatement is too slow, the fee is raised. The correction also goes to taxpayers who see a dividend paid back from the income from the fees. This feedback is important to, among other things, demonstrate that the economy is not losing out despite fees rising.

SYSTEM:	THE COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEM'S USE OF POLLUTING SUBSTANCES
BEHAVIOUR DESIRED:	THAT MARKET FORCES ACT TO TRANSITION TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE, MANAGEMENT AND PRAXIS SO EMISSIONS REACH A REASONABLE, ACCEPTABLE LEVEL.
SENSORS:	ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF SALES OF CLEAN TECH, SALES OF POLLUTANT-BEARING SUBSTANCES, FINANCIAL INDICATORS OF E.G. FUTURES CONTRACTS AND TECHNICAL INDICATORS ON EMISSIONS.
FEEDBACK:	FIGURES ARE COLLATED AND FED TO EXPERT COMMITTEE. MONEY FROM COLLECTED FEES IS DISTRIBUTED TO CITIZENS
ACTUATORS:	THE REGULAR IMPORT/EXTRACTION FEE THAT IS ADJUSTED TO ENSURE BEHAVIOUR OF SYSTEM.

MAIN ACTORS

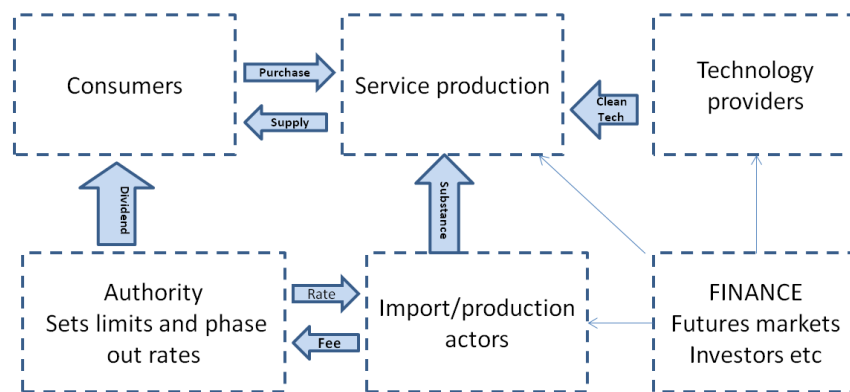
- The government agency that is responsible for monitoring emission levels and setting and collecting feed.
- An importer or producer of an emission causing substance.
- The end users of the substance.
- Suppliers of clean tech.
- Market makers in financial markets (options market and options brokers).

MAIN COMPONENTS

The Höglund approach consists of six main components:

- Identification of a traded substance that gives rise to harmful emissions from its use in supply chains.
- A reasonable objective for rate of emissions reduction set by government.
- A pollution fee levy mechanism as far back in the supply chain as practicable
- A price setting authority that can monitor fees closely in time and change the fee level regularly.
- A mechanism for returning fees back to stimulate commerce, for example, a monthly payment into citizen's tax accounts, effectively giving them more in their pocket to spend after taxes.
- Stimulus to invent and implement clean tech as clean tech driven supply chains become relatively cheaper.
- Opportunity for a futures market to arise spontaneously.

FLEXIBLE EMISSION FEES



Schematic representation of the Höglund Flexible fee mechanism

Detailed description

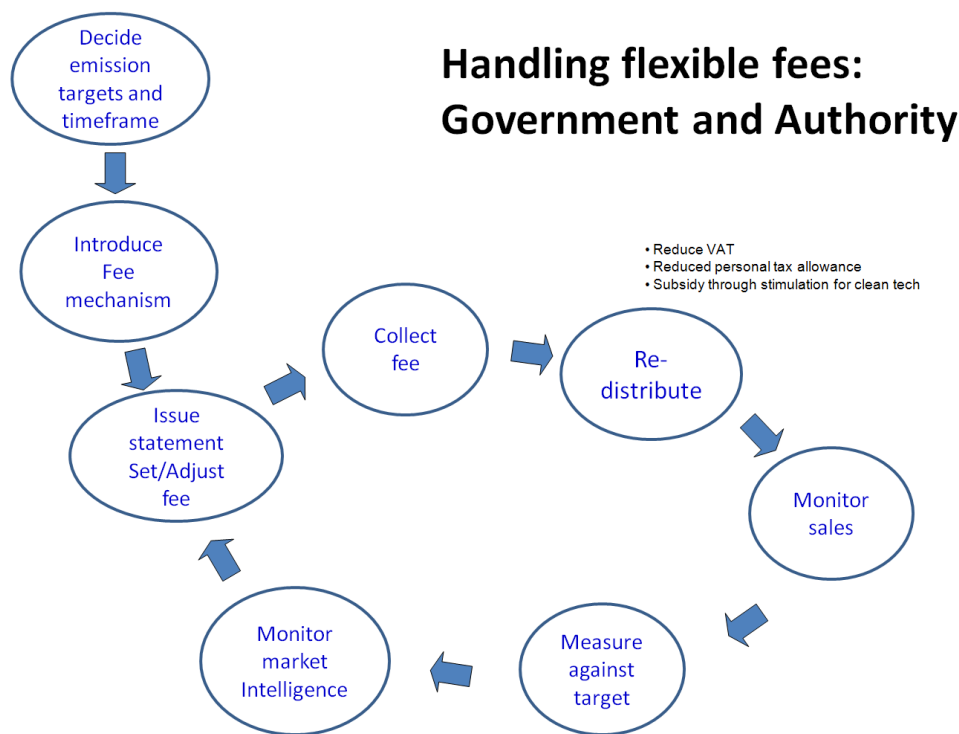
The Authority sets the fee levy process up and announces the fee amount and collects it. The money collected, or a good proportion of it goes back to taxpayers. The importer who have paid the fee supply their customers, product or service providers, and pass on the fee, this making the product ultimately more expensive for the consumer. However, there are technology providers who can provide alternatives for service providers. This technology may become more competitive as the cost to use the polluting substance becomes relatively more expensive.

At the same time, the financial markets will be watching developments to see which technology to invest in and to provide forms of insurance like futures markets to actors in the supply chain who rely on the substance.

Should the use of the substance, or the pollution coming from it not abate at a rate deemed reasonable by the parties, the fee is raised, following indications from futures trading on the market. The fee is raised at regular intervals until the market responds. As the fee is raised, more money flows into the economy and into the accounts of taxpayers, who will increasingly find alternatives more price competitive.

In this way, the price of pollution is discovered by discovering the price of not polluting.

HOW IT WORKS



Decide emission targets and timeframe

The first step is to agree on priorities for the target in terms of the size of reduction and the timeframe. Criteria may include the impact of harmful effects on the environment and the economy, ease of introducing fee levy mechanisms, political expediency etc.

Introduce fee mechanism

Exactly how the fee could be levied needs to be worked out – many factors can play in including the effects on cross border trade. Redistribution needs to be considered at this stage – what will the monies be used for and how will they stimulate the desired behaviour of the system?

Issue statement and set/adjust fee

The government announces it will introduce a flexible fee system and give actors time to prepare.

This announcement will create an uncertainty in the market. They will be presented with some major choices including:

- Continue using the substance and introduce a margin in their business plans to pay the fee (i.e. increase prices to pass on costs to end users).
- Plan to invest in clean-tech to reduce or remove emissions.
- Plan to invest in non fee-incurring alternatives.

Choices will depend on the willingness of their customers to absorb the costs involved, the price and availability of clearer alternatives and the time frame within which the alternatives can be introduced.

The size of the fee will affect the decision. If it is cheaper to pay the fee, the firm may decide to continue as usual.

Introduction of fee, collection and monitoring

At regular intervals the government monitors the amount of fee collected as well as levels of emissions.

Redistribution of fee

Redistribution, or feedback, is the other cycle of control engineering applied to the behavior of the economy. Redistribution can stimulate consumption, investment in new technology or attractiveness of a certain product or service.

Monitor sales

An agreed and accepted method of monitoring sales needs to be introduced and used.

Measure against target

Sales of the substance need to be interpreted against target. This may require some estimations as many factors including seasonality, amounts of stock kept, etc will play in.

Monitor market intelligence

Sales may not give the full picture on use of emission-causing substances. As fee levels will affect profitability, it is likely that the financial industry will start to analyze, speculate and offer insurance instruments etc. These activities will also provide a great deal of intelligence on which to base the decision to adjust fees in the next period.

Adjust fee

If levels of emissions do not fall despite fee introduction, the fee is not affecting the market. If monitoring indicates no change, the fee is adjusted upwards. This continues until emissions fall.

If the fee is so high it creates economic instability and disruption in supply chains, an adjustment downwards is made. If emissions are falling according to objectives, fees remain at previous levels.

A market for futures¹⁷ may arise in order to create some kind of insurance for the supply chain actors. In this case, the futures market will also present the government with a measure of the rate of change the market can handle. Another benefit of a futures market arising is that it focuses the attention of the market onto salient aspects of emissions handling like introduction of new technology, its efficacy, investment needs and the performance of the industry compared to government goals. For a more detailed explanation of the mechanism, see the appendix.

As the fees create a revenue stream, governments can or stimulate and reward reduction of emissions and adoption of new technology with grants and subsidies. New technology will come into the market faster in this way.

Issue statement

Depending on market behavior, the government authority can issue statements to further encourage market action.

Constructing the fee mechanism

The fee mechanism should fit existing business, regulatory and fiscal practices as far as possible to reduce implementation costs. System barriers should represent already established regulatory points. Examples of these include import duties, mining and other extraction fees.

Agencies should also work to place fees as early in the supply chain as possible, again to reduce costs for implementation. This is because *extraction or production* of substances that give rise to pollution often have fewer producers than end users. Another advantage of early fee application is that it brings the substance under control before it enters the myriad of streams in the supply chain.

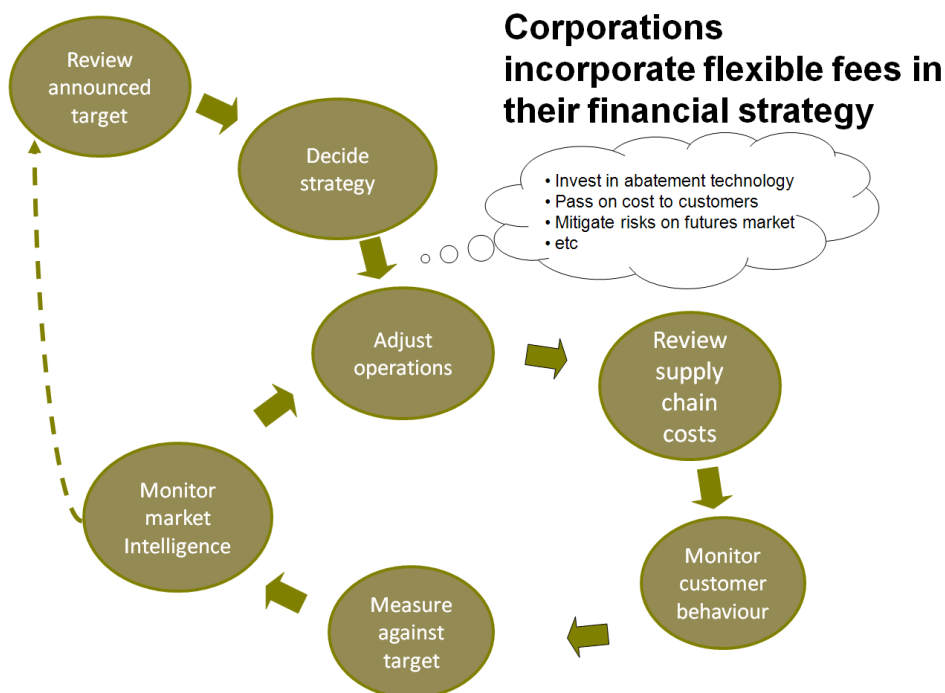
Constructing the redistribution mechanism

It is important to bear in mind that seen from a national level a fee on a substance that is detrimental to emit does not affect GDP or cause inflation. What does negatively affect GDP is the loss of jobs from a reduction in consumer spending.

Not all consumer spending needs to be seen as driving environmental degradation. When consumers share their wealth by supporting cultural events, sporting events, and social gatherings for example, the emissions can be relatively low and the employment opportunities generated high.

¹⁷ In finance, a futures contract is a standardized contract, traded on a futures exchange, to buy or sell a specified commodity of standardized quality (which, in many cases, may be such non-traditional "commodities" as foreign currencies, commercial or government paper [e.g., bonds], or "baskets" of corporate equity ["stock indices"] or other financial instruments) at a certain date in the future, at a price (the futures price) determined by the instantaneous equilibrium between the forces of supply and demand among competing buy and sell orders on the exchange at the time of the purchase or sale of the contract. Source: Wikipedia.org

HOW FLEXIBLE FEES AFFECT CORPORATIONS IN THE SUPPLY CHAIN



The diagram above explains how corporations might respond to the introduction of emissions targets coupled to a flexible emissions fee scheme. Firms will need to review the announcement and decide strategy. It may be that they can respond easily if alternatives are available – or it may require major changes in strategy and technology – with massive investments. They will need to monitor customer behavior and glean market intelligence to inform their strategy.

THE CASE FOR A TRANSITION ACCOUNT FOR ALL

One essential component of the Höglund approach is redistribution of the fees. In its simplest form, the approach implies a “tax break” for every registered tax payer. Each person’s tax account could be credited, effectively leaving more in their pocket from their monthly wages. The tax break could be based on percentage of earnings, but a flat sum, the same for everyone, would have the greatest control effect. To understand why this so it is important to consider its basis.

The fee is collected from market actors who are using common resources in a way that must stop. As a transition from polluting and/or resource depleting behavior to more appropriate behavior is implied, the account is money that can be used to stimulate, through consumer behavior, a transition.

Of course, a consumer who pays a lot of money for, say, a charter trip by air the Thailand from Europe could take the money in her transition account and use it for one more trip. However, not only will the price be rising if the emissions are not falling at the target rate, but the fee paid will be going to others’ accounts to stimulate their spending and market forces will be offering compelling alternative holidays.

The other argument for a “transition account” is that it immediately encourages guilt-free consumer spending: each purchase is either adding to the transition fund or encouraging clean supply chain behavior.

Finally, a transition account drives employment. As consumers get money into their accounts they will be tempted to spend it. As emission-producing services get more expensive, greener services - and likely more labour-intensive ones at that - become more competitive.

SEEING FLEXIBLE FEES AS A CONGESTION CHARGE

Traffic congestion charges have been hailed as a success in many cities. For the people who appreciate having less cars around, they work well, and for the people with cars who want to get around in the city, the fee is worth it as travel times are reduced. These charges are already flexible, as they are higher at peak periods and zero at night and weekends. And the revenue can be used to stimulate the economy further.

But what about congestion of things in our society and in nature? Surely the same principles can apply, putting these economic measures to work to balance congestion - like situations including:

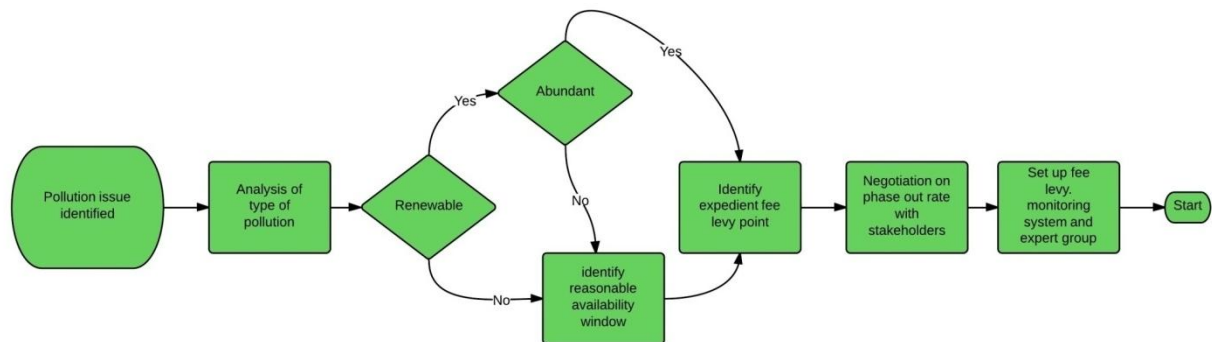
- more CO2 than nature can take up accumulating in the atmosphere
- release of more phosphorous into the oceans than they can handle
- build-up of metals in scrap-yards and waste dumps
- toxic chemicals used in manufacture
- The concept can even be applied to other kinds of congestion
- an unacceptable number of people appearing in the jobseeker pool
- people homeless

In each case, a flexible fee solution can be applied, as congestion increases the fee, as far upstream as possible it is applied and increased until the system, the market, starts to change behavior.

UNDERSTANDING THE CATEGORIES OF POLLUTANTS

Not all pollutants are the same. For the purpose of applying flexible fees, four main classes can be used:

- 1) Non-renewables: examples include fossil fuel and uranium. Once used, the energy is no longer available even if the substance, e.g. carbon, is recyclable.
- 2) Minerals that are recyclable but are handled in a way as to make them practically unrecoverable: examples include phosphorous and platinum
- 3) Elements that are in abundance but cause problems when they accumulate in eco-systems. Examples include nitrogen.
- 4) Not pollutants but where deleterious practices reduce eco system services. A good example is clear –felling. Cutting down a tree seldom affects eco-system services, but clear-felling affects things like soil water retention and soil erosion, causing problems in waterways far from the felling site.



The diagram above shows the decision process at the introduction of the mechanism. We will look at the practical application of flex fees to all classes, but first a few worked examples will illustrate the principles.

WORKED EXAMPLES

PHOSPHORUS

Phosphorus is finite and like oil it will peak sooner or later. In his frightening book [*Eating Fossil Fuels*](#)¹⁸ Dale Allen Pfeiffer shows that conventional agriculture is as oil-addicted as the rest of society. A decline in oil production raises questions about how we will feed ourselves.

In the same way, agriculture is addicted to mined phosphates¹⁹ and would be threatened by a peak in phosphate production. As the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) wrote in [summary on phosphates \(PDF\)](#)²⁰:

There are no substitutes for phosphorus in agriculture.

Fortunately, phosphorus - unlike oil - can be recycled. Responses to a phosphorus peak include re-creating a cycle of nutrients, for example, returning animal (including human) manure to cultivated soil as Asian people have done in the not-so-distant past²¹.

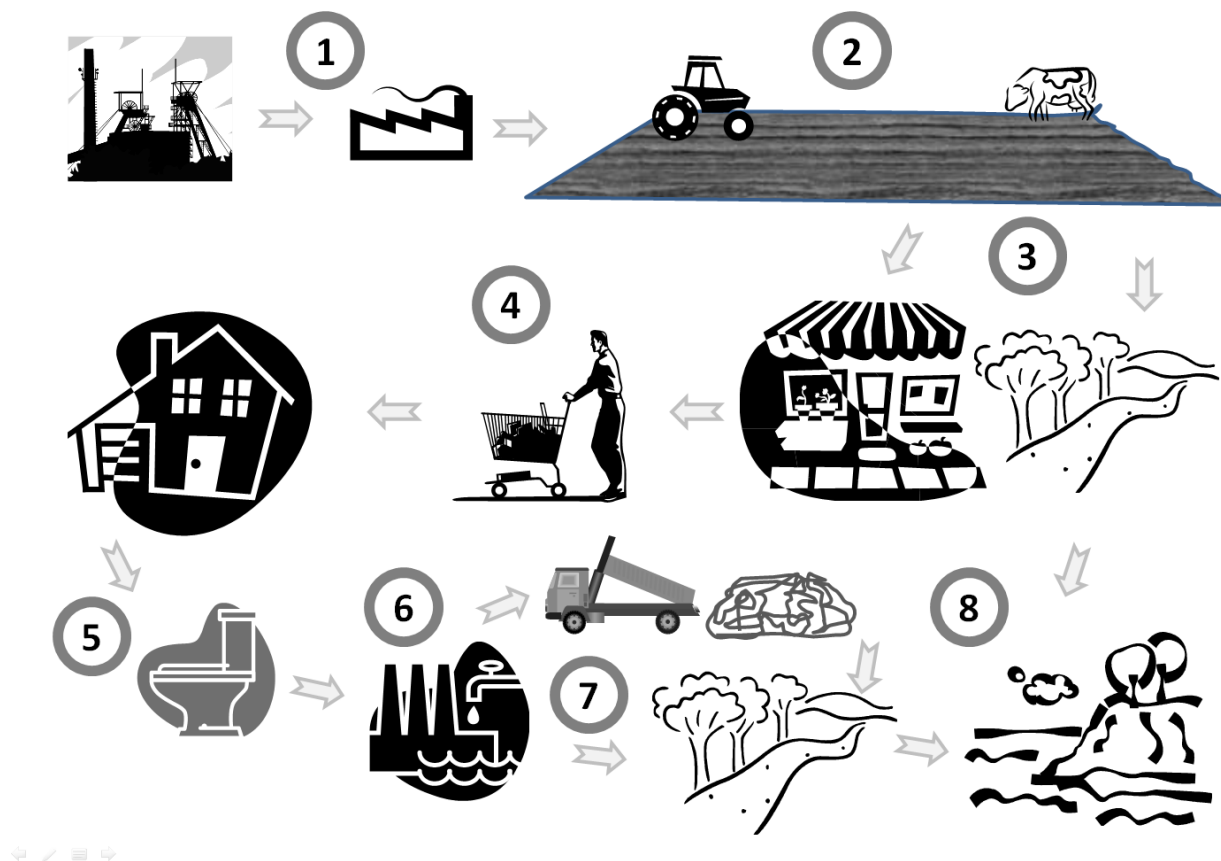
As can be seen in the diagram below, phosphorus enters the supply chain in most countries through import as it is mined in just three main places. Phosphorus is an essential component of fertilizer and is applied in agriculture. Some leaks into the surface water and into rivers and eventually into the sea. Once in the sea it is difficult to recover and return to agriculture. It remains in the supply chain in food until it is excreted as urine and taken care of by sewage treatment plants. Inevitably, phosphorus leaks into the sea stimulating among other things algal blooming. This problem is especially prevalent in the Baltic Sea area, creating problems for the fishing industry and damaging the tourist industry by closing beaches.

¹⁸ <http://www.amazon.com/Eating-Fossil-Fuels-Coming-Agriculture/dp/0865715653>

¹⁹ Abelson, Philip H. "[A Potential Phosphate Crisis.](#)" *Science*. 26 March 1999: Vol. 283. no. 5410, p. 2015.

²⁰ http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/commodity/phosphate_rock/phospmcs07.pdf

²¹ F.H. King. [*Farmers of Forty Centuries: Organic Farming in China, Korea and Japan*](#), Dover Publications, NY, 1911 (ed. 2004)



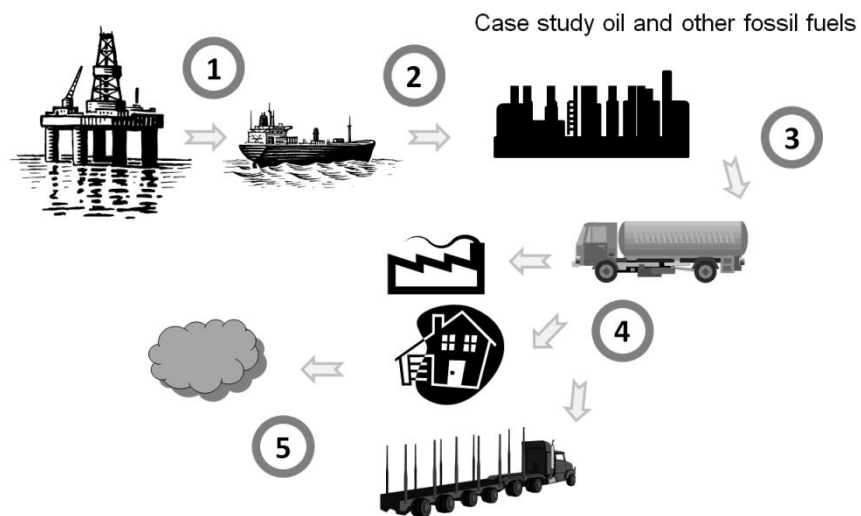
1. Phosphorus is mined and processed into fertilizer along with other nutrients like potassium and nitrogen.
2. Applied to the fields, it is incorporated into vegetables and sold direct or into animal feed.
3. Phosphorus leaks from agriculture into waterways and is exported to shops as food.
4. Consumers purchase food for consumption.
5. Phosphorus leaves the body mainly as urine.
6. Sewage is processed at water purification plants.
7. Some phosphorus is dumped as waste from purification, some ends up in waterways.
8. Eventually phosphorus travels to the sea where it is in principle unrecoverable.

As phosphorus supplies are finite, it would be beneficial to the national economy to encourage recycling - lack of supply will cause food price hikes. It would also reduce damages to waterways and sea ecology.

The Höglund approach could look like this applied to the phosphorus case:

Identify system boundaries:	<p>Entry: import of phosphorus in fertilizer and as minerals as well as in food.</p> <p>Exit: release from water treatment plants, leakage from agriculture, release from homes not connected to sewer system.</p>
Plan reasonable phase-out of emissions over time:	<p>Some of the issues that might inform the decision: small amounts of leakage may be tolerable from a waterway ecology viewpoint. On the other hand, dependency should be cut to protect long term viability of the food industry. The technology for recycling phosphorus is widely available. Based on this a zero emissions target could be achieved in say 30 years, with the aim to reduce emission by half within ten.</p>
Set up fee mechanism:	<p>Initially, a fee charged bimonthly on imports of phosphorous-containing compounds for agricultural use. Factors to consider include imported food contains phosphorus – and so does exported food.</p>
Set up redistribution:	<p>Issues for consideration: As food price stability is central to the transformation, redistributing the money via general alleviation of personal taxes could be brought about. More disposable income gives more money to spend on food.</p> <p>The current sewage infrastructure stems from designs of the 1800s. Massive investments are needed to enable phosphorus recycling. Some fee income could be used to stimulate development in this area.</p>
Monitor market behavior:	<p>Things to look for: that the fee is sufficiently high to encourage firms with low abatement costs to change operations. Areas where abatement costs appear prohibitive. Monitoring import of food and other ways for phosphorus to enter the country and affect the competitiveness of home grown food. Making sure food prices do not affect inflation.</p>

CARBON DIOXIDE



1. Oil is extracted on land or at sea.
2. It is transported to refineries.
3. From the refinery, oil products such as heating oil, and diesel and petrol are distributed into supply chains.
4. Most oil is combusted although some percentage of carbon remains trapped in plastics, paints, adhesives, etc.
5. Carbon from the extracted oil ends up as carbon dioxide as a result of combustion.

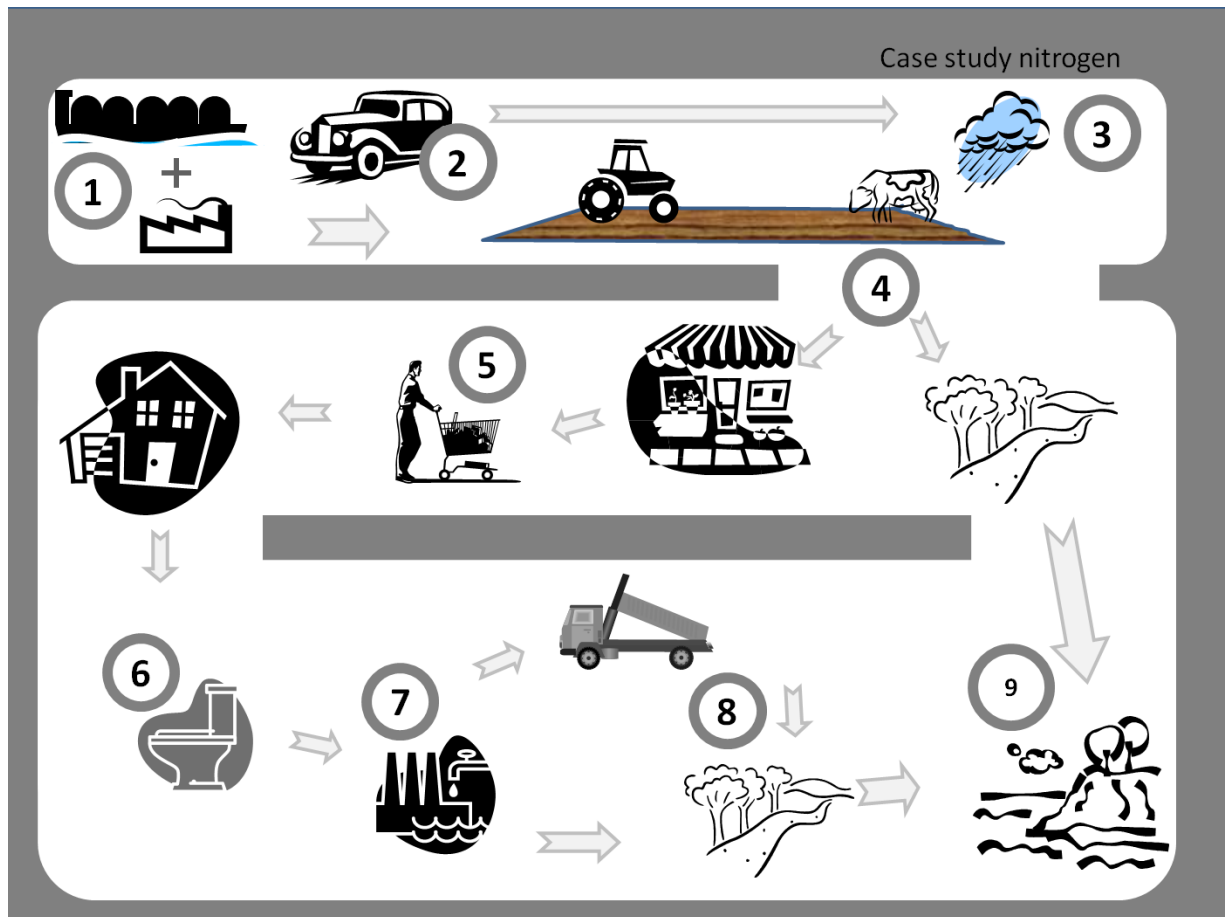
The Höglund approach could look like this applied to the carbon dioxide case

Identify system boundaries:	Entry: import of fossil fuels or extraction in country. Exit: as carbon dioxide as result of combustion.
Plan reasonable phase-out of emissions over time:	Some of the issues that might be considered: fossil fuels are needed to grow the economy given the present system. No replacement for liquid fuels is close. Climate scientists call for return to 350 ppm CO ₂ in atmosphere, this would require a fast phase out.
Set up fee mechanism:	Initially, perhaps a fee charged bimonthly on imports/extraction of fossil fuel.
Set up redistribution:	Issues for consideration: promoting low carbon economy, renewable energy sources and energy efficiency would be helpful. Food, water and housing security would lay foundations for prosperity.
Monitor market behavior:	Things to look for: economic activity remains acceptable, imports reduce at target rate, no import of carbon via other nation's emissions.

NITROGEN

Nitrogen is interesting because it is abundant, is in the air and is brought into the soil by plants and lightening. The main sources of pollution in nature are from industry and combustion engines (possibly around a fourth of all nitrogen pollution) and agriculture (3/4). Like the first two pollutants, nitrogen is an essential element of the living system. Unlike the others it is in abundant supply – presenting new challenges for fee-based regulation.

The diagram below illustrates the flow of nitrogen through our communities.

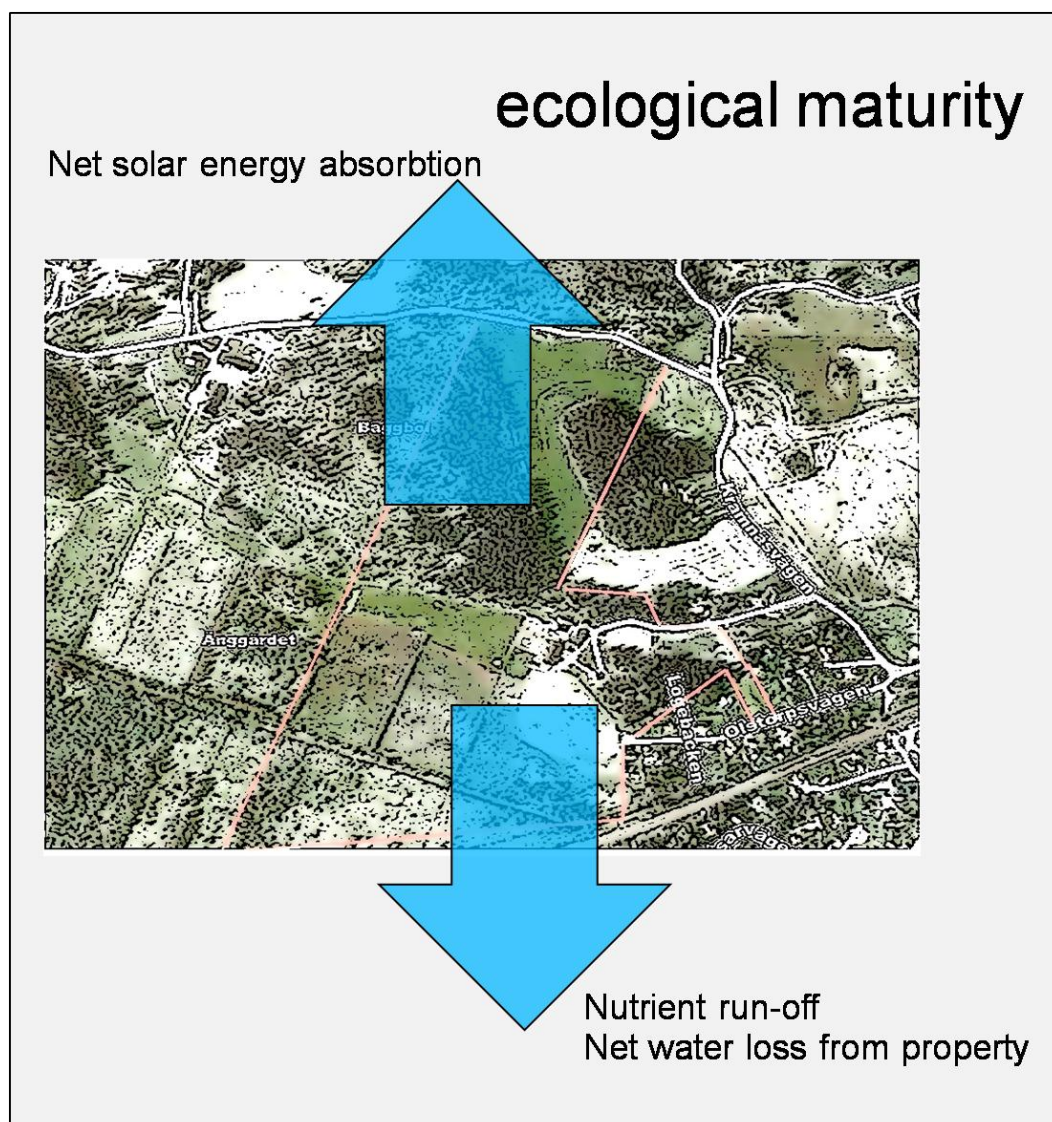


- 1) Natural gas is combined with various minerals and nitrogen from the air to create fertilizers for the agricultural industry.
- 2) Combustion engines and industrial processes combine nitrogen from the air and release nitrogen gasses into the atmosphere.
- 3) Nitrogen compounds in the air return to earth.
- 4) Nitrogen in food is transported for sale. Some leaks to watercourses from the fields.
- 5) Food is consumed and nitrogen exits the body.
- 6) Nitrogen travels through the sewer system.
- 7) Water purification plants release some nitrogen to natural watercourses, the rest is dumped where it leaks slowly into groundwater.

- 8) Nitrogen flows via natural waterways into the sea.
- 9) In the sea, excess nitrogen contributes to eutrophication.

The Höglund approach applied to nitrogen	
Identify system boundaries:	<p>Entry: N combines in combustion engine and industrial process to form gasses. Also taken from air to create fertilizer. Enters country in food, too.</p> <p>Exit: release from water treatment plants, leakage from agriculture, release from vehicles and industrial processes</p>
Plan reasonable phase-out of emissions over time:	<p>Some of the issues that might inform the decision: small amounts of leakage may be tolerable from a waterway ecology viewpoint. The technology for recycling is widely available. Based on this, a zero emissions target could be achieved in say 30 years, with the aim to reduce emission by half within ten.</p>
Set up fee mechanism:	<p>Initially, a fee charged annually on all combustion engines and industrial processes that remove nitrogen from the air. The same fee would be applied to fertilizer production or import. A fee could be charged on import of food.</p>
Set up redistribution:	<p>Issues for consideration: As food price stability is central to the transformation, redistributing the money via general alleviation of personal taxes could be brought about. More disposable income gives more money to spend on food.</p> <p>The current sewage infrastructure stems from designs of the 1800s. Massive investments are needed to enable nitrogen recycling. Some fee income could be used to stimulate development in this area.</p>
Monitor market behavior:	<p>Things to look for: that the fee is sufficiently high to encourage firms with low abatement costs to change operations. Areas where abatement costs appear prohibitive. The relative difference between N from transport and industry and N in agriculture. Monitoring import of food and other ways for nitrogen to enter the country and affect the competitiveness of home grown food.</p> <p>Making sure food prices do not affect inflation.</p>

ECOLOGICAL MATURITY



As discussed earlier, ecological maturity includes a leakage of nutrients from a property, (represented here by the areas within the red line) as well as water and heat. The Foundation has been considering the possibilities to apply flexible fee mechanism to this aspect of externalization as well. Similar to the challenge of nitrogen and phosphorus described earlier, the externalization happens at the boundary of the property.

The Höglund approach applied to ecological maturity	
Identify system boundaries:	The property boundary, and connections to the technical infrastructure like sewage and drainage.
Plan reasonable phase-out of emissions over time:	The more mature a property is, the more eco-system service capacity it has. It might be reasonable to connect an overall plan to phase out of fossil fuel. It takes time for a property to mature. An annual fee might be appropriate here.
Set up fee	Possibly a categorisation of properties. Owners could apply to have their

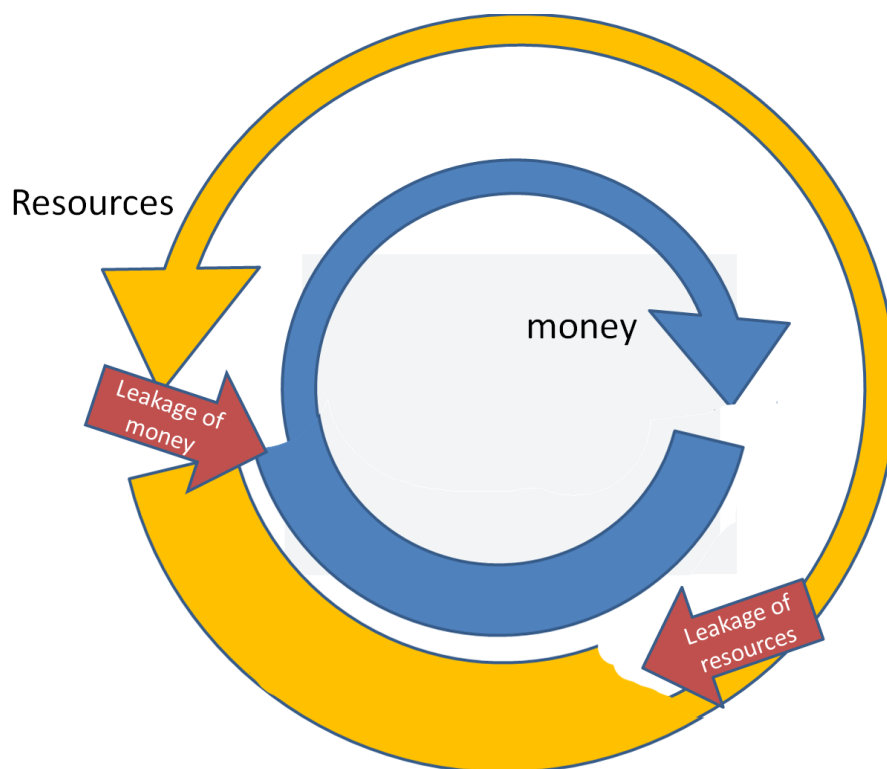
mechanism:	property reclassified at regular intervals.
Set up redistribution:	Property taxes could be flexible depending on classification and size as well as location.
Monitor market behaviour:	Property tax information would provide good information if a classification and monitoring scheme could be developed.

APPLYING THE MECHANISM TO ALL CATEGORIES OF POTENTIAL POLLUTANTS

Category	System Boundary	Phase-out	Monitor market behaviour	Notes
Non-renewable e.g. energy from fossil fuel	At extraction (mines, wells) or import over national boundary (ports).	Use could be restricted tightly to encourage alternatives	At point of entry fee.	
Limited supply but recyclable e.g. phosphorous	At extraction (mines, wells)	Use could be encouraged, but extraction or import heavily restricted.	At point of entry fee.	
Abundant but can accumulate or poison e.g. Nitrogen	At release point (chimney, waste pipe)	Restricting release to the biosphere will force nutrients to remain in technosphere.	Key accumulation points (i.e watercourses).	
Practices that degrade eco-system services e.g. tree management, species reduction	At point of extraction (harvest) or point of addition (entering commercial system)	The fee mechanism is aimed at the practice or behavior rather than the nutrient, but the principle is the same.	Measurement of change of eco-system service per key property.	A reverse flexible fee can be considered: to pay land owners to provide eco-system services from their land.

Complex substances poisonous to biosphere	At point of production/introduction	As rapidly as possible, alternatively confinement to technical infrastructure.	Production and emission.	Strict law of substitution relevant here
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THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY DRIVEN BY FLEX FEES



As seen in the diagram above, money is created and then leaks from the national economy. The creation point is when loans arise. Resources are bought and when payments are made abroad for services and or products the money in effect leaks from the nation. To use the examples above, taking the case of Sweden, huge amounts of money pass out of the economy to pay for imports of fuel and fertilizer.

At the same time, we can say that money leaks out of the economy as:

- Nutrients that are not reclaimed but end up for example unrecoverable in the sea or in the case of metals, in inseparable alloys. New supplies of nutrients need to be bought for the next cycle.
- Damage to eco-systems that must be paid by others.

Should eco-system damage not occur, and nutrients not leak, less money would in effect leak out of the economy. Jobs leak out of the economy with money and investment goes with it as well. The Foundation believes we should be striving for something that is closer to economic maturity, where housekeeping with nutrients both biological and mineral ensures no leakage.

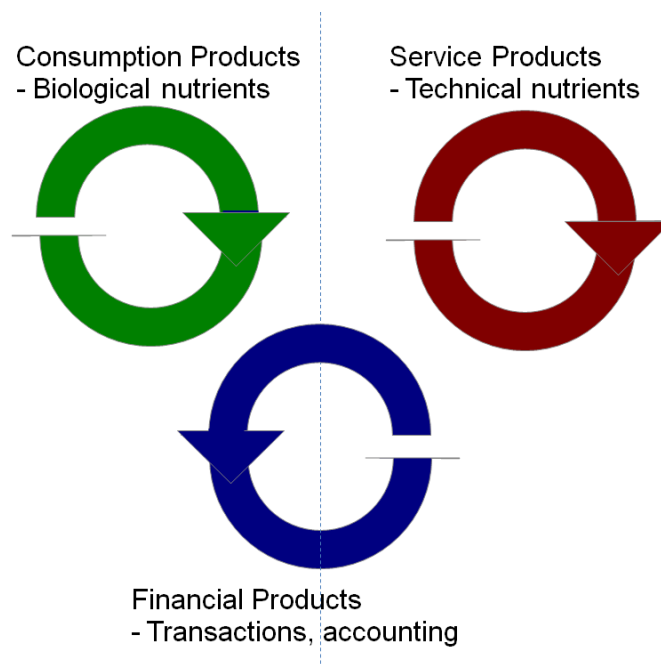
If no leakage occurs, then the conditions to stop leakage of money get better, and the conditions for economic growth improve.

The circular economy recognizes two types of nutrients:

Biological nutrients, coming from and returning to the biosphere, and providing products and energy for consumption. Food and biofuel are examples of biological nutrients.

Technical nutrients, which form the technical infrastructure within which the biological nutrients circulate. The domestic waste water system, made of plastic pipes and metal fittings is an example.

Monetary flows in the opposite direction to biological and technical nutrients as it is used to pay for them. This can be illustrated by the diagram below



The aim of the circular economy is to retain and recycle technical nutrients in the economy, to cycle biological nutrients from the economy to the biosphere and back, and to utilize money to facilitate transactions and trade.

By placing flexible fee levying mechanisms at strategic points where substances enter the economy, and raising them sufficiently high at sufficiently frequent intervals, the market gets stimulated to introduce non-emitting alternative approaches.

CONNECTING THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY AND ECOLOGICAL MATURITY TO THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC MATURITY

The circular economy is an economy that mimics the mature eco-system. In other words, a mature eco-system is also a mature economy. And a mature economy is one that does not externalize. A mature economy is far from what we have today, however with the right economic incentives, it should be achievable before resources deplete to a critical level using Höglund's flexible emission fee mechanisms.

BENEFITS OF THE HÖGLUND MECHANISM

COMPETITIVELY NEUTRAL

The fee-setting mechanism is based on what the market can handle. The advantage of this is that the fee does not offer competitive advantages to one actor or another, but rather encourages the free market to dominate within accepted rates of reduction of externalization.

EFFICACIOUS: FEES ARE RAISED UNTIL THEY "BITE" TO REFLECT TRUE COST OF NOT POLLUTING

Capital investment in old infrastructure is given time to be adjusted

CAN REACT TO PRICE CHANGES

Should prices rise suddenly, as a result of production shortfalls, for example, sales and emissions targets could well be met as a result. In this case, as targets are being met, the fee could be reduced. This will ease the burden of the price shock on companies in the supply chain.

USES TRIED AND TESTED COMPONENTS

The Höglund approach uses components that are already in place. For example, variable fees and taxes are used for differential VAT. Congestion charges are levied depending on time of day. Sweden and a few other countries already levy carbon dioxide fees on fuel.

EASY TO IMPLEMENT AS UPSTREAM FEES SIMPLE TO LEVY

Using already existing mechanisms means the costs for the introduction of flexible emission fees can be kept low.

NOT A PLANNED ECONOMY APPROACH BUT A PLANNED CLEAN FUTURE APPROACH – USING MARKET FORCES APPROPRIATELY

What is planned is a clean economy, but the how and when are achieved with market forces. The fee collected goes back to the public, who will exert purchasing pressure for the cheaper, non-

polluting system. Contrast this to CAPAND TRADE, where the money collected from emission rights is used to clean the pollution up.

TAKES A SOCIAL CENTRIC VIEW

The application of flexible fees looks to create food and housing security in contrast to other approaches that target stopping emission and leave social benefit out of the picture.

FEE STRUCTURE AND SIZE FOLLOWS OVERALL GOALS

As market behaviour changes against abatement goals, the fee system responds. This contrasts with many static approaches like Cap and Trade that are not designed to function in step with market behaviour.

UNCERTAINTY STIMULATES MARKET ACTOR'S ATTENTION

Because the uncertainty generated by the fee system will cause futures market to arise, there will be greater attention on the economic consequences of emission. This is good because the greater information spread will create more awareness of the issues involves and greater willingness to invest in these areas.

POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT

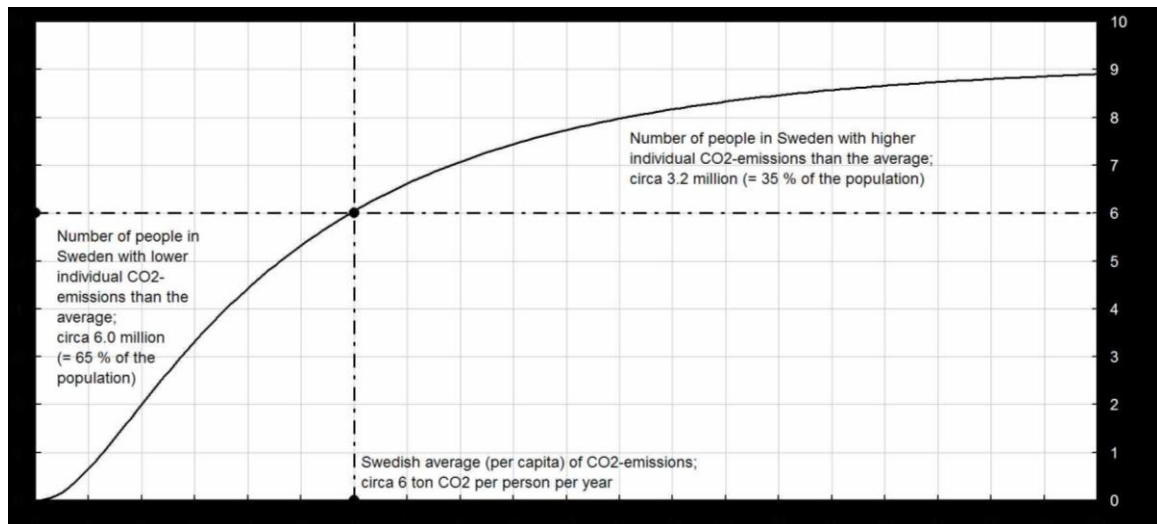
Because the fee is set in effect by market forces, the level of political involvement is restricted to creating agreed emission targets and introducing the mechanism. This relieves politicians from having to get involved in the dichotomy between preserving ecological services, health, and natural resources versus the demand for citizens for economic growth.

CAN BE POPULAR WITH GENERAL PUBLIC AS THEY GET MONEY IN THEIR POCKET

It makes it possible for politicians to work towards sustainable development, involving the general public who get more in their pocket if pollution continues, or less in their pocket but more affordable environmental products if it does not.

AFFECTS THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD TO PAY

Analysis reveals that a major percentage of emissions are actually caused by a minority of the population; those with the best incomes. Because the fee is passed on to the end consumer, it will be the best paid members of society - those who can best afford it - who will be affected by higher costs. This means the mechanism can be seen as being fair in its approach. (See diagram below.)



The top 35% of the wealthy in Sweden are also the largest polluters Source; Höglund

STIMULATES THE ECONOMY TO GROW IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION

As pointed out earlier, economic growth in itself is not purely a measure of human progress. As all spending is reflected in the figure, costs negative to society are reflected too, like spending associated with natural disasters, crimes, and polluting industries.

By taking money out of the economy from polluters, and giving it to consumers to spend, a virtuous cycle is created where more and more “appropriate” services are demanded and become relatively cheaper. If, for example, fuel prices soar due to fee increases, and consumers get more in their pockets to spend, we would likely see an increase in demand for rail travel on lines electrified by hydro power.

To summarize; global economic growth and development can be made benign and sustainable by proper use of economic feedback control. The economic feedback control proposed here can be designed to benefit the majority of the population in addition to being efficient, objective and fair in treating all emissions and emitters the same.

REMOVES THE GUILT FROM SPENDING

Many consumers feel guilty because it is clear to them that their life style results in emissions that will affect future generations. At the same time they are torn between the feeling of guilt and the responsibility they feel towards their families and the perceived lack of choice.

The introduction of flexible fees means that consumers who, for example, choose to fly long distance, will in effect be paying for society to address the problem and transition away from the practice. They can see their flight as an investment in less polluting alternatives.

In the same way, consumers are worried about spending, because unemployment is high and the outlook appears bleak. Flexible fee mechanisms put money in consumers’ pockets, creating demand for services and thereby employment. Knowing these mechanisms are in place will encourage consumers to redirect their money into the economy.

Q&A

Surely emissions fees have been tried before- what is different about the Höglund mechanism?

Emission fees have been applied it is true. Sweden has a Carbon Dioxide tax on petrol. What is different (and not been tried) is that Höglund's fee is flexible and carries with it uncertainty. If emissions do not go down, despite fees, fees are raised for example. If they go down too quickly, there is possibly detrimental effects on the economy, so they can be adjusted downwards. Although flexible fees have been introduced in airline seats for example, they have not been tried for emissions.

Will it not be difficult to impose a flexible fee?

Flexible payment mechanisms are actually widespread. For example, congestion charges vary depending on time of day. The Stockholm congestion charge is paid to both leave and enter the city, and charged using a number plate recognition system and a separate account that is direct debited. Most Stockholmers with cars hardly notice the economic activity incurred from travelling in and out of the city.

Petrol filling stations nowadays have digital price boards to cope with constant price changes.

Will redistribution be difficult?

Redistribution mechanisms exist that can be used. The *Alaska resident payment system* – the permanent fund dividend redistributes money from oil extraction.²²

Many tax systems include a base amount of income that is untaxed. Raising this level is effectively redistribution.

Subsidies are well-known redistribution mechanisms.

Surely, tough restrictions at home will destroy companies' competitiveness with foreign firms at home and abroad

It is true that applying an emissions tax in one country could favor importers. For example, manufacturing of a car can take as much oil (and creates carbon dioxide emissions) as the car uses as fuel in its lifetime. A car manufactured in another country and imported will be comparatively cheaper then, as its manufacturing costs are lower.

This illustrates some important points:

- i) A sustainable approach to economy works best on a regional or global level.
- ii) A country introducing flexible emissions fees would do best to concentrate on areas where imports from countries with fewer restrictions created a problem for national producers.

²² See <http://www.pfd.state.ak.us/historical/index.aspx>

- iii) The fees collected should be used wisely. For example, subsidies on green vehicles could favor home manufacturers even against importers.
- iv) Emissions fees are applied to substances entering the country, and are thereby neutral to competition. Exporters will not be affected if they do not emit pollutants in their home country.

CALL TO ACTION: PILOTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

The Foundation strongly advises nations to consider the introduction of flexible pollution fees. Experience shows that more information about the fees, the mechanism, about how markets affect the supply chain and futures markets are needed by decision makers before they are able to commit to the introduction of such mechanisms.

The foundation has developed several simulations which can be run as a business game, to expand understanding of the subject area.

The Foundation recommends also the setting up demonstration, or pilot schemes, to allow decision makers to study the implications and mechanisms of this approach. The Foundation is willing to provide their expert assistance for this.

APPENDIX

THE DEFINITION OF THE FLEXIBLE FEE MECHANISM

Flexible emission control fees are tariffs imposed by authorities on the import or extraction of specific substances.

The purpose of the mechanism is to control the rate of phase out to keep both socio-economic and ecological stress to the minimum necessary.

The level of fee imposed is flexible, i.e. adjusted regularly, based on information from a monitoring function of market behavior including the rate of abatement compared to phase-out goals and other factors.

The mechanism includes economic feedback, returning fees collected to the economy via dividends or other routes.

The adjustments, together with the dividend comprise a control mechanism that ensures the transition to an economic and safe use of the substance in the societal system.

MORE ON MECHANISMS OF PRICING EMISSIONS FEES

The figure below shows the intersection of a Marginal Abatement Cost (MAC) curve and a Marginal External Cost (MEC). It illustrates the effect of a static pollution fee on levels of pollution, assuming perfect competition. By imposing an optimal fee of t^* , the level of pollution is reduced from some level Q (which would be where the MAC curve crosses the horizontal axis) to an optimal level Q^* . Similarly, a quantity constraint would fix the cost of pollution such that Q^* is reached. Approaching the pollution issue from this perspective, the challenge for policy makers becomes formulating policy which arrives at a fee level that approaches t^* , or a quantity constraint that approaches Q^* .

It is, in many cases, difficult to identify a reliable MEC curve, particularly with longer-term environmental issues such as climate change. In the case of the climate debate for example, substantial resources have been devoted towards developing a better understanding of the MEC. The International Panel on Climate Change and their assessment reports are an example of the steps that are being taken.

MAC curves on the other hand have been derived either using a “top down” or a “bottom up” methodology. Top-down curves are derived from economic models. These are generally produced from Computable General Equilibrium (CGE or GEM) models. Such curves cannot distinguish accurately which sectors or technologies produce abatement and are dependent on the extrapolation of past trends when deriving their curves. On the other hand, bottom up curves are derived from engineering studies and technology assessments. Such curves exhibit good detail but often have gaps in one or more sectors due to a lack of data and do not include feedback effects on other economic variables of investing in certain options.²³ Deriving the MAC curve is difficult for a

²³ Ellermann et al. (1998)

variety of reasons, commercial confidentiality being another important example. Indeed, many economists consider that the government is in a poor

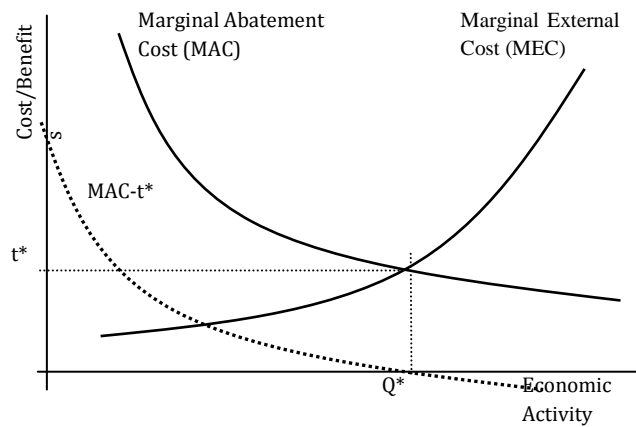


Figure 0-1 – Optimal pollution level Q^*

position to extract this information and some even go so far as to argue that the existence of this information asymmetry is enough to preclude government intervention.²⁴

In this regard, environmental policy faces a considerable challenge. On the one hand, the MEC curve must be known to some degree. The less that is known about the result of pollution damages, obviously, the more difficult it is to formulate an effective policy. On the other hand, the MAC curve must also be known to some degree. The less that is known about the MAC curve, the harder it is to formulate an effective policy. Without the certainty of reliable MAC and MEC curves, there is the risk that the policy will overshoot or undershoot what is economically or environmentally optimal.

The flexible pollution fee would allow firms to act on an open market based on the information they have about their own abatement costs. By hedging their abatement investments (or even hedging their decision not to invest), a level of the pollution fee is established. The fee level would, in the long run, be a function of an aggregate MAC of those firms that participate on the market and the life of their abatement investments.

From the NUTEK report “[A flexible pollution tax](#)”

²⁴ Pearce and Turner (1990)

QUESTIONS TO ASK TO COMPARE FEE-SETTING APPROACHES

GENERAL APPROACH

How is the approach characterized – for example “end of Pipe”, systems approach, natural step?

IDENTIFICATION OF EMISSIONS

How are emissions pinpointed for measures? What analysis methods are used?

How are the behaviour and performance of technical systems pinpointed for application of measures?

VALUATION OF PROBLEM

Which factors are weighed in the beginning?

Is a triple bottom line -Economy, Environment, Social - approach used?,

Are other factors weighed in like the cost of fossil fuel dependency, Climate change?

DECISION ON EMISSION LEVELS

What kind of thinking is behind the decision to establish permitted emission behaviour?

TIME ASPECTS

How are short term costs weighed against the long-term societal costs of emission? Is some future discounting method used?

MECHANISM OF LEVYING FEE/SELLING EMISSION PERMITS

How is the point of levy – in the commercial chain – identified? What criteria are used?

CHOICE OF FACTORS TO MONITOR

What factors are monitored, how are these identified?

How are market behaviour and technical behaviour monitored?

What formulae and other analyses are applied to the data gathered?

What kind of decisions are made based on the data?

Who makes the decisions, how often?

PSYCHOLOGY

What is the approach to making the mechanism socially acceptable?

What mechanisms are used to monitor public opinion?

REDISTRIBUTION OF FEE

What principles underlie redistribution?

How is it done in practice?

How is the effect of redistribution monitored?

RISKS AND SCENARIOS

Which risks are foreseen with the construction, introduction, operation and development of the mechanism – for the dimensions of project risk, budget risk, technical risk, social risk.

What preparedness is there in the mechanism or its operation to manage unforeseen changes like price rises, economic downturns, etc?

Are scenarios considered as part of the mechanism introduction process?

EFFECTS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Producers' and others' existing investments in infrastructure. To what extent will the mechanism drive reduction or increase in the value of existing infrastructure?

To what extent will the mechanism affect consumers?

EFFECTS ON TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

What are the likely influences on new technology development?

Which drivers will come into force for which technologies?

EFFECTS ON TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE

In what way, and to what extent will the mechanism introduction drive societal technological infrastructure to develop?

ABOUT ANDERS HÖGLUND

Anders Höglund is an engine researcher and part owner of Swedish-based Cargine Engineering. Anders worked for VOLVO for 26 years as a combustion engine developer. He started to develop his ideas on flexible emission fees in 1988 when he realized that modern control technology approaches, among other things used to make diesel engines clean, can be applied to modern economies. He has been a member of the Board since its foundation in 1995.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Stephen Hinton, BSc, Cert Ed started teaching science after completing his studies at the University of London, Institute of Education. Moving into management consulting and then a career in Telecoms during the 90s, he continued to explore sustainable development and the power of innovation. In researching for his book, "Inventing for the Sustainable Planet" he realized that new, sustainable, paradigms were urgently needed. He headed the sustainable drinking water company, Purity, 2006-2008. Currently, he is working to establish new forms of sustainable settlements, called Eco-units and is managing the Humanitarian Water and Food Award, based in Copenhagen. Recognizing his wide range of experience in industry, and his knowledge of sustainable development, Stephen was invited to join the Board of the Foundation in 2007.

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