

### EVs in U.S. Industrial Policy

#### **Elaine Buckberg**

Senior Fellow

April 3, 2025



# **EV Industrial Policy under the Biden Administration**



#### Biden Administration used carrots and sticks for BEV adoption

#### **CARROTS**

#### **IRA**

Clean vehicle tax credits

Deep dive

Production tax credits for U.S. critical mineral processing and battery production

Grants to auto suppliers making ICE->EV transition

Business tax credit for installing EV chargers

#### BIL

\$7.5B for EV charging infrastructure, both investment and operation.

#### **STICKS**

Tighten fuel economy (CAFE) and greenhouse gas (GHG) regulations

Renew waiver allowing California tighter standards

#### **TARIFFS**

On imports from China:

EVs: 100%, Lithium-ion EV batteries: 25%



#### IRA's Clean Vehicle Tax Credit has three-fold goals

1. Promote EV adoption for its climate benefits

2. Support growth of U.S. EV manufacturing

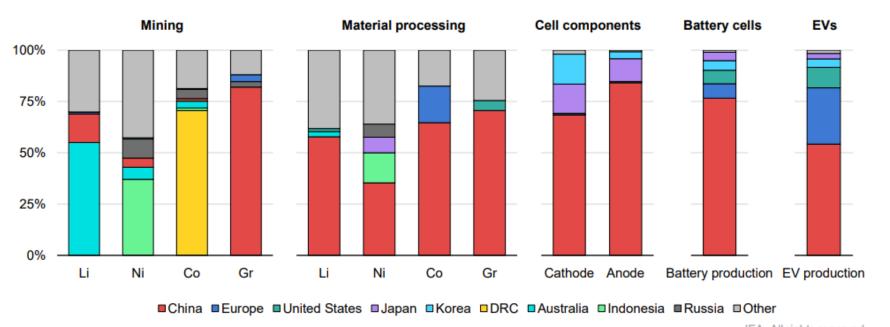
3. Prevent U.S. EV manufacturing to being vulnerable to foreign control of critical supply chains

Don't spend federal dollars to encourage #2 without #3



#### IEA: China dominates the downstream EV battery supply chain

Geographical distribution of the global EV battery supply chain



IEA. All rights reserved.



#### IRA changed the EV tax credit for consumers buying new EVs

#### **Pre-IRA EV Tax Credit**

\$7,500

Only for first 200,000 EVs sold by an automaker

#### **IRA EV Tax Credits**

**Consumer purchases:** 

**Up to \$7,500** 

\$3,750 for battery components \$3,750 for critical minerals

Leases (Commercial credit): \$7,500 to leasing co.

**Used EVs: Up to \$4,000** 



# The consumer purchase tax credit has strict requirements but leases are an exception

#### **New Clean Vehicle Tax Credits for EVs**

		Consumer	Commercial (under 14,000 lbs.)
Maximum		\$7,500	\$7,500
		\$3,750 for critical minerals \$3,750 for battery content	
Critical Minerals from North America, FTA partners		Increasing % each year	None
Battery Components from North America		Increasing % each year	None
No China content in battery components / critical minerals		From 2024/2025	N.A.
MSRP Cap	Truck/SUV/Van	\$80K	None
	Car	\$55K	None
Income Cap		\$150K single/\$300K married	None



# **Consumer Tax Credit eligible EVs dropped from 26 to 15** since IRA passed

PRE-IRA	MY 2024-2025	
Before August 16, 2022	 Jan-25	

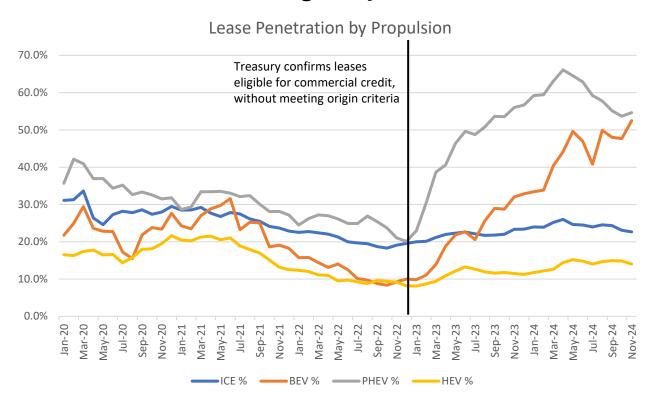
**\$7,500 26 15** 



### What has the impact been?



### EVs are leased at much higher rates than ICE vehicles since the IRS confirmed their eligibility for the commercial credit





# EVs made outside North America are disproportionately leased, vs. sold, since Jan. 2023 to access the commercial EV tax credit

Leases as a share of all new vehicles entering US market by vehicle type, 2021-23, percent



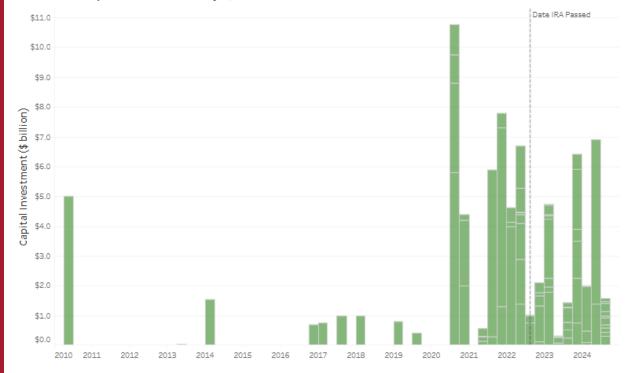
Source: Chad P. Bown, "How the United States solved South Korea's problems with electric vehicle subsidies under the Inflation Reduction Act," Peterson Institute for International Economics working paper 23-6, July 2023.



# Domestic EV investment boom started pre-IRA

Announced since IRA to 2/16/25:
60 new projects
52K new jobs
\$26B in investments

#### Announced Capital Investments By Quarter

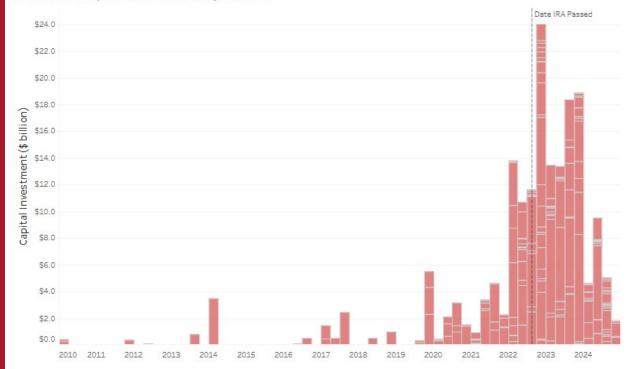




The battery boom is even larger—and IRA seems to be a more important trigger

Announced since IRA to 2/16/25: 142 new projects 70K new jobs \$109B in investments

#### Announced Capital Investments By Quarter

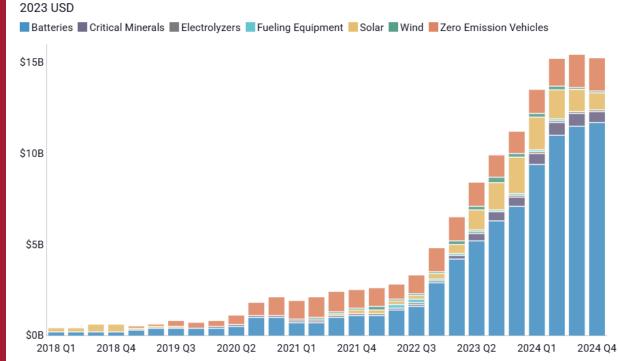




# The biggest \$ are in batteries

#### Actual manufacturing investments by technology

Source: Rhodium Group-MIT/CEEPR Clean Investment Monitor





# Modeling the effects of a Trump Administration EV policy overhaul



#### Biden Administration used carrots and sticks for BEV adoption

#### **CARROTS**

#### <u>IRA</u>

Clean vehicle tax credits

Production tax credits for U.S. critical mineral processing and battery production

Grants to auto suppliers making ICE->EV transition

Business tax credit for installing EV chargers

#### **BIL**

\$7.5B for EV charging infrastructure, both investment and operation.

#### **STICKS**

Tighten fuel economy (CAFE) and greenhouse gas (GHG) regulations

Renew waiver allowing California tighter standards

#### **TARIFFS**

On imports from China:

EVs: 100%, Lithium-ion EV batteries: 25%



# What does Trump's "Unleashing American Energy" Executive Order do or signal?

**CARROTS** 

"Consider the elimination

of unfair subsidies mineral

processing and battery production

"Prants to auto supplier making ICE-Einternstein Business tax credit for installing EV chargers

907.999 Thanking Wrastructure, both investment and operation.

**STICKS** 

Eliminate the EV mandate" (CAFE) and greenhous greenhous

"terminatself Califytate ter standards emissions waivers"

**TARIFFS** 

On imports from China:

EVs: 100%, Lithium-ion EV batteries: 25%

#### **Policy simulations**



#### Cole et al (2023) discrete choice model with charging

#### **Scenarios**

- Baseline: Current law
- Remove 30D, 45W, 25E (consumer purchase, commercial, used vehicle credits)
- Remove 30C home and public chargers
- Cap NEVI (IIJA) at FY2022-2024 approved plans: \$2.385 billion
- Remove 45X (battery manufacturing / critical mineral processing)
- Eliminate California waiver (Section 209, 177)
- + combinations

#### **Outcomes reported**

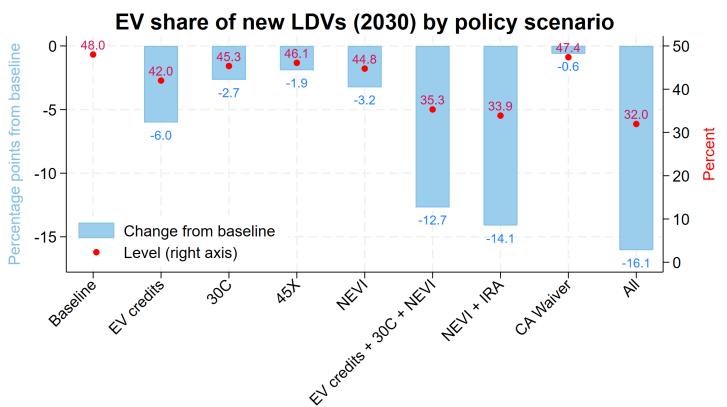
- EV sales penetration (2030)
- CO2 emissions
- Fiscal costs (undiscounted 10-year budget window)
- EVs on the road (registered, 2030)

#### **Policies not modeled:**

- Tariffs
- State EV & charger incentives (held constant)

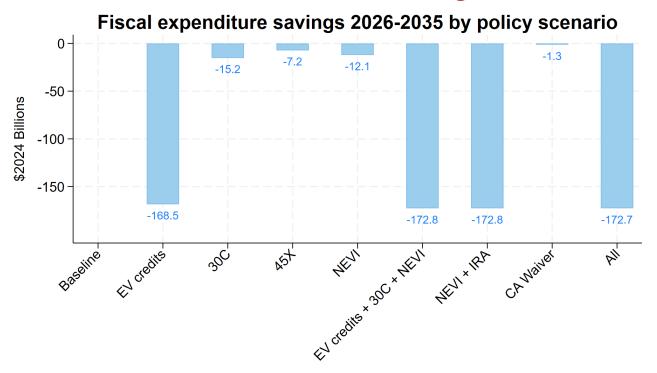


#### Results: EV share of new vehicle sales in 2030 (ppts)





#### Results: Total fiscal costs 2026-2035: Change over baseline (\$B)

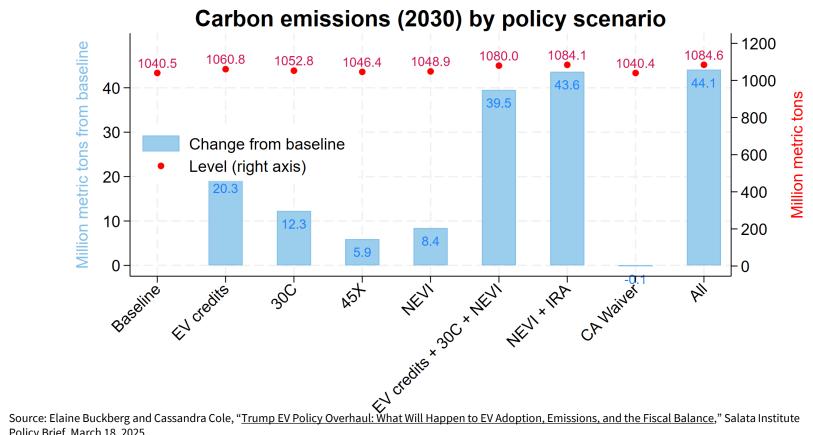


Note: These estimates of the fiscal impact may or may not align with the fiscal score produced by the Joint Committee on Taxation. Differences could include the current-law baseline projection, projections of the number of EVs eligible for the 30D tax credit, and take-up rates for the 25E and 45W tax credits.

Source: Elaine Buckberg and Cassandra Cole, "Trump EV Policy Overhaul: What Will Happen to EV Adoption, Emissions, and the Fiscal Balance," Salata Institute Policy Brief, March 18, 2025.



#### Results: 2030 carbon emissions: Millions of metric tons



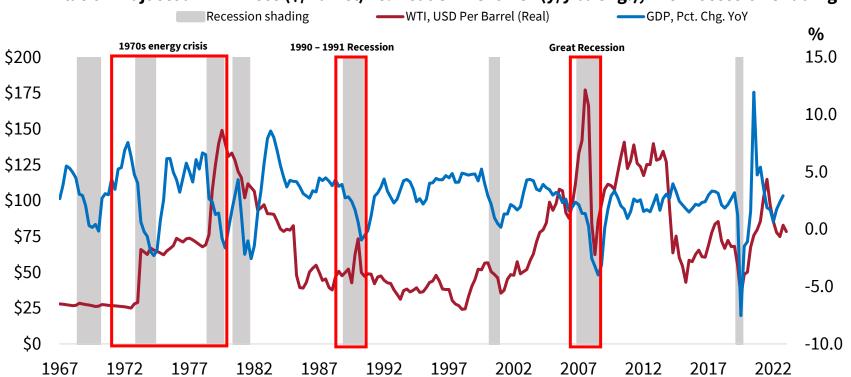


# The EV transition will improve the U.S. economy's resilience



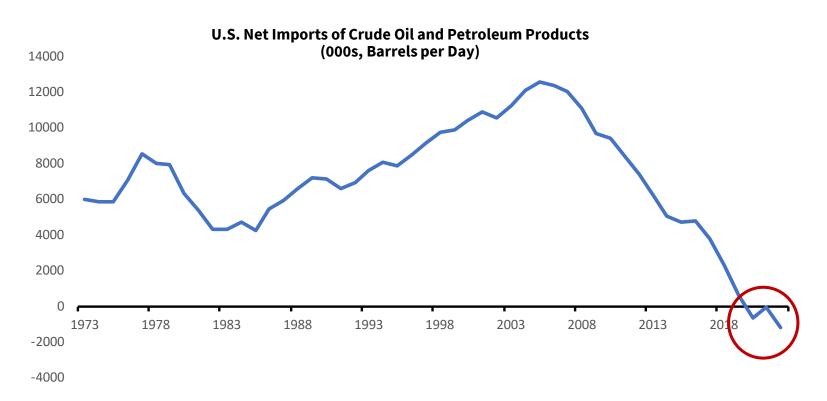
#### Large run ups in oil price preceded several U.S. recessions

Inflation-Adjusted WTI Prices (\$/Barrel) vs. Real GDP Growth (y/y % Chg.), with recession shading



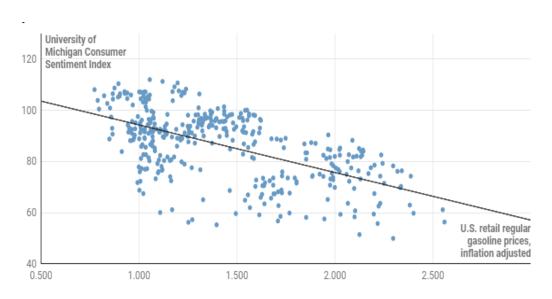


# The U.S. became a net oil exporter in 2020 reducing the *direct* effect of oil price changes on GDP





## Consumer sentiment remains strongly negatively correlated with gasoline prices



Source: U.S. Energy Information Agency, University of Michigan, Bureau of Labor Statistics via Haver Analytics, author's calculations. • Created with Datawrapper

"Consumer sentiment becomes more pessimistic with rising gas prices. This effect is strongest for consumers who lived through the recessionary oil crises in the 1970s..."

Binder and Makridis (2022)

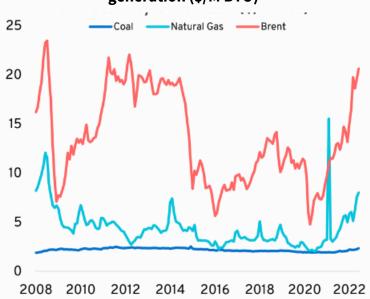
"[W]e also find that aggregate demand and other oil demand shocks have significant influence on household satisfaction with economic policy measures 'to fight inflation and unemployment.'"

Güntner and Linsbauer (2018)



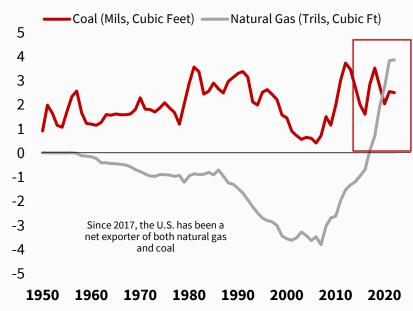
### U.S. electricity grid is ~60% powered by coal and natural gas whose prices are less volatile than oil and in which the U.S. is self-sufficient

#### Brent Prices vs. U.S. Cost of Fossil Fuels for electricity generation (\$/M BTU)



#### Sources: EIA, Haver Analytics. Assume 1 barrel of crude oil = 5,691,000 Btu; EIA, General Motors

#### U.S. Net Exports of Coal and Natural Gas

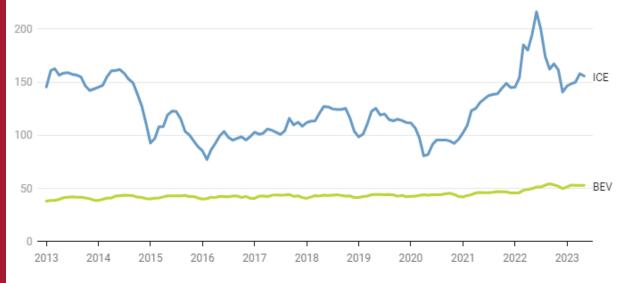


Sources: EIA, Haver Analytics, General Motors.\



# EV owners enjoy lower, less volatile "fuel" costs

#### Hypothetical Monthly U.S. Average Fueling Costs



Calculations also include: 1.035 miles/month based on 12.416 miles per vehicle year, Highway Statistics 2000, fhwa.dot.gov; median efficiency of 2021 model year EVs is 103 mpge or 3.1 miles/kWh, fueleconomy.gov; median 23.6 miles/gallon fuel economy for model year 2021 internal combustion engine vehicles, epa.gov.

Source: U.S. Energy Information Agency via Haver Analytics, author's calculations. • Created with Datawrapper



### EVs stabilize the economy, reduce exposure to oil geopolitics, and reduce recession risk

The EV transition can make the U.S. economy more resilient by reducing vulnerability to oil price shocks.

Shifting transportation energy demand from oil products to electricity will reduce U.S. energy price volatility. The energy sources that power the electric grid are more diversified, have more stable prices and are less affected by geopolitical risk.

**EV owners enjoy far lower and vastly more stable "fueling" costs** than owners of ICE vehicles, insulating consumers from gasoline price volatility. Rising gas prices have an outsized negative impact on consumer sentiment, and therefore on consumption and GDP.

Over time, **EVs will be powered by cleaner energy sources as the grid greens**. Optimizing charging times to high-renewable daytime can drive emissions even lower.



#### Thank you!

#### **Elaine Buckberg**

Senior Fellow <u>elaine\_buckberg@harvard.edu</u>

Follow The Salata Institute: <u>Twitter | LinkedIn | Instagram</u>