Household Energy Use and Carbon Emissions in China: 1 **A Decomposition Analysis** 2 **Oin ZHU¹ and Taoyuan WEI²*** 3 4 5 ¹ School of Social Development and Public Policy, Fudan University, Shanghai 200433, PR China (e-mail: zhuqin@fudan.edu.cn). 6 7 ²* Corresponding author. Center for International Climate and Environmental Research - Oslo 8 (CICERO), P.O. Box 1129 Blindern, 0318 Oslo, Norway. Tel: +4722858504. Fax: 9 +4722858751. e-mail: taoyuan.wei@cicero.uio.no. 10

11 Abstract

12 Although its per capita carbon emissions are still relatively low, China's aggregated carbon 13 emissions have grown by nearly 4-fold in the last three decades, and now it is the biggest CO2 14 emitter in the world. There are many reasons for this emissions growth, and much emphasis 15 has been placed on industrial development, but previous research has estimated that 40% of the growth in Chinese CO2 emissions over the 15 years to 2007 can be attributed to 16 17 household energy consumption. In this paper, we conduct a decomposition analysis to show 18 that in the period from 1978 to 2008 nearly 60% of the growth in Chinese household 19 emissions can be attributed to the increasing number of households and 40% to increasing 20 emissions per household. We also show that over this period emissions growth in urban 21 households has been six times that of rural households. These results have important 22 implications for policy makers seeking to promote reductions in China's CO2 emissions, 23 relating for example to family planning and urbanization.

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Keywords: households; population; Responsibility; decomposition; carbon emissions; China;
Policy

27 **1** Introduction

28 The history of developed countries shows that industry is the major source of new 29 carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions in the development process. However, a considerable 30 proportion of industrial emissions are released in order to satisfy the demand from 31 households for consumption. If these industrial emissions are attributed to household 32 consumption, then household consumption becomes one of the major sources of CO₂ 33 emissions. For example, more than 30% of CO₂ emissions in U.S. are directly related 34 to household consumption (Vandenbergh et al., 2010) and 40% of the emission 35 growth in China in the period from 1992-2007 can be attributed to households for 36 consumption (Minx et al., 2011). The important role of household consumption 37 should not be overlooked by policy makers since there is potential for energy policies 38 - and numerous other policies - to change household consumption behavior to reduce 39 energy consumption and associated emissions. Better understanding of household 40 energy use and decision-making processes is therefore necessary if effective policies 41 and programs are to be introduced (Dietz et al., 2013).

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China has achieved rapid economic development by adopting the reform and openingup policy since 1978 and it is now the second biggest economy in the world. With the steady growth of population and levels of urbanization, average living standards in China have been improved continuously. However, energy consumption and the associated carbon emissions have increased considerably over the past three decades so that China has become the biggest aggregate CO2 emitter in the world (Le Quéré et al. 2013).

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51	Since 2007, the Chinese central government has started to publish key policies to
52	control emissions in China's National Climate Change Program. In the 2012 report on
53	policies and actions for addressing climate change (NDRC, 2012), the general public
54	is encouraged to reduce carbon emissions in daily life by means of knowledge
55	dissemination activities, but no specific policies or actions targeting energy use in
56	households have yet been adopted. In 2012, household consumption accounted for 36%
57	of Chinese GDP (NBSC, 2013) and it is expected to increase further in the future.
58	Considering the high share of household consumption in the economy, it is necessary
59	to explore the important role of households in carbon emission abatement.
60	
61	There is an argument that the family planning policy adopted in China since 1970s
62	has helped carbon emissions reduction with estimates of the impacts varying between
63	100 million (Wang and Cai, 2010) and 400 million births prevented (Li, 2009).
64	Currently the debate on the policy is going on and the strict policy has been relaxed
65	slightly as part of the response to an ageing society and this could have important
66	implications for energy use and carbon emissions. However, Satterthwaite (2009)
67	shows that the growth in population does not necessarily drive the growth in
68	greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions but rather that the growth in consumers and in their
69	levels of consumption does. Since members of a household often make consumption
70	decisions as a joint unit, it seems more plausible to consider the growth in households
71	rather than population as one of key drivers of the emission growth.

73 Rapid economic growth in China has also been accompanied by rapid urbanization in 74 the past three decades, leading to more households living in cities and less in rural 75 areas. The share of urban population has dramatically increased from 18% in 1978 to 76 53% in 2012 (NBSC, 2013) and is expected to keep increasing in the near future. The 77 movement of a person from a rural to an urban area implies significant change in 78 lifestyle, and this has important implications for energy consumption. Leaving out 79 self-produced energy – for instance from burning firewood - the commercial energy 80 (i.e. purchased fuel and electricity, which are included in the official statistics system) 81 use per capita of urban households in China was nearly 1.5 times of rural households 82 in 2011 (NBSC, 2012a), but it is important to note that the average income of urban 83 households was more than three times that rural households at this time (NBSC, 84 2012b).

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86 In this paper, we examine the contribution that the changing level and composition of 87 household energy consumption makes to Chinese carbon emissions so that the 88 impacts of various types of households on emission growth in China can be estimated. 89 Firstly, we estimate the contributions to emission growth of households in China in 90 the period from 1978-2008. After the impact of the increasing number of households 91 is separated from impact of changing emissions per household, we further explore 92 impact of reducing household size and other determinants of emissions growth from 93 rural and urban households respectively.

95 The remainder of the present paper is organized as follows. The next section justifies 96 the methodology adopted in this study. Section 3 briefly describes the time series data 97 used in the analysis, and Section 4 offers results and analysis on the contributions to 98 emission growth of households. Section 5 offers discussions on the policy 99 implications and sensitivity analyses of our study, and the last section concludes the 100 paper.

101 **2 Methodology**

In order to estimate the impacts of changes in both the number and the size of
households on emission growth, we adopt a complete two-stage decomposition
approach that Hoekstra and van den Bergh (2003) call the refined Divisia method. As
with other decomposition approaches, the two-stage approach assumes the

106 proportional effects of each determinant on carbon emissions, other things being equal.

107

Decomposition approaches in environmental studies can be dated back to the widely applied IPAT accounting model that was first proposed in the early 1970s to analyze important determinants of anthropogenic environmental impacts (Ehrlich and Holden, 1971, 1972). The IPAT model categorizes three determinants of environmental impact (I) as population size (P), affluence (A) represented by per capita consumption or production, and technology (T) to capture the effects of all the other factors and assumes that each has a proportional effect on the environment. The IPAT model is a

- good starting point to help understand the impacts of human behavior on environment,and it is also the basic equation behind our research.

118	Previous research has conducted decomposition analyses to examine the determinants
119	on carbon emissions in China. At least four studies focus on changes in lifestyles. Wei
120	et al. (2007) quantify the impacts of the lifestyles of urban and rural residents on
121	China's energy use and the related CO2 emissions during the period 1999-2002 based
122	on the application of a consumer lifestyle approach (CLA). They find that 30 per cent
123	of CO2 emission are consequences of residents' lifestyles and related economic
124	activities. Feng et al. (2009) use the IPAT model to analyze the impacts of changing
125	levels of income and urbanization and changing lifestyles on the growth of CO ₂
126	emissions of five regions in China over the period of 1949-2002. They find that
127	technological improvements have not been able to compensate fully for the increase
128	in emissions due to population growth and increasing wealth. Minx et al. (2011) adopt
129	a structural decomposition analysis (SDA) approach to study the explanatory factors
130	behind the rapid growth of carbon emissions in China. They conclude that
131	"Urbanization and the associated changes in lifestyle are shown to be more important
132	than other socio-demographic drivers like the decreasing household size or growing
133	population". Hubacek et al. (2012) find that the contribution of population growth to
134	emissions in China has been relatively small since the late 1970s, and there is a huge
135	disparity between urban and rural households in terms of changes of lifestyle and
136	consumption patterns.

138	Other studies focus on energy use. Zhang (2000) decomposes China's CO ₂
139	emissions during 1980-1997 to explore the historical contributions of fuel switching,
140	energy conservation, economic growth and population expansion over time, and
141	includes that China has made a significant contribution to reducing global CO ₂
142	emissions in terms of continuous decrease in energy intensity. Wang et al. (2005)
143	focus on the impacts of energy-related determinants using time series from 1957 to
144	2000, and indicate that China has achieved a considerable decrease in its CO_2
145	decrease mainly due to improved energy intensity, moreover, fuel switching and
146	renewable energy penetration also contribute to CO ₂ reduction. Zhang et al. (2009)
147	also focus on energy-related determinants even though they adopt a different
148	decomposition method using time series from 1991 to 2006. In their study, energy
149	intensity effect is confirmed again as the dominant contributor to the decline in CO ₂ ,
150	in addition, economic structure and CO ₂ emission coefficient effects are found to
151	contribute little to the changes in CO ₂ emission. Zha et al. (2010) estimate and
152	compare the CO ₂ emissions in China from urban and rural residential energy
153	consumption from 1991 to 2004 by applying the index decomposition analysis (IDA)
154	approach, and find that the population effect contributes to the increase of residential
155	CO ₂ emissions with a rising tendency in urban area, while it keeps decreasing since
156	1998 in rural China. Ma and Stern (2008) investigate China's carbon emissions during
157	1971–2003 with a particular focus on the role of biomass using the logarithmic mean
158	Divisia index (LMDI) method. They include that a shift from biomass to commercial

159 energy increases carbon emissions, and the positive effect of population growth has160 been decreasing over the observed period.

161

162 In all of these studies, the share of emissions attributed to households is typically 163 associated with household consumption, directly or indirectly. The emissions related 164 to investments and exports are not taken as contributions of households. In our study, 165 we argue that all emissions should be attributed to households for current and future 166 consumption. Total emissions are generated to meet demand from households for 167 current consumption and non-households for investments and exports. For example, 168 27% of total Chinese emissions in 2007 can be attributed to exports to satisfy foreign 169 demand (Minx et al., 2011). Consumption-based approaches would attribute 170 responsibility for these emissions not to Chinese producers but instead to foreign 171 consumers(Munksgaard and Pedersen, 2001). However, Chinese households receive 172 income from satisfying the export demand that will be used for consumption and 173 future investments that aim to create income for future consumption. Therefore, 174 emissions related to current exports and investments can be seen as contributions to 175 future household consumption. Hence, all emissions can be attributed to domestic 176 households since the emissions are released for either current or future consumption 177 of the households.

In order to indicate the tradeoff between current and future consumption made by
households at the aggregate level, we use the inversed consumption-GDP ratio since
GDP can be taken as a proxy for the income of all households and income generated

181 from investments and exports that will be used for future consumption. In our 182 analysis, the income corresponding to the governmental expenditure is linked for 183 future consumption even though part of the income is used for current consumption. 184 The higher the consumption-GDP ratio, the more is the current consumption and vice 185 versa. Hence, the inverse of consumption-GDP ratio indicates the income level (GDP) 186 by assuming current consumption to be 1 and that the income is always greater than 1. 187 The higher the inversed ratio, the higher share of income is saved for future 188 consumption.

189

In our decomposition approach, we highlight the role of households and consider five determinants or impact factors shaping carbon emissions, these are the number of households, household size, household consumption, gross domestic product (GDP) and the carbon intensity of GDP in mainland China from 1978 to 2008. Each of these determinants or impact factors is broken down into urban and rural households to highlight the differences between the contributions from the two household groups. The details of the decomposition approach are described further in the Appendix.

197 **3 Data description**

¹⁹⁸ The data used in our study address the determinants or impact factors outlined above.

¹⁹⁹ Carbon emissions from fossil fuels are derived from the data center of the Carbon

²⁰⁰ Dioxide Information Analysis Center of Oak Ridge National Laboratory, USA

201 (CDIAC., 2011). Data on household size, consumption, GDP and population, which is

used to derive the number of households, are directly taken from a series of China
Statistical Yearbooks, annually updated by National Bureau of Statistics of China.
Both GDP and consumption data are comparable since they are adjusted on the basis
of 2000 constant prices.

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The urban population used to derive the number of urban households is defined as total permanent residents who live in cities and towns in China. More specifically, the urban population includes both registered residents in an urban area and the migrants who have lived in that urban area for more than half a year but have not registered as permanent residents in urban area.

212

213 The development paths of variables in the IPAT identity (Eq. 1) are presented in 214 Figure 1, indexed against 1978 values. During the period, per capita GDP (A) presents 215 the fastest growth of nearly 12.5 times, followed by the carbon emissions (C, nearly 5 216 times), and population size (P, less than 1.4 times). The only decreasing variable is 217 carbon intensity (T), which in 2008 becomes less than 30 percent of the 1978 level. If 218 we look into the shapes of the curves, we find that the curve of per capita GDP (A) 219 becomes steeper over time, indicating an exponential trend. On the contrary, carbon 220 emissions grow smoothly until 1995, then level out until 2002, and then speed up 221 again to 2008 when the rate of growth slows again.

222

223 Insert Figure 1 about here.

225	The number of urban households in 2008 is more than 5 times that of 1978, but the
226	number of rural households is only 1.3 times higher in 2008 than in 1978. On the
227	other hand, average household size is continuously shrinking for both rural and urban
228	households. Urbanization plays an important role in the process since an urban
229	household generally consists of fewer members than a rural household. According to
230	the data sources, if there are members of a rural household who work in cities, they
231	are counted as members of the urban household if they have stayed in the cities for
232	over half a year.
233	
234	Per capita GDP is divided into per capita consumption and the inverse of
235	consumption-GDP ratio. During the period, per capita consumption increases rapidly.
236	In 2008, it is 33 times and 27 times of the 1978 level for urban and rural households
237	respectively. The inversed consumption-GDP ratio is decreasing at the beginning of
238	the period and increasing after 1985. By the end of the period, it is more than 1.3
239	times of the 1978 ratio. This indicates that although residential consumption level
240	
240	grows dramatically, its share of GDP exhibits a decline tendency due to export and
240 241	grows dramatically, its share of GDP exhibits a decline tendency due to export and investment increase at a faster speed over this period.

242

243 4 Results and analysis

244 <u>Urban households dominate emission growth</u>

245 By deploying the complete two-stage decomposition described in the Appendix, we 246 calculate the cumulative changes in carbon emissions attributed to households as a 247 whole (Figure 2). Cumulative emission growth keeps increasing in all years except 248 slightly decreasing in 1998 and 1999, when Asia financial crisis happened. At the 249 beginning of the period, urban households contributed almost the same emissions as rural households even though in most years total emission growth was dominated by 250 251 the contributions of urban households. However, particularly since the 1990s, urban 252 households have contributed much more to emissions growth than rural households. 253 The tendency becomes more obvious after 2000 with the rapid development of the 254 housing market in urban areas. As a result, during the whole period, urban households 255 contribute 1300 million metric tons (MMT) to emission growth, accounting for 85% 256 of the total and six times that of the contribution of rural households. However, we 257 may overestimate the contributions of rural households since they have a lower saving 258 rate and a lower carbon intensity due to less use of fossil fuels¹. If the principle of 259 Common but Differentiated Responsibility is applied at the household level, then 260 urban households would have to take the major responsibility to reduce emissions in 261 the future. Urban households should be responsible for 85% of future emission 262 abatement if the emissions during 1978-2008 are criteria for distribution of the 263 emission abatement responsibilities. Notice that emissions from bioenergy are not 264 considered in the study and rural households use more bioenergy in daily life for

¹ Our decomposition approach assumes the same saving rates and carbon intensity for both urban and rural households.

265	cooking and heating. Even though bioenergy are considered to be renewable and
266	carbon neutral, the bioenergy use also produces emissions of black carbon, which is a
267	short-lived greenhouse gas but might have considerable impacts on local climate
268	(Berntsen et al., 2006; Joos et al., 2012).
269	
270	Insert Figure 2 about here
271	
272	Number of households and emissions per household
273	To further examine the role of households, we consider the impact that both the
274	number of households and emissions per household have on emissions growth. As
275	shown in Figure 3, emission growth attributed to the number of total households are
276	gradually increasing over time and reach a level of 858.8 MMT in 2008, thereby
277	accounting for 56.5% of total cumulative emission growth during 1978-2008. The
278	effects of emissions per household are negligible before 2003 but started to speed up
279	until 2008.
280	
281	In Figure 3, we also list the contributions of the number of urban households and

282 emissions per urban household respectively. Both of them follow the same pattern but

are slightly lower than total households, indicating the dominant role that urban

households have on emissions growth in the period. Conversely, the contribution of

the number of rural households keeps increasing until the middle of 1990s achieving

the peak of 100 MMT and then slightly deceases until 2008. Emissions per rural

- household are almost stable before 2000 and then speed up sharply, the same as urban
 households, achieving a level of nearly 150 MMT in 2008.
- 289
- 290 Insert Figure 3 about here
- 291

292 <u>Household size</u>

293 Shrinking household sizes in both rural and urban households result in less emission 294 growth per household (Figure 4). This seems contradict the observation that smaller 295 household size always leads to more emission growth. However, if we focus only on 296 one household, the intuition would be the smaller household size, the less energy use. 297 Our positive effect of household size coincides with the expectation and can be 298 understood as direct effect of the household size. The indirect negative effect of 299 household size is then captured by the impacts of an increasing number of households 300 in our analysis. In addition, the positive effect of household size is also consistent 301 with the widely accepted assumption that less population implies less carbon 302 emissions, other things being equal.

303

304 As a whole, we find that the decreased emission growth due to the shrinking

household size reaches a level of 280.8 MMT in 2008, a level that is 18.5% of total

306 observed emission growth during the period. The contributions of urban households

307 are slightly more than that of rural households until the early 1990s and then the gap

308 between the two groups gradually enlarged. However, the dominant role of urban

309 household size is not marked compared to the effects of the number of households and

310 emissions per household.

311 Insert Figure 4 about here

312

313 Consumption per capita

We find that the cumulative contributions from consumption per capita of all households keep increasing to a level of 1602 MMT or 105.5% of total observed emission growth, slightly more than the total observed emission growth in 2008 (Figure 5). This implies the effects on emission growth of all other determinants almost cancel each other out, i.e., the positive effects of the number of households and the inverse of consumption-GDP ratio are almost cancelled out by the negative effects of household size and carbon intensity.

321

322 At the beginning of the period, rural households contribute more than double the 323 amount of urban households to emission growth due to faster increasing consumption 324 per capita alone. This reflects the fact that the original reform in China was initiated 325 from rural area and farmers benefited from it earlier. However, urban households 326 continuously increase their contribution at a faster speed than rural households so that 327 by end of the period urban households contribute double the emission growth of rural 328 households. This also suggests greater responsibility should be given to urban 329 households to reduce carbon emissions in the future.

330 Insert Figure 5 about here.

332 <u>The tradeoff between current and future consumption</u>

333	The inversed consumption-GDP ratio is used to indicate the tradeoff between current
334	and future consumption made by households at the aggregated level. During the
335	period, the inversed consumption-GDP ratio tends to increase over time since more
336	and more income has to be saved to meet the demand for investments and exports. As
337	a result, the cumulative contributions from the inversed ratio tend to increase so that
338	they achieve a level of 349.7 MMT carbon emission growth or 23.0% of total
339	observed emission growth in 2008 (Figure 6). The increased emissions due to the
340	inversed ratio are expected to be reduced or even to decrease in the near future when
341	households spend greater share of their income on current consumption.
342	Insert Figure 6 about here.

343

344 Carbon intensity

345 Carbon intensity represents a generalized concept of technology, including at least

346 three determinants: the energy consumption level per unit output, the energy mix, and

347 the associated emissions per unit energy. Carbon intensity tends to be decreasing over

348 the period and is the major determinant leading to a considerable reduction in

349 emissions (Figure 6). During the period, the cumulative effects of carbon intensity

result in more than 1010.8 MMT carbon emissions reduction or 66.5% of the total

351 observed cumulative emission growth.

352

353 The carbon intensity increased slightly only in 2003 and 2004. This leads to the 354 inversed U-shape curve during 2002-2008 in Figure 6. This is mainly the result of 355 changes in energy intensity, i.e., energy use per unit GDP. A possible reason could be the changes in industry structure that resulted from the rapid development of 356 357 construction sector in China since 2002.

358

360

359 5 Discussion

We find that urban households are the main driver of emissions growth in China in 361 the past three decades, implying that these households should have greater 362 responsibility for emission reduction in the future. Nowadays China is at a 363 demographic turning point, changing from an agricultural society into an urban one, 364 and from a society attached to the land to a more floating one (Peng, 2011). 365 Urbanization in China is expected to continue in the next decades, and the dominant 366 role of urban households will be enhanced. Even though household size may continue to shrink for a long period due to the influence of urbanization and a floating 367 368 population, a continuation of the trend from 1978-2008 will mean more households 369 are expected to remain in cities and to contribute more to emission growth in the 370 future. Therefore, the dominant role that urban households play in shaping emissions 371 growth will continue and more policies targeting at urban households have to be made 372 to reduce carbon emissions in the future.

373

374 However, the improvement of rural households' energy use should not be forgotten. 375 Due to the specialized urban-rural dualistic structure, a significant disparity exists 376 between urban and rural areas in China and per capita expenditure of urban 377 households has been 3.5 times that of rural households for the past decade (Zhu and 378 Peng 2012). The decomposition analysis of our research also shows that the 379 contributions to emission growth of rural households are much smaller than urban 380 households. Considering the social and economic inequality between rural and urban 381 households, more financial and technological support should be provided to spread 382 the application of clean energy in rural areas, so that rural residents' basic right to 383 survival and development can be well respected and protected. This provision would 384 also be an embodiment of the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibility 385 at the household level.

386

387 The effects of both the changing number of households and reductions household size 388 can be summed up to the effect of population increase. From 1978 to 2008, population 389 increases contribute 578 MMT or 38.1% of the total observed emission growth. A 390 conservative estimate of the impacts of the family planning policy in China is that it 391 prevented about 100 million births (Wang and Cai, 2010). According to our rough 392 approach, if the unborn population were added to create more households with 393 household size and consumption per capita kept the same as the historical data, then 394 we would have additional 65 MMT of emission growth. If, on the other hand, the 395 unborn population were to increase household size while the number of households 396 and consumption per capita are kept at the same historical level, then we would have

additional 21 MMT emission growth. Hence, the effect of changing the familyplanning policy in the near future is quite uncertain.

399

400 In fact, the natural growth rate of population in China has declined for nearly three 401 decades, with a yearly increased population from more than 17 million in the mid-402 1980s decreasing to less than 7 million in recent years. Meanwhile, the continuous 403 reduction in household size rapidly increases in the total number of households. Even 404 if the population stops growing, the number of households will increase for some 405 time. Considering that the strict family planning policy in China has already been 406 relaxed to some extent, population growth will continue to influence China's carbon 407 emissions for one or two decades. According to our approach, with other things being 408 equal, the impacts of population change on emission growth in China will mainly 409 depend on the tradeoff between the effects of the increasing number of households 410 and the decreasing level of average household size. However, such dependence does 411 not necessarily mean that the growth in population accelerates emissions growth. As 412 our results suggest, the positive effect of more population in the near future might not 413 be an issue at all, assuming less consumption growth per capita, less income saved for 414 future consumption, and even the stronger negative effect of carbon intensity that 415 might result from the ambitious national target on emissions reduction (UNFCCC, 416 2010).

417

418 In the past three decades, the inversed consumption–GDP ratio of China has markedly 419 fluctuated upward, indicating that China has saved a larger share of income for future 420 consumption. This observation is supported by the export-oriented industrial structure 421 and the large-scale investments dominated by the government. The positive effects of 422 the inversed consumption-GDP ratio during this period indicate that the increased 423 shares of export and investment in China's economy have driven the growth of 424 emissions. However, it is impossible to always save for the future without spending and the situation could not continue forever. Changes may happen in the near future 425 426 given changes in the world economy that may reduce exports from China. 427 Furthermore, the investments dominated by the government have been so strong that 428 it becomes difficult to invest more in the economy in the near future. China has 429 noticed this situation and has already started to encourage domestic consumption by 430 various policies and measures. Conceivably, China might become a net importer in 431 the future, meaning reduction of domestic emissions and their replacement with 432 emissions embodied in the imported products. Hence, we would expect that greater 433 share of GDP will be used for current consumption. The inversed consumption-GDP 434 ratio will decrease in the near future and its effects on emission growth will decline 435 gradually, even possibly be negative instead of positive.

436

437 Moreover, consumption per capita might grow at a lower rate and contribute less to438 the emission growth in the near future. As mentioned above, net exports and

439 investments may not necessarily serve as the key drivers of the economic growth any

440 more. At the same time, domestic consumption is difficult to speed up in the short

441 term since a thorough all-inclusive social security system has not yet been established, 442 and the preferences of consumers may not change dramatically overnight when they 443 have to face the uncertain risks of illness, unemployment and high housing prices. In 444 addition, China is experiencing fast and profound population ageing with rapidly 445 declining fertility and increasing life expectancy. Both the size and share of the 446 working-age population have decline since 2012, indicating that the window of 447 opportunity for China's "demographic bonus" is closing. These observations all 448 suggest a possible lower economic growth rate in the near future.

449

450 Peters et al. (2007) have concluded that the carbon emission growth is a race between 451 increasing consumption and technology or efficiency gains since other determinants 452 are relatively stable over the period. In this context, *consumption* is represented by 453 GDP, which is the product of consumption and the inversed consumption-GDP ratio 454 in our analysis. Hence, the contribution of consumption in our analysis should be less 455 than those in Peters et al. (2007). Consumption per capita in our analysis contributes to emission growth at almost the same rate as the total observed emission growth. 456 457 This allows us to say that the effects of technology represented by carbon intensity are 458 almost cancelled out by effects of population growth and the tradeoff between current 459 and future consumption represented by the inversed consumption-GDP ratio. With 460 less income saved for future consumption and better technology expected, there 461 would be more room for population growth provided emission growth is coupled with 462 changing consumption per capita.

464 The change in carbon intensity exerts a significantly negative effect on emission 465 growth during this period. It is naturally deemed one of the most critical points in 466 terms of energy conservation and emission reduction. The contributions of carbon 467 intensity equal the sum of the effects of both energy intensity and the carbon emission 468 factor. Therefore, two main approaches are generally used to reduce carbon intensity: 469 one is to reduce energy intensity by promoting technological progress and increasing 470 energy efficiency and the other is to reduce the carbon emission factor by improving 471 the energy mix. However, we should not overlook that industry-wide carbon intensity 472 can also be reduced by adjusting the economic structure.

473 To check whether our results are strongly influenced by the assumptions we have 474 made in this study, we conduct some sensitivity analyses to test the significance of the 475 assumption. The uncertainty of our findings might be associated with the assumption 476 on the links between GDP and household consumption. As mentioned above, we used 477 the inversed consumption-GDP ratio to indicate roughly the trade-off between current 478 and future consumption made by households at the aggregate level, assuming all the 479 income corresponding to the governmental expenditure to be future consumption. 480 However, the inverse consumption-GDP ratio might underestimate current household 481 consumption due to overlooking the part of the government income used for current 482 consumption. To test the sensitivity of this assumption, we consider an extreme case 483 where all the governmental expenditure is treated as current rather than future 484 consumption. The governmental expenditure is then allocated into household 485 consumption proportional to urban and rural populations and their consumption

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486 patterns over this period. In the extreme case, the cumulative contributions from 487 current household consumption from 1978 to 2008 are increased by a further 3.2% of 488 total observed emission growth (or 49.3 MMT carbon) compared with that based on 489 our original assumption. Correspondingly, the cumulative contributions from the 490 inversed consumption-GDP ratio are reduced by the same amount of carbon 491 emissions growth. Hence, the deviation caused by the original assumption would be 492 less than 3.2% of the total observed emission growth, which we consider is within 493 acceptable limits, and our original assumption would not lead to a substantial 494 misjudgment regarding the contributions of carbon emissions of households in China. 495

496 6 Conclusions

497 By adopting a complete two-stage decomposition approach, the current study 498 quantitatively illustrates the contributions households to the growth in carbon 499 emissions in China. The growth of carbon emissions from fossil fuels is decomposed 500 to consider the effects of five impact factors, i.e., the number of households, 501 household size, per capita consumption, inversed consumption-GDP ratio, and carbon 502 intensity. The effect of each these impact factors is then broken down to consider the 503 influence of urban and rural households. Our key results are as follows: 504 (1) From 1978 to 2008, nearly 60% of emission growth can be attributed to the 505 increasing number of households and the other 40% due to increasing 506 emissions per household.

507	(2) Decomposition of emissions per household suggests that reduced
508	household size decreases emissions by less than 20%.
509	(3) The contribution urban households to emission growth is six times that of
510	rural households.
511	(4) The cumulative contributions from the inversed consumption–GDP ratio
512	increase and achieve 23% of the total observed emission growth in 2008.
513	(5) Consumption per capita contributes to emission growth by almost the same
514	amount as the total observed emission growth.
515	(6) The cumulative effects of carbon intensity result in reducing nearly 70% of
516	total observed cumulative emission growth.
517	

518 Some of the possible policy implications of these results have been discussed. We 519 point out that urban households should take the major responsibility for emission 520 abatement in the future due to their dominant historical contributions to emission 521 growth. Meanwhile, the basic right to survival and development of rural households 522 has to be respected and protected. The principle of Common but Differentiated 523 Responsibility can be extended to the household level by, for instance, taking urban 524 households as "developed countries" and rural households as "developing countries." 525 We also point out that the effect of family planning policy on emissions is uncertain 526 given the high interdependence between the key determinants of emissions. Hence, 527 the relaxation of the family planning policy may not result in more emissions, but this is not clear. 528

530	The policies to encourage domestic consumption in China can increase the share of
531	GDP for current consumption and lower domestic emissions growth in the near future
532	since less investment, less exports and more import are expected. In the near future,
533	increasing consumption per capita may contribute less to emissions growth given
534	slower economic growth in the rest of the world and the challenges of economic
535	structural change in China. The ambitious national target on emissions reduction
536	(UNFCCC, 2010) may keep carbon intensity continuously as the key driver of
537	emission abatement.

538

539 Acknowledgments

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547

548 Appendix. The decomposition approach

549 We start our two-stage decomposition approach from the IPAT model, which can be

550 expressed by

$$C_t = P_t A_t T_t, \tag{1}$$

551	where t denotes a year between 1978 and 2008, C_t the annual national carbon
552	emissions to replace the impact on the environment (I) in IPAT, P_t the population
553	size, A_t per capita GDP, and T_t carbon intensity defined as carbon emissions per unit
554	GDP. Based on the IPAT identity, we develop our decomposition model as follows.
555	<i>P</i> in IPAT is replaced by two demographic factors: number of households $(N_t^u \ N_t^r)$
556	and household size $\begin{pmatrix} S_t^u & 0\\ 0 & S_t^r \end{pmatrix}$ in order to focus on the impacts of households instead of
557	population. In the two expressions above and expressions below, the superscript u
558	indicates urban households and r rural households. Notice that the inversed household
559	size has been included as a determinant (Minx et al., 2011). However, in our opinion,
560	if less population in a country implies less emissions, which is widely accepted, it is
561	not plausible to assume less members of a household (household size), on the
562	contrary, imply more emissions in the same context.
562	The A in IDAT represented by CDD is decomposed to be true to man

563 The A in IPAT represented by GDP is decomposed to be two terms:

564 (1) Residential consumption (represented by expenditure) per capita in urban 565 and rural area $\begin{pmatrix} e^u = \frac{E^u}{p^u} \\ e^r = \frac{E^r}{p^r} \end{pmatrix}$, where E^u is total consumption of urban households

566 and E^r total consumption of rural households. This term captures different 567 consumption levels between rural and urban households.

568 (2) The inverse of consumption-GDP ratio $R = \frac{GDP}{E}$, where *E* is total

households consumption, i.e., the sum of consumption of both rural and urbanhouseholds. If GDP is taken as a proxy of total income of all households

571represented by the country, this term captures the difference between current572consumption and savings for future consumption. In other words, if a country573is taken as a representative consumer, the higher the ratio (R) implies the more574income saved for future consumption. In this sense, this ratio can be taken as a575patience indicator for future consumption.

576 We still keep *T* as the carbon intensity, representing a generalized concept of

577 technology, including at least three determinants: the energy consumption level per

578 unit output, the energy mix, and the associated emissions per unit energy.

579 Notice that we do not distinguish rural households from urban households for the

580 inversed consumption-GDP ratio. This implicitly assumes the same saving rate for

both rural and urban households. The assumption may lead to overestimate the

582 contributions of rural households if they have a higher saving rate. In addition, the

assumption of the same carbon intensity (T) for both types of households may also

584 lead to overestimated contributions of rural households since they use less fossil fuels

and have a lower emissions intensity, which can be defined as carbon emissions perunit income of a household.

587 Hence, the IPAT identity is modified to become:

$$C_t = (N_t^u \quad N_t^r) \times \begin{pmatrix} S_t^u & 0\\ 0 & S_t^r \end{pmatrix} \times \begin{pmatrix} e_t^u\\ e_t^r \end{pmatrix} \times R_t \times T_t.$$
(2)

This equation can be rewritten as the sum of two terms: one is related to urbanhouseholds

$$C_t^u = N_t^u \times S_t^u \times e_t^u \times R_t \times T_t.$$
 (3)

and the other is related to rural households

$$C_t^r = N_t^r \times S_t^r \times e_t^r \times R_t \times T_t.$$
 (4)

591 At the first stage, the logarithmic mean Divisia index (LMDI) decomposition

approach is adopted for both terms respectively to obtain the effect of each

determinant from one year t to the next year t+1. We sum up to obtain effects on

594 emission growth of rural and urban households respectively. At the second stage, we

sum up the effects of the same determinants to obtain the effects of the six

- 596 determinants on the right hand side of Eq. (2).
- 597 In the first stage of the decomposition, we obtain
- 598 1. Effect of the number of households

Rural
$$\Delta C_n^r = \frac{C_{t+1}^r - C_t^r}{lnC_{t+1}^r - lnC_t^r} \times ln \frac{N_{t+1}^r}{N_t^r}$$
(5)

Urban
$$\Delta C_n^u = \frac{C_{t+1}^u - C_t^u}{lnC_{t+1}^u - lnC_t^u} \times ln \frac{N_{t+1}^u}{N_t^u}$$
(6)

599 2. Effect of household size

Rural
$$\Delta C_s^r = \frac{C_{t+1}^r - C_t^r}{lnC_{t+1}^r - lnC_t^r} \times ln \frac{S_{t+1}^r}{S_t^r}$$
(7)

Urban
$$\Delta C_{s}^{u} = \frac{C_{t+1}^{u} - C_{t}^{u}}{lnC_{t+1}^{u} - lnC_{t}^{u}} \times ln \frac{S_{t+1}^{u}}{S_{t}^{u}}$$
(8)

600 3. Effect of per capita consumption

$$\Delta C_{e}^{r} = \frac{C_{t+1}^{r} - C_{t}^{r}}{lnC_{t+1}^{r} - lnC_{t}^{r}} \times ln\frac{e_{t+1}^{r}}{e_{t}^{r}}$$
(9)

Urban $\Delta C_{e}^{u} = \frac{C_{t+1}^{u} - C_{t}^{u}}{lnC_{t+1}^{u} - lnC_{t}^{u}} \times ln \frac{e_{t+1}^{u}}{e_{t}^{u}}$ (10)

601 4. Effect of the inversed consumption-GDP ratio

Rural
$$\Delta C_R^r = \frac{C_{t+1}^r - C_t^r}{lnC_{t+1}^r - lnC_t^r} \times ln \frac{R_{t+1}}{R_t}$$
(11)

Urban
$$\Delta C_R^u = \frac{C_{t+1}^u - C_t^u}{lnC_{t+1}^u - lnC_t^u} \times ln \frac{R_{t+1}}{R_t}$$
(12)

602 5. Effect of carbon intensity

Rural

Rural
$$\Delta C_{T}^{r} = \frac{C_{t+1}^{r} - C_{t}^{r}}{\ln C_{t+1}^{r} - \ln C_{t}^{r}} \times \ln \frac{T_{t+1}}{T_{t}}$$
(13)

Urban
$$\Delta C_T^u = \frac{C_{t+1}^u - C_t^u}{lnC_{t+1}^u - lnC_t^u} \times ln \frac{T_{t+1}}{T_t}$$
(14)

603 Hence, total changes in carbon emissions are the sum of the above five terms:

Rural
$$\Delta C^{r} = \Delta C_{n}^{r} + \Delta C_{s}^{r} + \Delta C_{e}^{r} + \Delta C_{R}^{r} + \Delta C_{T}^{r}$$
(15)

Urban
$$\Delta C^{u} = \Delta C_{n}^{u} + \Delta C_{s}^{u} + \Delta C_{e}^{u} + \Delta C_{R}^{u} + \Delta C_{T}^{u}$$
(16)

In the second stage of decomposition, we sum up across households to get effects on emission growth of total and each determinant for all households. In addition, to sum up for each determinant over time, we obtain cumulative effects on emission growth of the determinant. We can also sum the effects across determinants up to effect of an aggregated determinant. For instance, the contributions of emissions per households

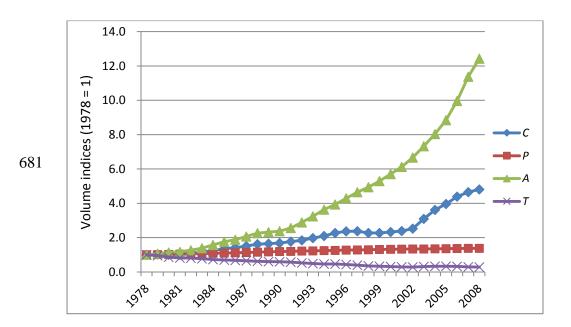
- 609 can be calculated as the sum of effects of household size, consumption per capita, the
- 610 inverse of consumption-GDP ratio, and carbon intensity.

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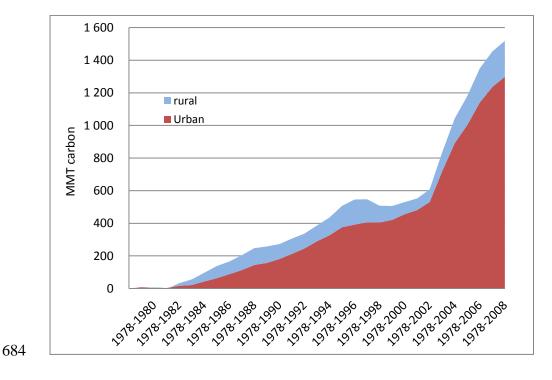
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682 Figure 1. Development paths of carbon emissions (C) and key determinants (P:

683 population size; A: per capita GDP; T: carbon intensity) compared with 1978



685 Figure 2. Cumulative contributions to carbon emission growth of households

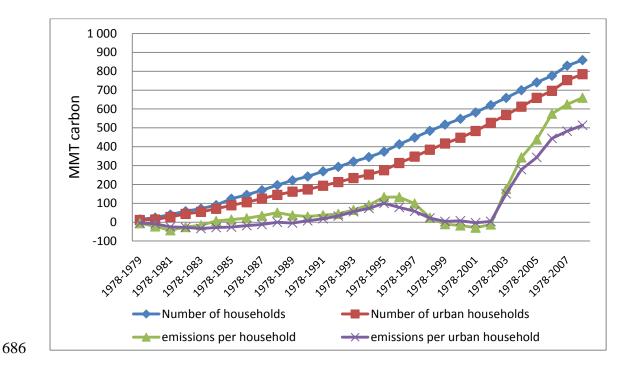
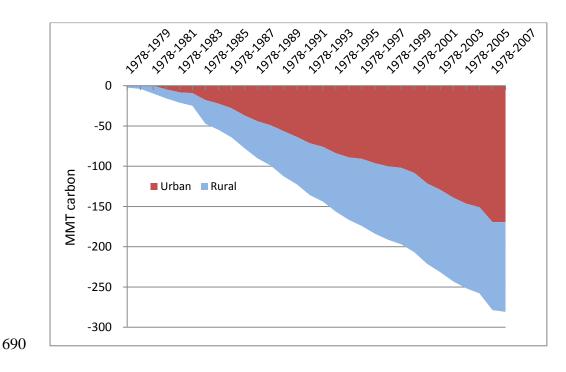


Figure 3. Cumulative contributions to emission growth attributed to the number ofhouseholds and emissions per household



691 Figure 4. Cumulative contributions to emission growth due to household size



Figure 6. Cumulative contributions to emission growth attributed to the inverse of consumption-GDP ratio and carbon intensity

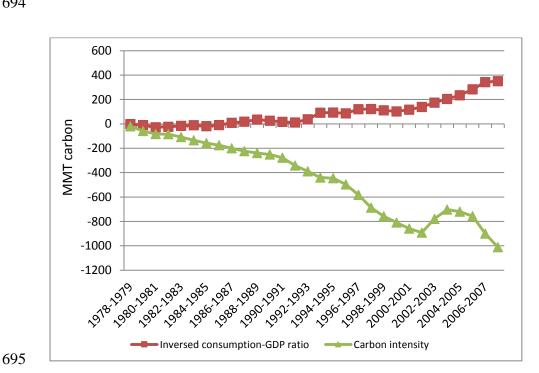


Figure 5. Cumulative emission growth due to consumption per capita

