MARKET FAILURES OF CARBON TRADING

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Inefficiencies of Carbon Trading Markets*

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Abstract

The European Union Emission Trading System is a prominent market-based mechanism to reduce emissions. While the theory is well-understood, we are the first to study the whole cap-and-trade mechanism as a financial market. Analyzing the universe of transactions in 2005-2020 (more than one million records of granular transaction data), we show that this market features significant inefficiencies undermining its goals. First, about 40% of firms never trade in a given year. Second, many firms only trade during surrendering months, when compliance is immediate and prices are predictably high. Third, a number of operators engage in speculative trading, exploiting private information.

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Carbon emissions are a classic example of externalities, where economic agents do not fully internalize their environmental impact, resulting in overproduction of carbon emissions. A cap-and-trade system, where agents can trade allowances to emit carbon, holds significant promise and offers a potential market-based solution for firms to internalize the environmental impact [\[Goulder](#page-17-0), [2013,](#page-17-0) [Schmalensee and Stavins](#page-17-1), [2013](#page-17-1)]. A recent meta-analysis of 70 carbon-pricing schemes [\[Döbbeling-Hildebrandt et al.](#page-17-2), [2024](#page-17-2)] concludes that carbon pricing is effective in substantially reducing emissions.

While effectiveness in reducing emissions is an important criterion of success, an equally important measure of success of a market-based mechanism is its efficiency. The efficiency of the carbon trading market as a financial market is inherently a question that needs to be addressed by finance tools and, more specifically, by asset pricing tools, as carbon is a tradable asset.

We document that the European Union Emission Trading System (EU ETS)—the first major emission allowance market and a cornerstone of the EU emissions policy—is strikingly inefficient as a market-based mechanism, which leads to a number of unintended consequences that substantially undermine its intended purpose. First, a large fraction of operators do not trade. Second, many operators time their trades inefficiently, incurring significant additional losses. Third, our analysis uncovers the existence of a number of regulated firms acting as speculators that obtain significant profit by exploiting the market with private information.

We obtain granular transaction and compliance data of companies participating in the EU ETS from the European Union Transaction Log (EUTL). Our sample contains the universe of transactions and compliance information from the EUTL from February 2005 to April 2020, covering the first three phases of the EU ETS. There are three main groups of participants in the market: regulated firms, intermediaries, and regulators. They are largely represented in the EU ETS market by operator holding accounts, person holding accounts, and administrative accounts, respectively. Our analyses focus on the regulated firms (or operators) and study their transactions with other regulated firms and intermediaries. We exclude transactions with administrative accounts, as these represent the receiving or surrendering of emissions allowances to regulators, which is not the focus of this paper.

First, the analysis of the trading pattern of the emission allowance market reveals that a significant fraction of firms do not engage in trading each year—approximately 40% of the overall sample. One possible justification for the documented large fraction of non-trading firms is that they receive an amount of free allowances closely matching their surrender requirements as part of the EU ETS. However, we find this not to be true in the data. In fact, many of these firms exhibit imbalances of allowances in the years they do not trade at all. The large fraction of non-trading firms is not only a sign of market inefficiency but also, to a significant extent, defeats its purpose as in any cap-and-trade model, for the system to efficiently allocate allowances to the most productive use, firms must participate in the market and actively trade.

Second, we demonstrate that many firms trade at inefficient times and at inefficient prices, leading to additional significant losses. The EU ETS market operates on a fixed verifying and surrendering schedule each year. By the end of April, firms must surrender a sufficient number of emission allowances to the administrator account to match their verified emissions. This fixed schedule leads to a predictable pattern in emission allowance trading, with April consistently showing the largest net purchases of allowances by regulated firms throughout the sample period. The magnitude of these purchases is striking, with net purchases in April being an order of magnitude larger than in typical non-April months. This high demand for emission allowances in the surrendering month results in significant price increases, averaging more than 10% in Aprils. This empirical evidence reveals that, in addition to a large fraction of non-trading firms, many firms that do trade primarily engage in trading exclusively during the surrendering month, when compliance is immediate, and the price of emission allowances is predictably high. A back-of-the-envelope calculation reveals that this surrendering pattern alone leads to an implied loss for the regulated firms of about \in 5 billion.

Third, we find that about 10% of the firms trade an excessive amount of emission allowances each year, and show that these firms possess private information and are able to exploit it for profit. Using a conservative definition, these firms have trading volumes more than four times the amount they surrender in a given year. We provide evidence that the excessive trading is related to these firms exploiting their private information about the market. In fact, these firms purchase emission allowances correctly, anticipating prices increase in the future, and vice versa, sell emission allowances correctly, anticipating future price decreases. To capture the net purchases of firms in a month, we construct a variable called "S*peculator Ratio*", defined as the net flow from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts divided by the total transaction between the two types of accounts for each month. We establish that Speculator Ratio is a strong predictor of future cumulative emission allowance returns. Using *Speculator Ratio* to predict cumulative allowance returns from one month to twelve months ahead, we find that the coefficient estimates are all positive, becoming significant at the 5% level at the two-month horizon. The results are consistent with the notion that these firms possess private information and tend to accumulate emission allowances when they anticipate future price increases. A back-of-the-envelope estimation reveals that these firms make about \in 8 billion in profit during the sample period.

If the observed excessive trading by some firms is driven by asymmetric information and operators exploiting private information for speculative trading, we would expect the return predictability power to be stronger for trades conducted by firms that more frequently transact in the emission allowance market. Our analysis reveals that the return predictability is entirely driven by the transactions conducted by firms that frequently transact in the emission allowance market. This evidence further supports the notion that these firms possess private information and are able to exploit it for profit.

1 Market Overview and Data

This section provides an overview of the EU ETS market and describes the comprehensive data collected on the universe of transactions within the EU ETS market.

1.1 Market Overview

The EU ETS is the first large carbon market in the world. The system covers more than 13,000 facilities spanning diverse industrial sectors. Functioning as a cap-and-trade system, the EU ETS allocates emission permits, commonly known as European Union Allowances (EUAs), to participating companies. Participating companies are required to report their annual carbon emission amount to the regulatory authorities and also must surrender a corresponding amount of permits.

The EU ETS was launched in 2005 as a cornerstone of the EU policy to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The evolution of the EU ETS is organized in various "phases". The first trading phase (Phase I) goes from 2005 to 2007. This is a pilot phase that lays the groundwork for subsequent phases by establishing trading rules and procedures. The second trading phase (Phase II) goes from 2008 to 2012. Building upon Phase I, the EU ETS expanded its scope and refined its mechanisms, including efforts to standardize the allocation rules and improve the pricing and functionality of the trading system. The third phase (Phase III) goes from 2013 to 2020, while the current phase (Phase IV) started in 2021 and will end in 2030.

During our sample period, the EU ETS has a fixed verifying and surrendering schedule each year. In particular, each year operators must submit an emission report. The emissions data for a given year must be verified by an accredited verifier by the end of March of each year. Then, operators must surrender the equivalent number of allowances to match the installation's emissions by the end of April. In other words, April is the month of surrendering for all firms under the EU ETS. For each ton of emissions where no allowance is surrendered on time, there is a penalty of ϵ 100, in addition to the cost of surrendering allowances. The names of penalized operators are also made public.

1.2 Data

1.2.1 EU ETS Trading and Compliance Data

The EU ETS individual trading and compliance data are publicly available and are from the European Union Transaction Log (EUTL) $[Abrell, 2023]$ $[Abrell, 2023]$ $[Abrell, 2023]$ $[Abrell, 2023]$.^{[1](#page-5-0)} The EUTL serves as the primary platform for reporting and monitoring within the EU ETS. This tool enables the European Commission to transparently disclose crucial data regarding compliance by regulated entities, the participation of stakeholders within the system, and the transactions conducted among these participants. Our sample contains the universe of transactions and compliance information from the EUTL from February 2005 to April 2020, spanning the first three phases of the EU ETS. The EUTL data that we use in this paper contain a number of components, including compliance, account, and transaction information, which we describe separately below.

Compliance Information Compliance within the EU ETS occurs at the level of installations. The installations have the obligation to surrender emission allowances for the verified amounts. The EUTL data contain detailed information about the identities of the installations as well as the compliance information. The compliance information contains the allocated amount and the surrendered amount for each installation in each year. In the sample, the compliance rate of installations is close to 100%, and therefore, non-compliance is unlikely to be an issue in our analysis.

Account Information There are three basic account types in the EUTL [\[Abrell](#page-17-3), [2023](#page-17-3)]: operator holding accounts, person holding accounts, and administrative accounts. An operator holding account represents an installation—the regulated participant. The operator holding account allows the installation to receive, transfer, and surrender emission allowances. Non-regulated participants (or intermediaries) can participate in the EU ETS by using personal holding accounts to trade emission allowances. Regulators must use

¹The data used in the paper is publicly available through the EUTL website [\(https://ec.europa.eu/clima/ets/\)](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/ets/). We downloaded the data using the tools available at [https://www.euets.info.](https://www.euets.info) The EUA spot price is from Datastream.

administrative accounts to allocate and receive surrendered emission allowances. Accounts are held by account holders or companies. Sometimes, a company may have multiple accounts, including operator holding accounts and/or person holding accounts.

Transaction Information The EUTL records all emission allowance transactions between accounts. Transactions can happen between any two accounts, including operator, person, and administrative accounts. Reallocations of emission allowances within the same firm are recorded as transactions in the EUTL. Receiving and surrendering emission allowances from and to administrative accounts are also recorded as transactions. In this paper, we exclude any EUTL recorded transaction that involves administrative accounts, as our focus is on the actual transactions, especially those involving regulated entities, instead of the allocated or surrendering behaviors in the EU ETS. Furthermore, since we aggregate transaction information at the company level, transactions recorded within the same company in the EUTL always net out to zero.

The number of person holding accounts was at its lowest (334 accounts) at the onset of EU ETS. This number increased, peaking at over 1,500 at the beginning of Phase II, and then steadily declined almost every year, reaching 695 in 2020. In contrast, the number of operator holding accounts has been increasing, starting at 904 at the onset of the EU ETS, reaching a peak of 6,033 in 2013, and stabilizing around 4,000 in 2020. While the number of person holding accounts is a fraction of the number of operator holding accounts, person holding accounts represent the largest share of the total volume of EUAs sold and purchased, as illustrated in Figure [1.](#page-7-0) Furthermore, the figure shows that the total amount of EUAs sold and purchased by person holding accounts has been increasing from Phase I to Phase III of the EU ETS, reaching approximately 65 billion EUAs sold (\in 683 billion) and 58 billion EUAs purchased (\in 612 billion) in Phase III. Operator holding accounts, instead, account for approximately 4 billion in EUAs sold $(\in 41$ billion) and 10 billion in EUAs purchased (\in 111 billion) in Phase III.^{[2](#page-6-0)}

Table [1](#page-8-0) provides descriptive statistics on operator trading throughout the entire sample period, as well as across the three distinct phases of the EU ETS market. Panel A shows that, on average, an operator sold approximately 624 thousand EUAs and purchased 1,150 thousand EUAs over the entire sample. The average share of EUAs sold to other operators was 22%, while the share of EUAs purchased from other operators was 17%. Overall, the total trading activity (combining both sales and purchases) of the average operator amounted to around 1,774 thousand EUAs, with 18% of this total involving transactions with other

²We use the daily EUA spot price, obtained from Datastream, to estimate the euro value of the EUAs purchased and sold.

operators. The proportions of sales, purchases, and total trade involving other operators are quite consistent across the three market phases. Panel B highlights that the distribution of sales and purchases by operators is right-skewed, meaning that the median quantities are substantially smaller. Specifically, the median operator sold or bought about 20 EUAs and interacted primarily with intermediaries rather than with other operators. This pattern remains consistent across the different phases of the market.

Figure 1: EUA Buy and Sell Transactions by Holding Type

This figure presents the evolution in the total amount (top panels) and transaction counts (bottom panel) of EUA sold and purchased by holding type. Data is from February 2005 to April 2020.

Table 1: Operator Trading in the EU ETS Market

This table shows the fraction of trades operators engage with other operators. Panel A reports the average numbers of sales, buys, and total trades as well as the fractions of sales, buys, and total trades with other operators. Panel B reports the median numbers of sales, buys, and total trades as well as the fractions of sales, buys, and total trades with other operators.

	Sales	To Operators $(\%)$	Buys	From Operators $(\%)$	Total Trades	With Operators $(\%)$
				Panel A: Averages		
Overall	624.69	0.22	1150.28	0.17	1774.97	0.18
Phase 1	1455.94	0.18	1863.16	0.22	3319.1	0.19
Phase 2	991.99	0.18	1815.87	0.21	2807.86	0.2
Phase 3	507.11	0.25	989.58	0.16	1496.69	0.17
	Sales	To Operators $(\%)$	Buys	From Operators $(\%)$	Total Trades	With Operators $(\%)$
				Panel B: Medians		
Overall	20.36	Ω	19.5	Ω	57.32	Ω
Phase 1	48.46	Ω	Ω	0.01	95	Ω
Phase 2	50.93	Ω	29.74	Ω	110.24	0.01
Phase 3	10.16	θ	24	$\boldsymbol{0}$	60.95	θ

2 Trading Patterns

In this section and the next, we investigate the trading patterns of firms in the EU ETS. Our analysis documents that there is significant inefficiency in the emission allowance trading market.

Trading patterns of the average firm

In any cap-and-trade model, for the system to efficiently allocate allowance to the most productive use, firms must participate in the market and actively trade. We study the trading patterns of firms with operator holding accounts that participate in the EU ETS. The top panels of Figure [2](#page-9-0) plot the fraction of operators with different trading amounts in each year. Panel A refers to the full sample. Panels B to C plot the results for the samples corresponding to Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III, respectively. From the figure, we observe that the fraction of firms with no trade in a year is significant. In the overall sample, this fraction is about 40%. The fraction is highest in Phase I, approaching 60%. Even in Phases II and III, the fraction of operators with no trades in a year exceeds 35%. The large fraction of non-trading firms significantly undermines the

purpose of the cap-and-trade system to minimize costs in achieving pollution reduction by trading emission allowances.

Figure 2: Distribution of Operator Trading Amounts

The top panels plot the fraction of regulated companies with different trading amounts in each year, excluding transactions involving administration accounts. Panels A, B, C, and D show the plots for the overall sample, the Phase I sample, the Phase II sample, and the Phase III sample, respectively. For each figure, we group the operators into the following categories: no trade; $0 \leq$ trades \lt 20k; 20k \leq trades \lt 40k; 40k \leq trades < 60k; 60k \leq trades < 80k; and 80k \leq trades. The bottom panels plot the fraction of regulated companies with different trading ratios in each year, where the trading ratio is defined as the amount traded, excluding trades with administration accounts divided by its surrendering amount. Panels E, F, G, and H show the plots for the overall sample, the Phase I sample, the Phase II sample, and the Phase III sample, respectively. For each figure, we group the operators into the following categories: no trade; trade ratios < 1; $1 \le$ trade ratios < 2; $2 \le$ trade ratios < 3; $3 \le$ trade ratios < 4; $4 \le$ trade ratios. Data is for the period from February 2005 to April 2020.

One possible justification for the large fraction of non-trading firms is that they receive a free amount of allowances similar to the amount they need to surrender. However, the data does not support this explanation. For these firms, the 5th and 25th percentiles of the allocated-to-surrendered allowances ratio are 0 and 0.75, respectively, while the 75th and 95th percentiles are 1.37 and 5.41. This indicates that many of these firms experience significant imbalances in the years they do not trade.

The average annual trading volume for firms with non-zero trading is approximately 18 thousand contracts. The total trading volume for operators exhibits a heavily right-skewed distribution. Among firms with non-zero trading activity, approximately 30% trade less than 20 thousand contracts per year, while about 15% of firms trade more than 80 thousand contracts annually.

Some operators may trade a large volume of emission contracts simply due to the size of their firm. To address this possibility, given that larger firms typically surrender more permits, we normalize the volume a firm trades annually by its surrendering amount. This is done by calculating the trading ratio, which is the firm's total trading volume (excluding trades with administration accounts) divided by its surrendering amount for the year. The results are reported in the bottom panel of Figure [2.](#page-9-0) Panel A refers to the full sample. Panels B to C plot the results for the samples of Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III, respectively.

From the bottom panel of Figure [2,](#page-9-0) we find that about 30% of the firms have a trading ratio greater than zero but less than one. A significant portion of firms engage in trading volumes that exceed their surrendering amount for the year, resulting in a trading ratio above one. In the full sample, more than 10% of firms trade more than four times the amount they surrender in a year. Examining the various phases of the EU ETS, we observe a similar pattern as seen in the full sample.

The trading patterns reveal two important features of the EU ETS emission trading market. Firstly, a significant proportion, around 30%–40% of regulated firms, do not participate in any trading within a given year. These companies with no emission allowance trading have substantially different initial allocated amounts and emission abatement technologies, reflecting their diverse industrial backgrounds. Secondly, a substantial fraction of firms are involved in trading activities that are disproportionate to their surrendering amount.

Trading in the Surrendering Month

In this subsection, we explore the emission trading patterns induced by the regulatory features of the EU ETS. The EU ETS system has a fixed verifying and surrendering schedule each year. Specifically, by the end of April, firms must surrender a sufficient number of emission allowances to the administrator account to match their emissions. Consequently, April is the designated month for surrendering allowances for all firms under the EU ETS system.

We compute the monthly net purchase of emission allowances by firms, excluding transactions involving admin accounts. The results are presented in Panel A of Figure [3.](#page-11-0) A striking pattern emerges: the purchasing of emission allowances predominantly occurs in April each year, as highlighted in red in the figure. April consistently shows the largest net purchases of emission allowances by firms throughout the entire sample period. The difference in magnitudes between surrendering and non-surrendering months is substantial. The second largest net purchase month is typically December, possibly due to tax reasons or the expiration of the most common futures contract on the EUA.

Next, we examine the average monthly emission allowance return, which we document in Panel B of Figure [3.](#page-11-0) The emission allowance return is computed as the monthly log change in emission allowance prices. We observe that the average return is highest in April, exceeding 10%. This monthly return is significantly higher than returns in other months of the year. These results suggest that the substantial demand during the surrendering month (April) contributes to a surge in emission allowance prices.

To quantify the losses of the regulated firms that purchase emission allowances when prices are predictably high during the surrendering months, we use a back-of-the-envelope calculation of the total implied loss for the regulated firms. Using the total net amount purchased by the regulated firms during the surrendering months, the emission allowance prices at the time, and assuming the average 10% predictable appreciation for the surrendering months, we estimate that the total loss by the regulated firms amounts to about ϵ 5 billion, or 2% of the total traded volume of the regulated firms.

Figure 3: Trading and Prices in the Surrendering Month

This figure plots the monthly net purchase of emission allowances by operators and the average emission allowance returns for each month. Panel A depicts the average total amount of transactions over time, while Panel B shows the average emission contract returns by month since 2008. Transactions involving admin accounts are excluded. At least one party in a transaction must be an operator for the transaction to be included in the analysis.

3 Emission Allowance Return Predictability

The evidence presented in the previous sections reveals that a significant portion of firms do not trade in the emission allowance market. Among those that do trade, many transactions occur only in the surrendering month, leading to an aggregate price surge during that period.

In this section, we shift our focus to another key trading pattern revealed earlier. A significant fraction of firms engage in a disproportionate amount of emission allowance trading. One potential reason for this disproportionate trading is that these regulated operators, active in the EU ETS, might possess private information about the market, which they exploit to generate profits through speculative trading. We would then expect to observe that emission allowance prices increase on average following positive net purchases by these firms, and decrease following negative net purchases, reflecting their impact on market dynamics.

We observe that the pattern, where a small fraction of firms engage in a disproportionate amount of emission allowance trading, as discussed in Section [2,](#page-8-1) cannot be explained by excessively high (or low) expected future emission allowance prices. If this were the case, all firms would either buy or sell large quantities of emission allowances in the current period, which would not account for the significant heterogeneity in the number of transactions we observed in the data.

Baselines Results

To capture the net purchases of firms in a month, we construct a variable called "Speculator Ratio" defined as the net flow from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts divided by the total transaction between person holding accounts and operator holding accounts for each month. We then use *Speculator Ratio* to predict future cumulative monthly emission allowance returns.

Panel A of Table [2](#page-14-0) reports first the baseline results of predicting cumulative future emission allowance returns from one month ahead to twelve months ahead using *Speculator Ratio*. To account for biases arising from overlapping returns and autocorrelation, the standard errors are Newey-West [\[Newey and West](#page-17-4), [1987](#page-17-4)] adjusted with n lags where n is the number of overlapping months. The results indicate that $Speculator Ratio$ positively predicts future cumulative emission allowance returns. The coefficient estimates are all positive and tend to increase with the horizon. They become significant at the 5% level at the two-month horizon and remain significant at least at the 5% level for longer horizons. The R-squared values also tend to increase over longer horizons, reaching 12.7% at the twelve-month horizon. These results are consistent with the notion that firms possess private information and tend to accumulate emission allowances when they anticipate future price increases in the market. In Section [3,](#page-14-0) we further show that the predictability is fully driven by firms that trade more frequently.

From our analysis of trading patterns over time, we observe that there is a strong seasonality in the firm purchases of emission allowances. We control for month fixed effects in the return predictability regressions to account for any potential seasonality effect influencing the results. We find stronger results when controlling for month fixed effects. The coefficient estimates are all positive and significant at the 5% level or beyond for all horizons, including the one-month-ahead horizon. The magnitudes of the coefficient estimates tend to be larger compared to the baseline results.

We quantify the total profit these firms make by exploiting private information. Using the net amount purchased and the "*Speculator Ratio*" for each period, the emission allowance prices at the time, the estimated coefficient estimates from Table [2,](#page-14-0) and assuming a conservative holding period of three months, we estimate a back-of-the-envelope total profit by these firms of about \in 8 billion during the full sample, or about 3.5% of the traded volume of the regulated firms.

Robustness

We further provide several robustness checks and confirm the baseline return predictability results. In the return predictability literature, several econometric issues have been documented in long-horizon predictive regressions with overlapping cumulative returns and persistent regressors. First, such regressions can lead to inference problems, particularly with the *t*-statistics, which may diverge over long horizons [\[Valkanov](#page-18-0), [2003\]](#page-18-0). Second, an inference problem can arise from using persistent regressors when the shocks to the dependent and independent variables are correlated [\[Stambaugh](#page-17-5), [1999](#page-17-5)].

To address the first critique, we employ the t/\sqrt{T} test [\[Valkanov](#page-18-0), [2003](#page-18-0)]. We compute the t/\sqrt{T} test and simulate the critical values with parameters calibrated to our data [\[Valkanov,](#page-18-0) [2003](#page-18-0)]. We show that the coefficient estimates are significant at the 5% level starting from the two-month-ahead horizon with the t/\sqrt{T} test. To address the second critique, we examine the extent of this bias [\[Stambaugh](#page-17-5), [1999](#page-17-5)] and determine that its economic impact is minor; the bias amounts to less than 1% of the coefficient estimate. This is due to the relatively low autocorrelation of the independent variable.

Table 2: Time-Series Return Predictability

This table reports the results of time-series EUA return predictability tests. In Panel A "Speculator Ratio" is defined as the net flow from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts divided by the total transaction from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts for each month. In Panel B "Speculator Ratio^{low}" and "Speculator Ratio^{high}" are defined as the net flow from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts divided by the total transactions for each week for the abovemedian and below-median number of transaction operators, respectively. Standard errors are Newey-West [\[Newey and West,](#page-17-4) [1987](#page-17-4)] adjusted with n lags where n is the number of overlapping periods. t -statistics are reported in parentheses. *, **, and *** denote significance at the 10%, 5%, and 1% levels, respectively.

Frequent vs Infrequent Traders

Thus far, we find that emission allowance prices, on average, increase subsequent to positive net purchases by firms, and decrease after net sales. If these results are driven by asymmetric information, with some operators exploiting private information to profit, we would expect the return predictability power to be stronger for trades conducted by firms that frequently transact in the emission allowance market.

To test this prediction, we calculate the number of trades companies engage in over the sample period. We then create two subsamples based on the median number of trades. For both subsamples, we calculate the variable "Speculator Ratio" as the net flow from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts divided by the total transactions from person holding accounts to operator holding accounts for each month. We denote Speculator Ratio^{high} and Speculator Ratio^{low} as the variable "Speculator Ratio" for the firms above and below the sample median, respectively.

Panel B of Table [2](#page-14-0) presents the results from time-series return predictability regressions using both $Speculator Ratio^{high}$ and $Speculator Ratio^{low}$. We first report the baseline results without month fixed effects and then also report the results with month fixed effects. When both *Speculator Ratio*^{high} and $Speculator Ratio^{low}$ are included in the regressions, the coefficient estimates of $Speculator Ratio^{high}$ are always positive, with or without month fixed effects. For the results without month fixed effects, the coefficient estimates of *Speculator Ratio*^{high} start to be significant at the two-month horizon and remain significant for longer horizons. For the results with month fixed effects, the coefficient estimates of Speculator Ratio^{high} are always significant at the 5% level or beyond. On the other hand, the coefficient estimates of Speculator Ratio^{low} are never significant in any of the specifications. Overall, we find that the return predictability results are mainly driven by emission allowance trading by frequent traders. This is consistent with the notion that the excess trading of certain firms, documented in Section [2,](#page-8-1) is driven by these firms exploiting their private information about predictable price trends of emission allowances.

4 Discussion

The dramatic rise in carbon emissions poses a catastrophic threat through its contribution to climate change and global warming. Commonly considered approaches to controlling pollution are command-and-control policies [\[Glaeser and Shleifer,](#page-17-6) [2001](#page-17-6), [Jacobsen et al.](#page-17-7), [2023](#page-17-7)], carbon taxes [\[Nordhaus](#page-17-8), [1992](#page-17-8), [Aghion et al.,](#page-17-9) [2016\]](#page-17-9), and cap-and-trade policies [\[Coase](#page-17-10), [1960](#page-17-10), [Montgomery](#page-17-11), [1972,](#page-17-11) [Weitzman](#page-18-1), [1974](#page-18-1)]. With the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and the support of the US government, cap-and-trade systems have emerged as a preferred mechanism to curb the increase of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere [\[Grubb](#page-17-12), [2012\]](#page-17-12). Beyond the EU ETS, cap-and-trade systems are becoming more widely used in practice [\[Newell et al.,](#page-17-13) [2014](#page-17-13)] and have been adopted in large economies such as California [\[Fowlie et al.](#page-17-14), [2012](#page-17-14)] and, more recently, China [\[Liu et al.,](#page-17-15) [2022](#page-17-15)].There has been recent interest in analyzing the implications of the Coase Theorem to environmental externalities [\[Deryugina et al.](#page-17-16), [2021](#page-17-16), [Zaklan](#page-18-2), [2023](#page-18-2)]. Our paper is the first to study the whole cap-and-trade carbon market as a financial market.

Empirical evidence indicates that cap-and-trade systems can achieve a reduction in emissions [Döbbeling-Hildebrandt et [2024\]](#page-17-2). Our paper uses asset pricing methods and granular transaction data to uncover significant inefficiencies in the prominent cap-and-trade system which can substantially limit its effectiveness and are provide evidence of intense speculative trading by informed participants.

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