# Carbon Disclosure And Governmental Kickbacks: Evidence From The U.S. EXIM Bank

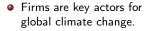
Patrick Bayer University of Glasgow

Jonas B. Bunte Vienna University of Economics and Business

## Motivation



New data shows how fossil fuel companies have driven climate crisis despite industry knowing dangers



 Largest 100 companies account for 71% of GHG emissions.

- Challenging to have national level legislation.
- But voluntarily disclose schemes exist.



## Literature

## Why do firms voluntary disclose?

- Private Actors as audience
  - to appeal to green customers (e.g., Chrun et al 2008; Delmas and Toffel 2008; Ahlquist and Mosley 2021)
  - to follow investor demands
     (e.g., Connelly et al 2011; Khanna and Anton 2002; He et al 2013)
- Government Actors as audience
  - to pre-empt forthcoming regulation (e.g., Toffel and Short 2011; Hsueh 2019; Malhotra et al 2019)

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- Government Actors as audience
  - to pre-empt forthcoming regulation (e.g., Toffel and Short 2011; Hsueh 2019; Malhotra et al 2019)
  - >> to get material government support?

## What Firms want

- Our starting point
  - Firms disclose emissions to credibly demonstrate their vulnerability, thereby increasing the probability to receive government support

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- Our starting point
  - Firms disclose emissions to credibly demonstrate their vulnerability, thereby increasing the probability to receive government support
- Our Case: The U.S. EXIM Bank
  - Government Agency
  - Facilitates U.S. exports by providing loans and guarantees.
  - Primary objective: Support U.S. jobs.

# Why use EXIM Bank?

#### Government:

Why use EXIM loans vs. using other types of support?

- Targeted: Tax breaks are hard to target to specific recipients
- Speed: Faster than legislative action

## Firms:

Why reveal emissions vs. lobbying or campaign contributions?

- Fit: EXIM loan allocation process does have some environmental criteria
- Efficiency: signals to multiple recipients simultaneously

## • Expectation:

Carbon disclose should make EXIM support more likely.

# Macro-level correlations

#### Carbon Disclosure and Likelihood of EXIM support

(+)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
.026*	0.026*	0.026*			
			0.023*	0.023*	0.024*
	✓	✓		✓	<b>√</b>
		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
	82,192			72,841	
	.026*	√	√ √ √	0.023* ✓ ✓ ✓	0.023* 0.023*

Large substantive effects ( $\sim 60\%$ ) against 3.0% baseline.

# Macro-level correlations

#### Carbon Disclosure and different measures of EXIM support

	EXIM	Amount	Amount	Count
	Dummy	Approved	Disbursed	Projects
Coefficient estimate				
CDP	0.026*	5.497*	4.737*	4.795*
	(0.003)	(1.787)	(1.653)	(1.393)
Fixed effects				
Year	<b>√</b>	✓	✓	<b>√</b>
State	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$

# The politics

- Fine, there is a macro-level correlation.

  But where is the politics and what is the mechanism?
- We argue that it is about two actors:
  - Bureaucrats who run the bank
  - Politicians who control the bank
- Need to understand the process of how the EXIM bank works and how politics shapes this process.

# The EXIM process

- 1. Re-authorization: specific foci?
- 2. Application Intake: basic completeness?
- 3. Application screening: eligibility requirements met?
- 4. Risk assessment: risks known and evaluated?
- 5. Credit structure: determine financing conditions
- 6. Credit decision: Yay or nay?

# The EXIM process

#### Involvement of Politicians

- 1. Re-authorization: changes to charter?
  - "Rep. Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY) and Rep. Rashida Tlaib (D-MI) have proposed amendments to prevent funding of fossil fuel driven energy production and regulate greenhouse emissions from potential projects"
  - Oversight by U.S. House Committee on Financial Services and the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.
- 2. Application Intake: basic completeness?
- 3. Application screening: eligibility requirements met?
- 4. Risk assessment: risks known and evaluated?
- 5. Credit structure: determine financing conditions
- 6. Credit decision: Yay or nay?
  - If support larger than \$10 million, approval by EXIM board (appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate).
  - Advisory Committee appointed by EXIM Board. Must include environmental stakeholders.
  - The Council on Climate

# The EXIM process

#### Involvement of Bureaucrats

- 1. Re-authorization: changes to charter?
- 2. Application Intake: basic completeness?
  - If larger than \$10 million, applicant must submit "Environmental Screening Document" (Annex B)
- 3. Application screening: eligibility requirements met?
  - Decide which mandate applies (Category A, B, or C)
- 4. Risk assessment: risks known and evaluated?
  - Staff conclude legal, technical, economic and environmental risks
- 5. Credit structure: determine financing conditions
  - Risk rating is used to calculate the exposure fee
- 6. Credit decision: Yay or nay?
  - If smaller than \$10 million, approval by EXIM staff with delegated authority

# Expectations – Bureaucrats

#### Argument

- Bureaucrats need transparency. Even if a firm is dirty, better to know this in the first place. It makes risks manageable.
- Transparency about dirtiness matters, while being dirty in itself matters less. After all, see conflicting objectives "saving the environment" vs. "saving U.S. jobs"

#### Expectations

- H1 Information about emissions increases likelihood of support, particularly more credible and reliable information
- H2 Firms revealing emissions will get support, even if it is dirty.

# Expectations – Politicians

#### Argument

- Need to bridge a gap between a) "I am environmentally friendly," and b) "I am supporting U.S. jobs."
- No support to dirty firms via EXIM directly, as that would be highly visible.
- However, if they want to support dirty firms, politicians can defend their decision better if they can tell a story about "good firms" that are transparent – even if they are dirty.

#### Expectations

- H3 No direct support: Politicians (i.e. the board) will not support dirty firms publicly.
- H4 Indirect support: However, politicians will help get EXIM support via lobbying, particularly if firms reveal emissions.

### Data

Original data set of firm-level data.

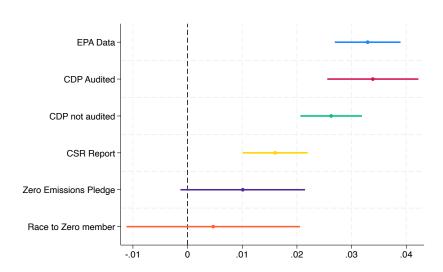
- 2010-2019
- Universe of US Fortune 500 firms, n = 770 firms
- Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP) data (disclosure rates: 44%-53%)
- EXIM bank projects data, annual loan information (~ US\$75bn/ year)

#### Key variables:

- DV: EXIM project (0/1) in firm i and year t
- IV: CDP participation (0/1) of firm i in year t

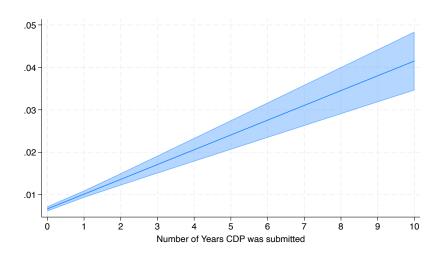
# Bureaucrats

#### H1: Credibility of Information



# Bureaucrats

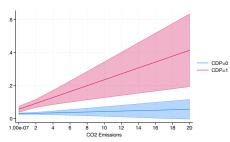
## H1: Strength of Information



# Bureaucrats

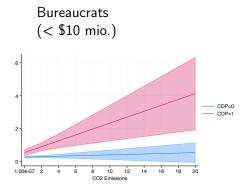
#### H2 & H3: Support for dirty firms



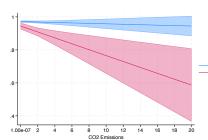


# Bureaucrats & Politicians

H2 & H3: Support for dirty firms



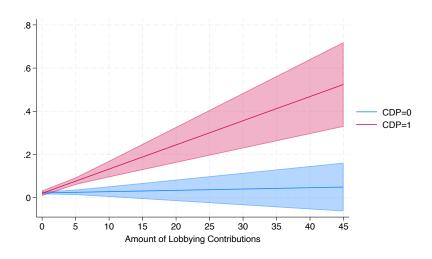
# Politicians (> \$10 mio.)



CDP=0 CDP=1

# **Politicians**

H4: Politicians do support dirty firms indirectly

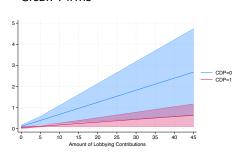


# **Politicians**

H4: Politicians do support dirty firms indirectly



# Clean Firms



CDP=0

## Conclusion

# **Findings**

- Firms disclose emissions to credibly demonstrate their vulnerability, thereby increasing the probability to receive government support
- Bureaucrats want transparency to manage risk.
- Politicians want to support dirty firms, but not publicly.

#### **Contributions**

- Dirty firms have incentive to reveal information
- Optimal obfuscation with bureaucrats vs. politicians.
- New data on firm-level determinants of climate action