State-Owned Power Companies: The "who" in climate success

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> CIRIEC October 27, 2023 Brussels, Belgium

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SOEs present issues ...

Controversial economic actors

SOE reform"



OECD Guidelines on Corporate Governance of State-Owned Enterprises

2015 EDITION





Corporate Governance of State-Owned Enterprises

A TOOLKIT

How to Assess Fiscal Risks from State-Owned Enterprises Benchmarking and Stress Testing

FISCAL AFFAIRS

HOW TO

NOTES

NOTE 21/09

IMF Working Paper

State-Owned Enterprises in Emerging Europe: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

WORLD BANK GROUP

WP/17/221

FOREIGN AFFAIRS Why America Must Lead Again

Why America Must Lead Again Rescuing U.S. Foreign Policy After Trump By Joseph R. Biden, Jr. March/April 2020

The United States does need to get tough with China. If China has its way, it will keep robbing the United States and American companies of their technology and intellectual property. It will also keep using subsidies to give its state-owned enterprises an unfair advantage—and a leg up on dominating the technologies and industries of the future. "How much does climate change scare you?"

When it comes to tackling climate,

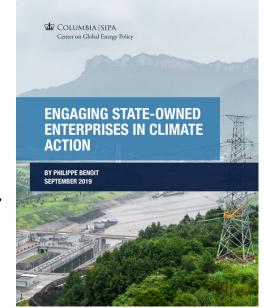
SOEs are here

for now

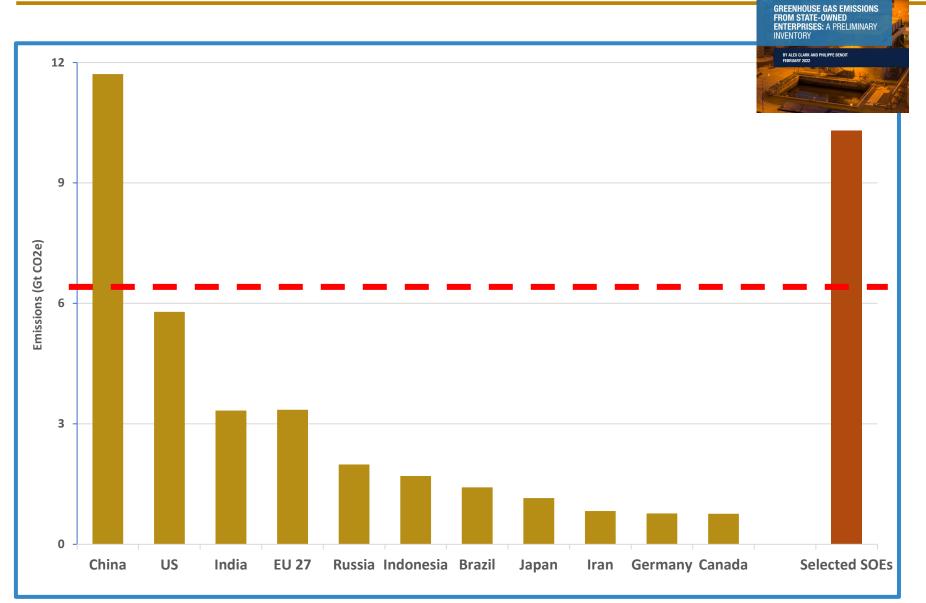
and tomorrow

Contents

- 1. Why SOEs/SPCs engagement matters for climate
- 2. Climate Policy Implications
- 3. SPCs differences and policy implications
- 4. Analytics of Stranded Assets and LCOE for government shareholders
- 5. Clean energy finance: role of SPCs
- 6. Concluding thoughts



SOEs are big players in energy transition SOEs



Source: Climate Watch, Clark/Benoit (2022)

SOEs: Big, diverse and key to climate

- 1. Fossil fuel producers: NOCs, coal
 - big Scope 3 emissions + some Scope 1 (methane, CO₂)
- 2. Power companies: generators, grid operators, IPP purchasers
 - big Scope 1
- **3.** Energy users: heavy industry(cement, steel, etc.); transport (airlines, urban transport systems)
 - some Scope 1 and 2
- 4. Financial institutions: state-owned banks, export credit agencies, pension funds, *MDBs*,

A focus on state-owned power companies (SPCs): Major drivers of major emissions

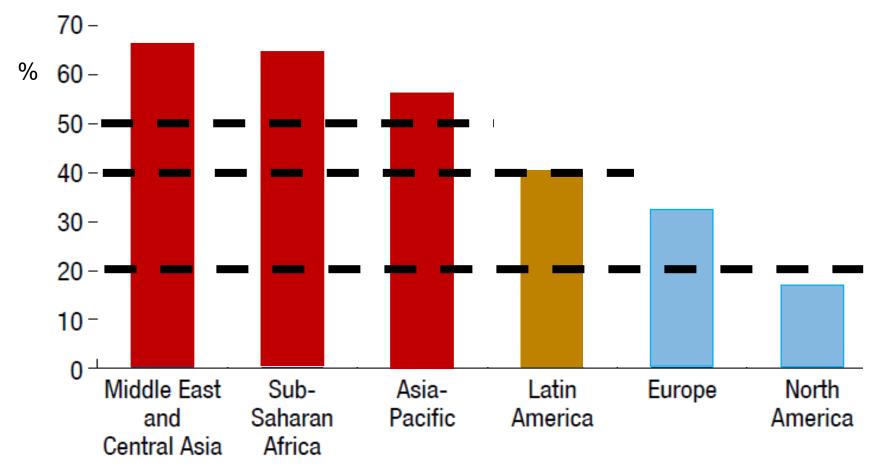
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SPCs: Big in a big emitting sector

	World Energy (GtCO ₂)	Power (GtCO ₂)	Share of power emissions
2020	34.8	13.5	39%
2040 SDS	14.7	3.2	22%
2040 NZE	5.8	0	0%

SPCs power generation share by region

Share of power generation capacity owned by state (2017)



Source: IMF (2020)

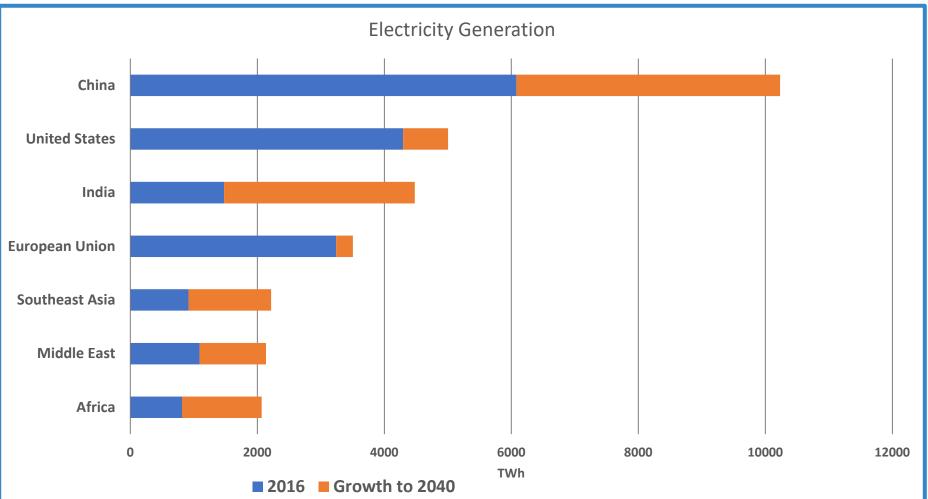
SPC-dominated regions important re: CO2

	Power	% CO2		Delta MtCO2	Effort
	2017 MtCO ₂	2017	2040 STEPS	'17-'40 SDS	%'17-'40 SDS
Asia-Pacific	7594	56	66	-5313	55%
ME-CA	1641	12	12	-968	10%
SSA	466	3	4	-266	3%
LA	266	2	2	-207	2%
Europe	1422	11	5	-1159	12%
North Am	2055	15	11	-1752	. 18%
	13444	100	100	-9665	100%

Source: IMF (2020), IEA WEO (2019)

SPCs are key to emissions

SPCs emit nearly half of global power sector emissions (>6GtCO₂)
 A share that is likely to grow



Source: IEA - WEO 2017

SPCs own a large share of ...



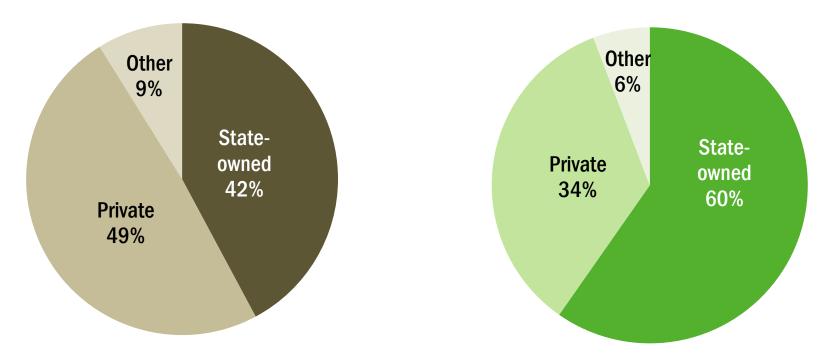
SPCs own a large share of ...

Ownership of fossil fuel generation capacity

3 702 GW



1 980 GW (hydropower, other utility-scale renewables and nuclear)



IEA 2011

SPCs: key for resilience

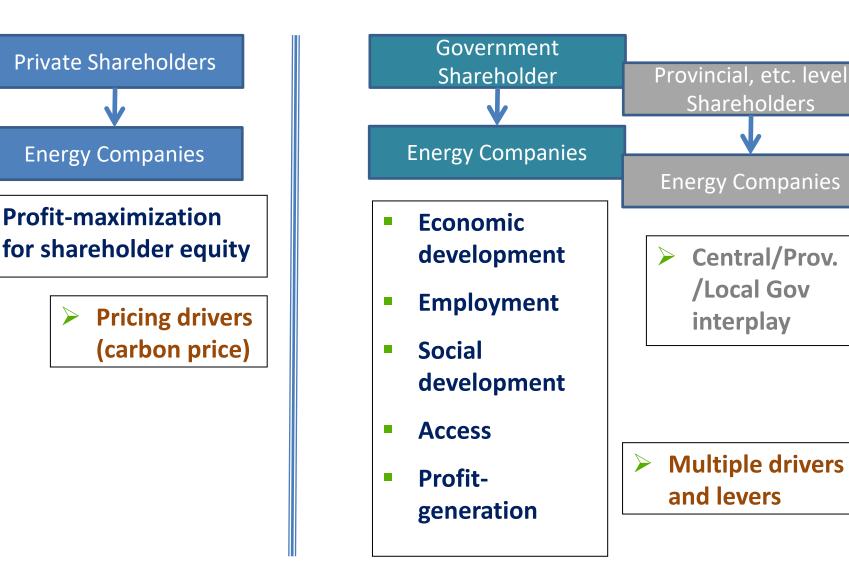


and procurers/off-takers of IPPs

Bespoke Climate Policies for SPCs

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SPCs differ from private sector companies



Influencing SPCs- a whole new world

- Market Instruments (notably, carbon pricing)
- SPC Targeted Interventions:
 - Direct: exercising shareholder power
 - Indirect: government support for public sector entities

Influencing SPCs: Carbon pricing approaches

- Carbon taxes
- ETS: can be effective sector-wide instrument for multiple SPC actors, but more cap than trade
- Shadow pricing for SPC decision-making

ETS with Power SPCs: China simulation

INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY

Emissions Trading in the People's Republic of China: A Simulation for the Power Sector

Christopher Guelff and Liwayway Adkins

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SPCs responded and complied: simulated ETS worked (to some extent)

Special challenges:

- Why sell allowances -- so tweaked incentives
- Hesitate to pay competitor

Caps more than trade

Targeted Direct – Shareholder Power

Formal directives through Board resolutions and instructions

- > CEO/Senior management appointments/dismissals
- Informal discussions with senior management
- Changes to subsidy/budgetary support from government
- > Mandating/prompting operational changes:
 - > shadow carbon pricing
 - > portfolio standards/carbon intensity requirements
 - improvement of carbon accounting and climate risk management standards
 - Capacity training/enhancement

Targeted Indirect – Gov. support to SPCs

- > Associated infrastructure (e.g., transmission line to RE site)
- Preferential financing/lending terms
- Coordinated R&D
- > Expedited administrative actions: permitting, imports, etc.
- Price adjustments upstream or downstream of SPC
- Support new SOE market entrants

A powerful suite of tools: "All of the above"

- Targeted direct (direction, leadership, TA)
- Targeted indirect (financing, associated infra)
- Market-wide instruments
- Sector-wide law

SOEs: Change in approach?

Controversial" economic actors?

SOE reform

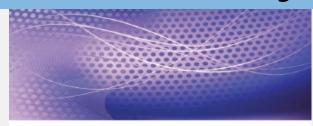
2015



OECD Guidelines on Corporate Governance of State-Owned Enterprises

2015 EDITION

Efficiency





VII. State-owned enterprises and sustainability 2022

(NEW CHAPTER)

Climate Effectiveness

consistent with the ownership policy and practices. In doing so, the state should respect the rights and fair treatment of all shareholders;

- Communicating and clarifying shareholders' expectations on sustainability through regular dialogue with the boards, with due consideration for stakeholder interests;
- Assessing, monitoring and reporting on sustainability objectives and performance of SOEs on a regular basis.
- B. The state should expect SOE boards to adequately consider sustainability risks and opportunities when fulfilling their key functions. The following prerequisites are essential for ensuring effective sustainability management at enterprise level:
 - SOE boards should develop, implement and disclose sustainability-related strategies, objectives and targets based on verifiable metrics, and in line with shareholders' expectations, applicable legal and regulatory requirements;
 - SOEs should integrate sustainability considerations into their risk management and internal control systems;
 - SOE boards should effectively assess and monitor management performance, including on sustainability. Where SOE boards introduce specific remuneration schemes, such incentives should be carefully balanced and linked to relevant and material risks and the company's

SPCs – effective vehicles for decarbonization?

> Can potentially be effective where:

- Dominant
- Resourced
- Operational and financial capacity
- Policy alignment/commitment at political and corporate levels

Potentially more volatile: direct susceptibility to changing government preferences

Not all SPCs are created the same

Not all SPCs are created the same

Journal of Cleaner Production 355 (2022) 131796



Decarbonization in state-owned power companies: Lessons from a comparative analysis

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Handling Editor: Thifs Mi Keywords: State-corned enterprises Carbon neutrality Decarbonization **Climate policy** Electricity sector

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ABSTRACT

A rapid decarbonization of the electricity system is urgently required for the Paris Agreement objectives to stand a reasonable chance of being met. While state-owned power companies (SPCs) are the dominant firm type in the global electricity sector, representing nearly two thirds of global electric power generation capacity, most climate policy literature focuses on private sector companies when analyzing decarbonization interventions. SPCs' distinct corporate governance structures, objectives, relationships with government, and sources of finance, however, can be markedly different from those of private companies. Here, we develop a framework for analyzing the extent to which common and divergent features of SPCs, and the markets in which they operate, affect their relationship to government interventions on decarbonization. We also consider the implications of these relationships for the effective implementation of sector-wide decarbonization strategies. We then apply this framework using a comparative case study analysis of six major SPCs, and highlight how differences in their agency, motivation, capacity, and market exposure may result in different potential responsiveness to govern ment regulatory, policy and market interventions on decarbonization. We generalize these findings by developing four SPC archetypes and illustrate how they might respond differently to government interventions targeting decarbonization. Our analysis posits that SPCs can, under the guidance of governments pursuing ambitious climate policy, be more effective vehicles for decarbonization relative to private sector companies, particularly when they operate with a high degree of operational independence, are insulated from competitive pressures, and have the financial and technical capacity to invest in the decarbonization of their asset base Similarly, market-wide policy interventions, such as carbon pricing mechanisms, could in practice be less effective interventions with respect to SPCs than their private counterparts when the SPC is ill-equipped to translate these incentives into decarbonization action because it is mandated to pursue supplementary objectives other than profit maximization alone. Ultimately, governments will need to step up their climate action to achieve carbon neutrality. SPCs can, and where they are major market players, must be key actors in driving decarbonization when the appropriate interventions are utilized and therefore deserve significantly more attention in the climate policy debate.

1. Introduction

1.1. The power sector and the Paris Agreement

Power generation makes the largest sectoral contribution to greenhouse gas emissions. Electricity and heat generation produced nearly 15.2 billion tons of carbon dioxide-equivalent (GtCO2e) in 2017, 32.5%

of the global total (ClimateWatch, 2020). Growing numbers of national governments have either announced or legislated for economy-wide 'net zero emissions', including China (peaking before 2030, neutrality by 2060), Japan, the United States, South Africa, Brazil, Canada, South Korea, New Zealand, Chile, and the European Union (all 2050) (Energy & Climate Intelligence Unit, 2021). The International Energy Agency (2021) cautions that economy-wide decarbonization by 2050 will, on aggregate, require advanced economies to decarbonize electricity by

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Decarbonising state-owned power companies: A framework for applying policy actions

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OXFORD

Moritz Schwarz, Philippe Benoit, Alex Clark

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Not all SPCs are created the same

Company	Country	World Bank income group (2021)	Electricity market concentration index (HHI) [1-100]	Government equity ownership	% National Generation	Installed Capacity (GW)
NTPC	India	Lower middle income	6	51%	25%	65.8
KEPCO	Korea	High income	60	51.1%	92%	83.7
SPIC	China	Upper middle income	8	100%	5%	165.0
PLN	Indonesia	Lower middle income	50	100%	66%	41.7
CFE	Mexico	Upper middle income	52	100%	79%	56.2
Eskom	South Africa	Upper middle income	87	100%	85%	44.2

Not all SPCs are created the same

Agency of the SPC

Level of control by the government, autonomy of the executive staff

Profit Motivation

Vs. focus on non-financial goals (affordable, secure energy supply, development, etc.)

Capacity to Act

Financial situation, dependence on budgetary transfers, technical competency **Exposure to Market Forces**

Competition through other SPCs or private enterprises as well as IPPs.

	Agonov	Profit	Fin/Tech	Exposure to	
	Agency	Motivation	Capacity	Competition	
NTPC	M/H	M/H	M/H	Н	
КЕРСО	Μ	M/H	н	L	
SPIC	Μ	M/H	н	Μ	
PLN	M/L	M/L	Μ	M/L	
CFE	L	Μ	M/H	M/L	
Eskom	L	M/L	M/L	L	
Private	Н	Н	Н	M/H	

Matching Policies to SPC specificities

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Mapping climate tools to SPC attributes

Selected Climate Intervention	High Agency	High Profit Motivation	High Capacity	Exposure to Competition
Targeted Direct Actions –				
Shareholder Prerogatives				
Targeted Indirect Actions –				
Government Resources Deployment				
Market instruments				

Source: Schwarz, Benoit, Clark (Oxford 2023)

Mapping climate tools to SPCs: illustration

NTPC			Capacity	Exposure to Competition	Targeted Direct - Shareholder Prerogatives	Targeted Indirect – Gov Resource Deployment	Market Wide Instruments
	M/H	M/H	M/H	н	м	н	м/н
КЕРСО	M	М/Н	н	L	м	н	м
SPIC	M	M/H	Н	Μ	н	н	м
PLN	M/L	M/L	Μ	M/L	н	м	L
CFE	L	Μ	M/H	M/L	н	н	L
Eskom	L	M/L	M/L	L	н	м	L
Private	н	Н	Н	M/H	L	М/н	н

Mapping climate tools to SPCs: illustration

	Agency	Profit Motivation	Capacity	Exposure to Competition	Targeted Direct - Shareholder Prerogatives	Targeted Indirect – Gov Resource Deployment	Market Wide Instruments
NTPC	M/H	M/H	M/H	н	м	н	м/н
KEPCO	Μ	M/H	н	L	м	н	м
SPIC	Μ	M/H	н	Μ	н	н	м
PLN	M/L	M/L	Μ	M/L	н	м	L
CFE	L	Μ	M/H	M/L	н	н	L
Eskom	L	M/L	M/L	L	н	м	L
Private	Н	н	н	M/H	L.	м/н	н

SPCs: 4 Archetypes

SPCs: Potential of SPC archetypes to advance decarbonization

Company Archetype	Potential Impact	Comment
Archetype Competitive Contributor Grinding Behemoth	Impact M/H H	 High capacity and generally profit-seeking motivation allow it to be effective and efficient in implementing decarbonization actions when it chooses, but its limited role in the market limit its influence on sectoral decarbonization. Government can take direct action to influence its behavior, although it may encounter resistance from the SPC in attempting to do so and the result may not be either effective or efficient. Dominant position in the electricity market and status as near-sole, or sole, purchaser of electricity gives it potential to contribute substantially to sectoral decarbonization, but inefficiencies, motivations beyond profit-
		seeking, and capacity/resource constraints, can limit this potential. Government can take direct action to alter its motivations or
		mobilize resources in support of the SPC to
		allow potential to be fulfilled.

SPCs: Potential of SPC archetypes to advance decarbonization

Company Archetype	Potential Impact	Comment
Statist Caterer	М	Dominant position in electricity market gives it potential to contribute substantially to sectoral decarbonization, but limited agency and subservience to government means ability to do so depends on SPC's internalization of government priorities and ability to act on them. Limited capacity to address operational inefficiencies, given its primary purpose as service provider and/or development actor, will likely increase the cost of decarbonization relative to Competitive Contributors.
Depleted Provider	L	 Dominant position in electricity market gives it potential to contribute substantially to sectoral decarbonization, but potential remains largely unfulfilled due to chronic financial and operational challenges preventing realization of corporate strategy. With direct, indirect and market-wide actions unlikely to succeed, government should consider firm restructuring or unbundling, and/or market reforms to encourage entry by
rce: Schwarz, Benoit, Clark (C	Dxford 2023)	other players.

Source: Schwarz, Benoit, Clark (Oxford 2023)

SPCs: Potential of SPC archetypes to advance decarbonization

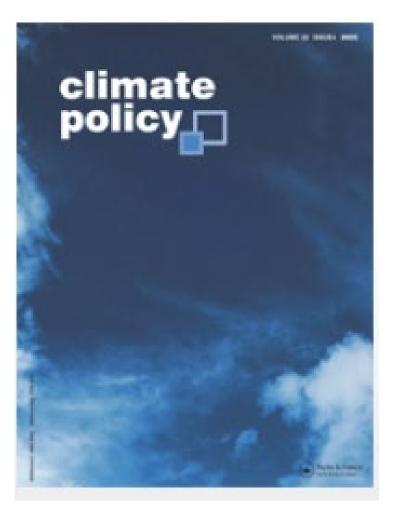
Company Archetype	Potential Impact	Comment
Private Sector	M/H	High capacity and profit-seeking motivation allow it to be effective and efficient in implementing decarbonization actions when it chooses to do so, but its limited role in the market limit its influence on sectoral decarbonization to its impact on other private firms' behavior. This is particularly relevant to economies featuring vertically integrated SPCs. It is more difficult for government to influence its behavior through non-market wide mechanisms.

		Key	factors		Potential impact of interventions			
SPC Archetype	Agency	Profit Motivation	Capacity Exposure to Competition		Targeted direct	Targeted indirect	Market-wide	
Private Sector	Н	н	Н	н	N/A	M*	Н	
Competitive Player	M/H	M/H	н	M/H	М	н	M/H	
Grinding Behemoth	М	М	M/H	M/L	н	М	M/L	
Statist Caterer	L	M/L	М	L	н	н	L	
Depleted Provider	L	M/L	L	L	н	М	L	

Stranded Assets Analysis for Government owners

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Stranded Assets for Government Owners



CLIMATE POLICY https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2022.2062285



RESEARCH ARTICLE

OPEN ACCESS Check for updates

Government shareholders, wasted resources and climate ambitions: why is China still building new coal-fired power plants?

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ABSTRACT

Despite its carbon neutrality commitments and the prospect of increasingly stringent climate policy measures, China is continuing to build new coal-fired power plants. In assessing the expected performance of these investments, it is helpful to analyse them through an 'economic' framework measuring a broader view of the countrylevel economic returns on new coal power investments, as a complement to the plant-level financial analysis framework commonly used to assess stranded asset risks. This simplified economic framework, in which inputs and outputs are measured according to the costs and benefits they generate for the national economy, leads to markedly different dynamics than financial analysis alone. This framework can help China to avoid 'wasting' scarce public resources by overinvesting in new uneconomic power plants through its state-owned enterprises. Applying this approach to a representative new coal plant in China shows that modest shadow carbon pricing (rising from US\$15/tCO2 in 2026, to US\$30/tCO2 in 2041) eliminates the expected value of the project to China's economy. Caps on coal-fired electricity generation have less impact on economic returns, but severely undermine financial returns, potentially making such caps a more effective shortterm policy tool to dissuade company executives from making new coal investments. Without carbon pricing, only a moratorium on coal-fired power generation in 2030 or earlier prevents new plants from realizing a positive economic return. Comparing these results with an alternative solar/storage investment suggests the renewable option generates higher economic returns than the coal plant under modest shadow carbon pricing and lower electricity storage costs.

Key policy insights:

- Economic analysis of proposed coal plants complements plant-level financial analysis and better captures governments' interests in these projects. Both economic and financial analyses are relevant to the decision-making of government shareholders.
- State-led coal plant investments in China today is likely to be economically wasteful under modest future climate policy scenarios, particularly in light of declining levelized costs of renewable alternatives.
- This framework for combined financial and economic analysis also applies to other countries' proposed investments in carbon-intensive power generation. The framework is particularly pertinent for countries with state-led coal power investments planned, including India, Indonesia, Pakistan, South Africa, and Vietnam.

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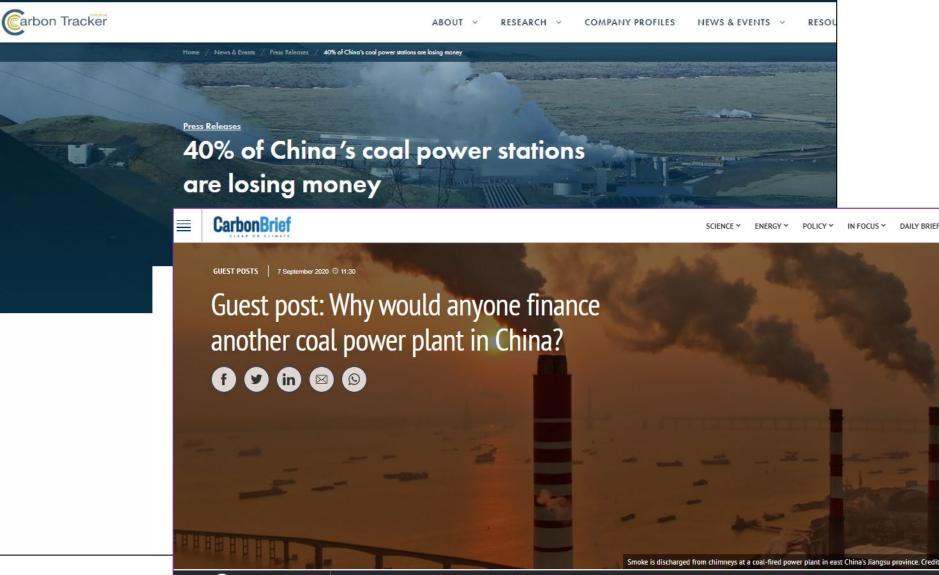
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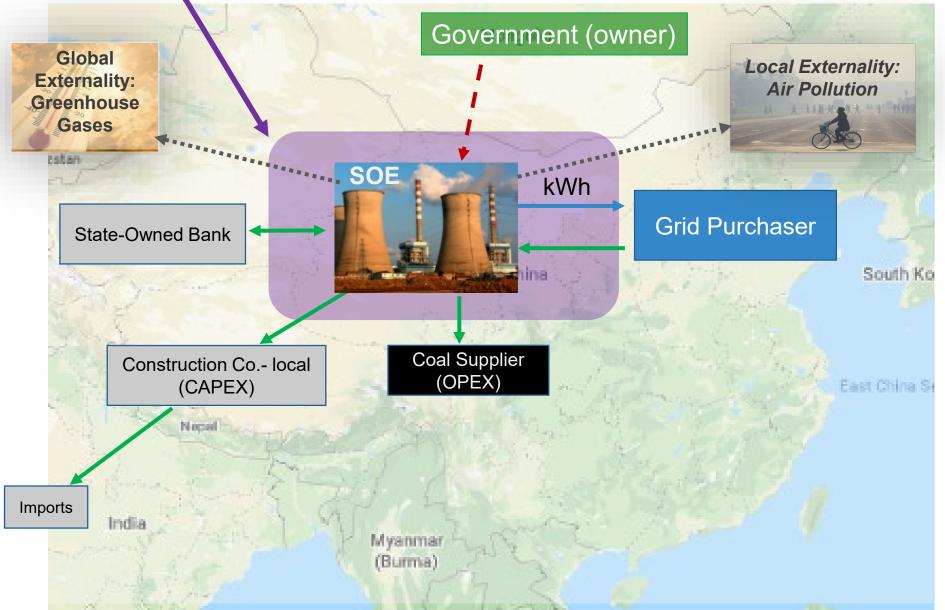
KEYWORDS

China; coal power; economic analysis; financial analysis; renewable energy; stranded assets

Analysis by International Climate Experts Questions Coal's Profitability



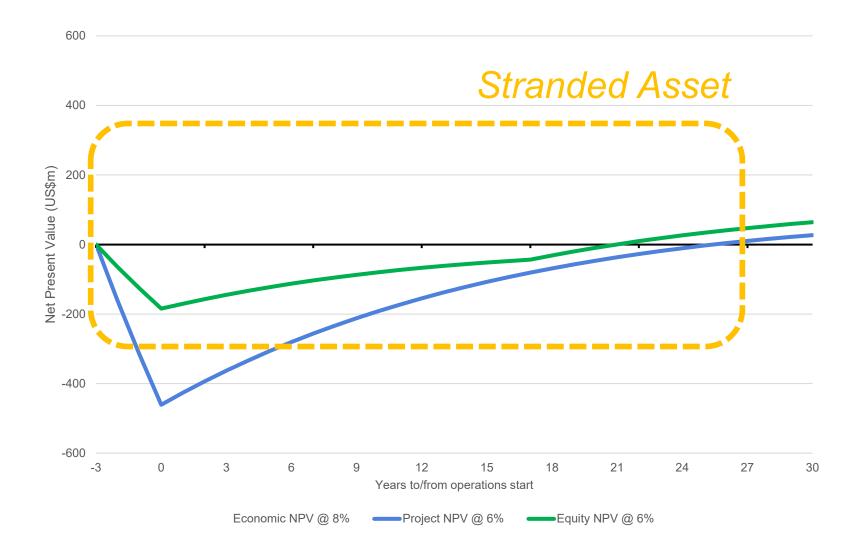
Financial (plant-level) analysis of a power plant



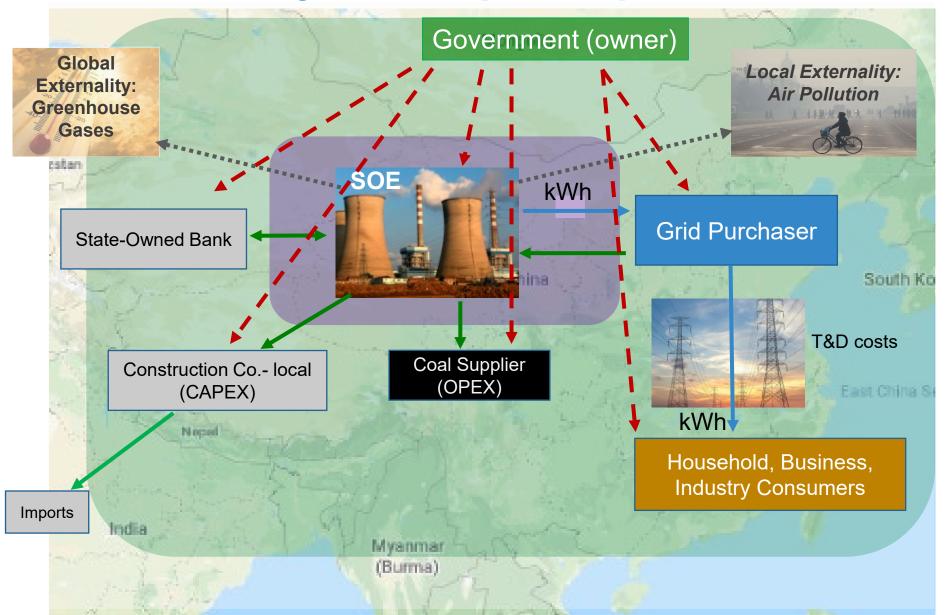
Financial analysis: inputs and assumptions

Component	Unit	Financial Analysis (nominal)
Physical Characteristics		
Capacity	MW	1,000
Coal energy content	MWh/ton	18.84
Plant efficiency	%	48%
Construction		
Construction period	years	3
Capital cost	US\$ / MW	517,366
Financing		
Inflation rate costs - Tariff Index	%/year	2.1% for costs; 1.5% PPA tariff
Debt/Equity Ratio	%	60/40
Domestic financing	% of financing	100%
Loan tenor	years	20
Operations		
Operating life	years	30
Load factor	%	48%
Initial coal fuel cost	US\$ / ton of fuel delivered	76.52
Initial operating costs	US\$ / MW-year	11,549
Revenues/Benefits		
Electricity price received	US\$/ MWh	47.12

SPC vs. Gov. Returns ... and Stranded Assets



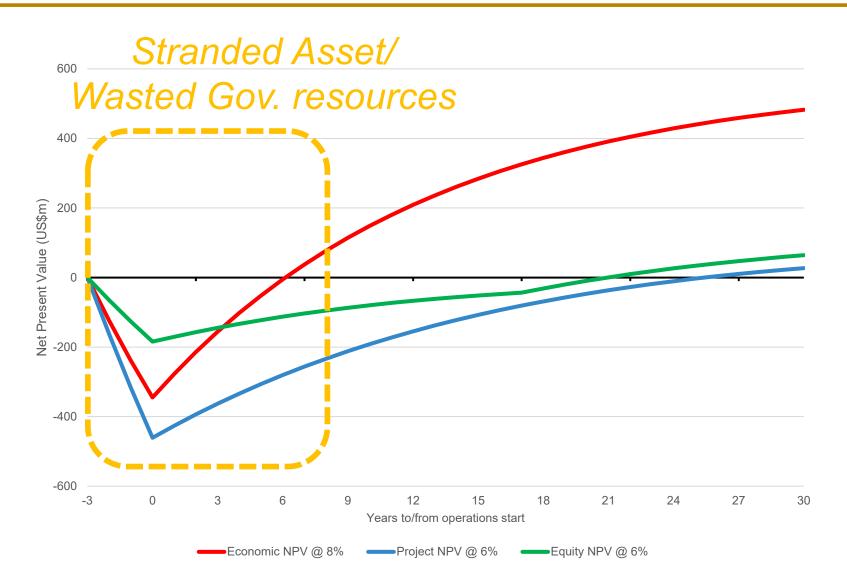
<u>Financial</u> vs country-level "<u>economic</u>" analysis of a power plant



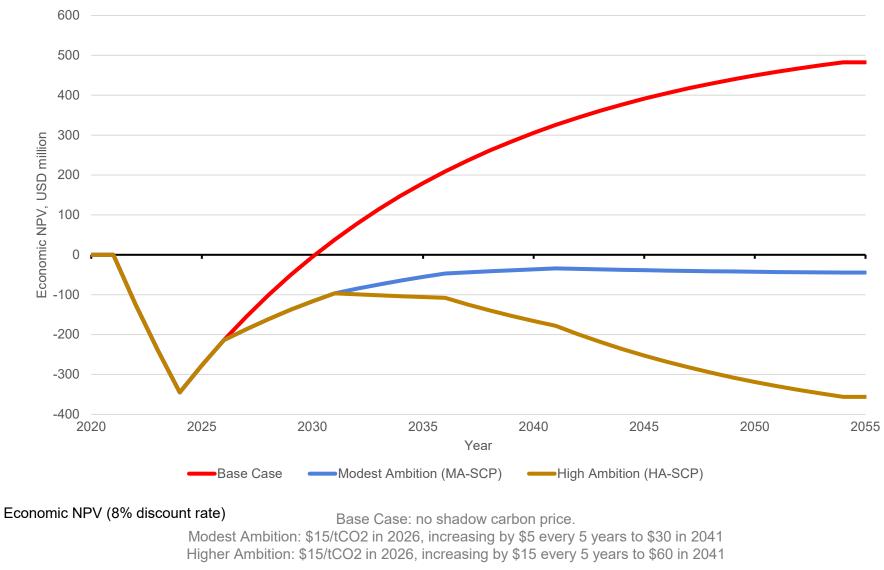
Adding "Economic" Analysis: Inputs, assumptions

Component	Unit	Financial Analysis (nominal)	Economic Analysis (real)		
Physical Characteristics					
Capacity	MW	1,000			
Coal energy content	MWh/ton	18.	84		
Plant efficiency	%	48%			
Construction					
Construction period	years	3	3		
Capital cost	US\$ / MW	517,366	401,657		
Financing					
Inflation rate costs - Tariff Index	%/year	2.1% for costs; 1.5% PPA tariff	-		
Financial discount rate	%/year	6%	-		
Economic discount rate	%/year	- 8%			
Domestic financing	% of financing	100)%		
Loan tenor	years	20 N/A			
Interest payments		4.35%	N/A		
Operations					
Operating life	years	30	0		
Load factor	%	48	%		
Initial coal fuel cost	US\$/ton delivered	76.52	72.57		
Initial operating costs	US\$ / MW-year	11,549	9,816		
Weighted average T&D costs	US\$ / MWh	-	30.0		
Revenues/Benefits					
Electricity price received	US\$ / MWh	47.12	-		
% industrial users	%	-	62%		
Weighted average willingness to pay	US\$ / MWh	-	87.9		

SPC vs. Gov. Returns ... and Stranded Assets



Shadow carbon price destroys econ. value



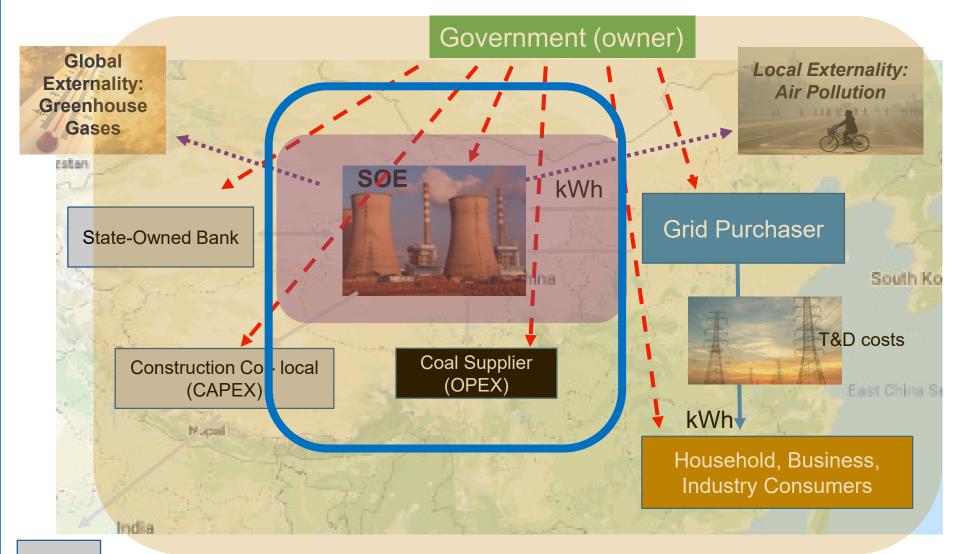
ENPV under Modest Ambition = -\$50 million

Adjusted LCOE?

(LECOE: Levelized "economic" cost of electricity)

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LCOE: Gov. "intra-corporate" transfers



Imports

1. IEA base case (but with no carbon price)



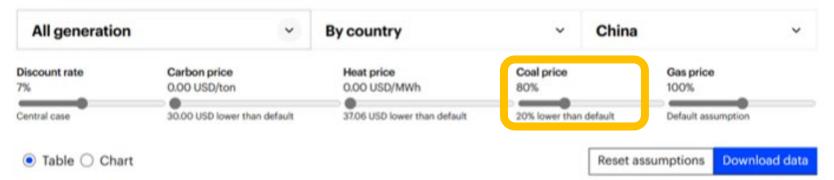
● Table ○ Chart

Reset assumptions Download data

Category	Plant type	Capital costs	O&M	Fuel (th)	Fuel (el)	Carbon	CHP heat revenues	↑ LCOE
					USD/N	IWh		
Solar	Solar PV (utility scale) (20.0 MW)	42.76	8.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.78
Coal	Ultra-supercritical (347 MW)	8.97	14.97	12.61	28.02	0.00	0.00	51.96
Wind	Wind onshore (>= 1 MW) (50.0 MW)	45.25	13.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	58.43
Nuclear	Nuclear (950 MW)	29.60	26.42	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	66.01
Gas	Gas (CCGT) (475 MW)	6.53	13.49	31.05	53.53	0.00	0.00	73.56

LECOE: Gov coal supplier to SPC

2. IEA base case but with "ownership discount" for coal:



Category	Plant type	Capital costs	O&M	Fuel (th)	Fuel (el)	Carbon	CHP heat revenues	↑ LCOE
					USD/M	IWh		
Coal	Ultra-supercritical (347 MW)	8.97	14.97	10.09	22.42	0.00	0.00	46.36
Solar	Solar PV (utility scale) (20.0 MW)	42.76	8.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.78
Wind	Wind onshore (>= 1 MW) (50.0 MW)	45.25	13.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	58.43
Nuclear	Nuclear (950 MW)	29.60	26.42	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	66.01
Gas	Gas (CCGT) (475 MW)	6.53	13.49	31.05	53.53	0.00	0.00	73.56

LECOE: Gov debt provider to SPC

3. <u>Applying a lower discount rate given funding from State-owned banks to the low-</u> <u>coal cost case</u>

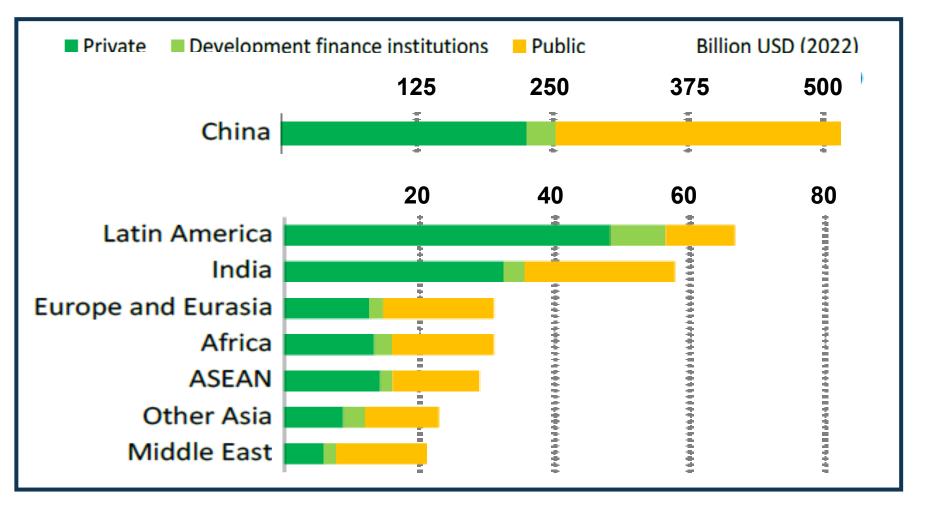


Category	Plant type	Capital costs	O&M	Fuel (th)	Fuel (el)	Carbon	CHP heat revenues	† LCOE
					USD/N	tWh:		
Solar	Solar PV (utility scale) (20.0 MW)	35.70	8.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	43.72
Coal	Ultra-supercritical (347 MW)	6.79	14.97	10.09	22.42	0.00	0.00	44.18
Wind	Wind onshore (>= 1 MW) (50.0 MW)	37.61	13.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.79
Nuclear	Nuclear (950 MW)	20.72	26.42	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	57.13

SOE/public sector funding of clean energy

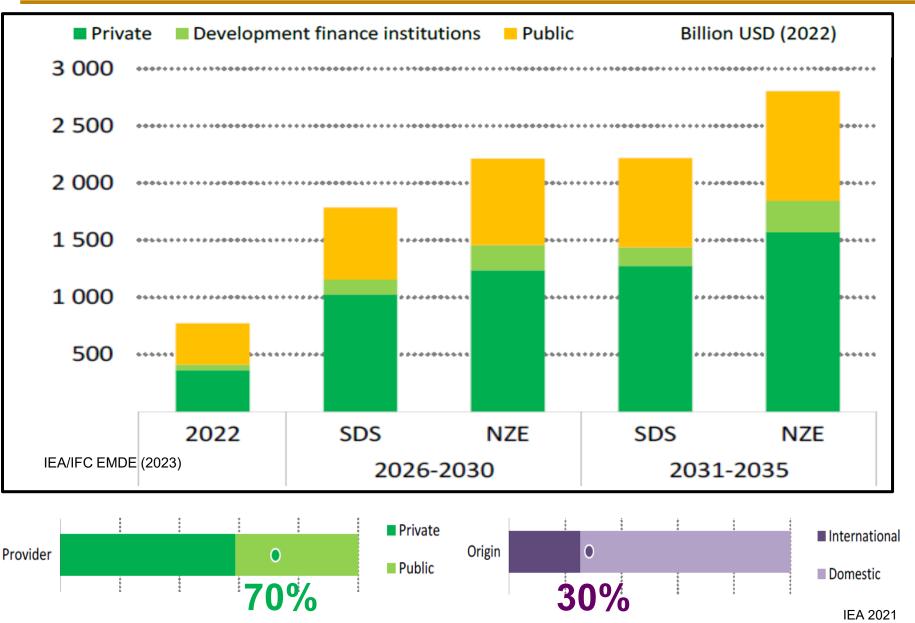
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Source of financing for clean: today



In EMDEs: about 50% public entity sources (IEA: "largely by SOEs") In Advanced Economies: <20% public entities

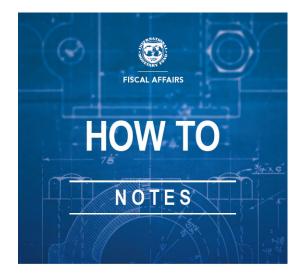
Source of financing for clean: tomorrow?



To whom: SPCs and Private Capital

SPCs have over \$850 in outstanding bonds and market loans:

- KEPCO: \$91 billion
- EDF: \$88 billion
- PLN: \$30 billion
- Eskom: \$26 billion
- NTPC: \$18 billion
- CFE: \$18 billion
- EGAT: \$2.6 billion
- SPIC: \$51 billion
- ➢ TEPCO (Jn): \$42 billion
- > TVA (US): \$19 billion



How to Assess Fiscal Risks from State-Owned Enterprises Benchmarking and Stress Testing

NOTE 21/09

SPCs and Just Energy Transition Partnerships



<u>Country JETP</u> <u>SPC</u>

- ➢ Indonesia
- South Africa Eskom
- ➢ Vietnam EdV

Senegal
Senelec

Mobilizing private capital for SPC climate action: a consultative group

Proposed Membership:

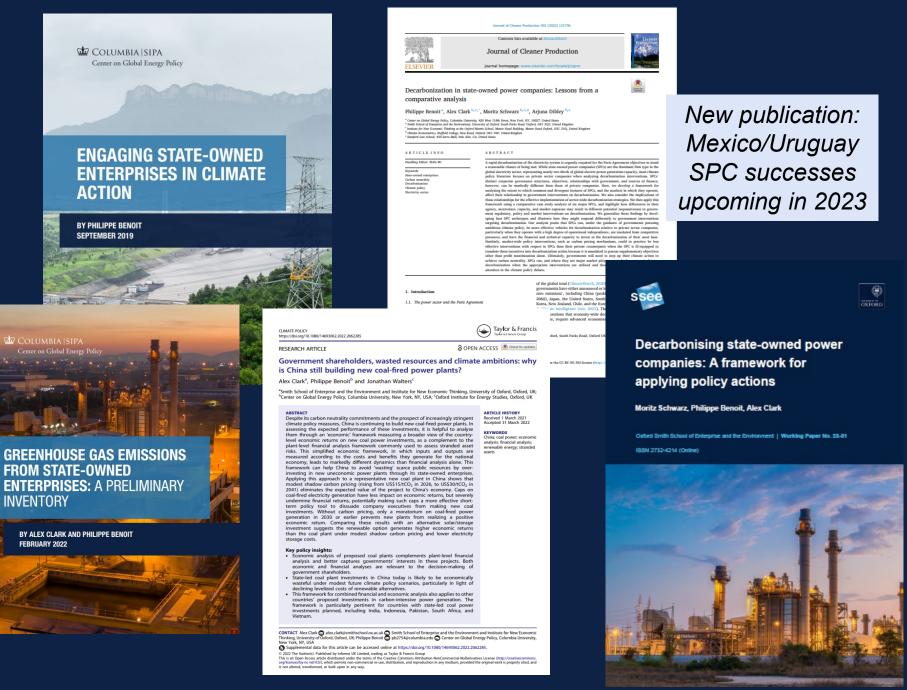
- SPCs (leaders)
- Private capital actors
- > MDB/DFIs
- > Think tanks/energy agency/facilitators,
- > Others

Concluding thoughts

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Some Final Thoughts

- 1. SPCs will be key drivers of global emissions (including lowcarbon), especially given weight in emerging economies
- 2. ...but have not been given appropriate level of attention in international climate discourse on policies and tools
- 3. SPCs differ from their private sector counterparts, opening up new avenues for government action and tempering others
- 4. Carbon pricing tools are useful but likely more muted impact on government-owned enterprises than private sector
- 5. Government climate toolkit re: SPCs includes exercising shareholder power, potentially more impactful than pricing
- 7. But SPCs differ greatly across countries and contexts, which is a crucial factor in choosing the right policy
- 8. SPCs can be strong players in decarbonizing systems
- 9. Sustained government commitment to climate is key



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INVENTORY

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