



# Carbon emissions in China: How far can new efforts bend the curve?



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## ABSTRACT

While China is on track to meet its global climate commitments through 2020, China's post-2020 CO<sub>2</sub> emissions trajectory is highly uncertain, with projections varying widely across studies. Over the past year, the Chinese government has announced new policy directives to deepen economic reform, to protect the environment, and to limit fossil energy use in China. To evaluate how new policy directives could affect energy and climate change outcomes, we simulate two levels of policy effort—a continued effort scenario that extends current policies beyond 2020 and an accelerated effort scenario that reflects newly announced policies—on the evolution of China's energy and economic system over the next several decades. We perform simulations using the China-in-Global Energy Model, C-GEM, a bespoke recursive-dynamic computable general equilibrium model with global coverage and detailed calibration of China's economy and future trends. Importantly, we find that both levels of policy effort would bend down the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions trajectory before 2050 without undermining economic development. Specifically, in the accelerated effort scenario, we find that coal use peaks around 2020, and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions level off around 2030 at 10 bmt, without undermining continued economic growth consistent with China reaching the status of a “well-off society” by 2050.

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## 1. Introduction

Recent shifts in internal policy suggest that China's policy makers are serious about transforming the country's energy system in ways that will reduce both energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and air pollution faster than previously expected. The Third Plenum of the Eighteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in November 2013 in Beijing, established major new directions for reforming China's economic, political, and social system. Environmental protection took center stage at the Plenum as policy makers pledged to support slower but more sustainable economic growth, market-based approaches to pollution control, and new efforts to build an “ecological civilization” (China Daily, 2013a). To support these objectives, specific actions announced at the Plenum included liberalizing energy prices, taxing energy-intensive and highly polluting industries, and developing taxes or quotas to control emissions of CO<sub>2</sub> as well as locally acting pollutants. In addition to

end-of-pipe controls to reduce emissions of air pollutants, the newly announced National Air Pollution Action Plan aims to reduce the share of coal in primary energy below 65% by 2017 by implementing higher resource taxes or caps on coal use (MEP, 2013). Delivered with an unprecedented sense of urgency and importance, the Chinese government's very recent energy and environmental policy announcements necessitate new analysis to understand their impact on China's energy system and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions trajectory.

More aggressive action at home will inform China's domestic and international commitments to mitigate climate change. At the Copenhagen climate talks in 2009, China made a commitment to reduce the nation's carbon intensity (CO<sub>2</sub> emissions divided by GDP) by 40–45% in 2020, relative to 2005 levels, and to have at least 15% of primary energy produced from non-fossil energy sources by 2020 (non-fossil electricity is converted to primary energy equivalent using the average efficiency of a coal-fired power plant in China). China achieved a CO<sub>2</sub> intensity reduction of 21% during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2005–2010) (Zhen et al., 2013)<sup>1</sup> and targets a further reduction of 17% during the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011–2015). If China can

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<sup>1</sup> We use emissions data from China from Zhen et al. (2013), which is provided by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and current as of the date of publication.

**Table 1**  
Production sectors included in the C-GEM.

| Type                      | Sector | Description                    |
|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| Agriculture               | CROP   | Crops                          |
|                           | FORS   | Forest                         |
|                           | LIVE   | Livestock                      |
| Energy                    | COAL   | Coal                           |
|                           | OIL    | Oil                            |
|                           | GAS    | Gas                            |
|                           | ROIL   | Petroleum                      |
|                           | ELEC   | Electricity                    |
| Energy-intensive industry | NMM    | Non-Metallic Minerals Products |
|                           | I&S    | Iron & Steel                   |
|                           | NFM    | Non-Ferrous Metals Products    |
| Gold and silver           | CRP    | Chemical Rubber Products       |
|                           | FMP    | Fabricated Metal Products      |
| Other production          | FOOD   | Food & Tobacco                 |
|                           | MINE   | Mining                         |
|                           | CNS    | Construction                   |
|                           | EQUIT  | Equipment                      |
|                           | OTHR   | Other Industries               |
| Services                  | TRAN   | Transportation Services        |
|                           | SERV   | Other Services                 |

achieve a carbon intensity reduction of 3% per year during the Thirteenth Five-Year Plan (2016–2020), it will accomplish a carbon intensity reduction of approximately 44% from 2005 to 2020, well within the range of its Copenhagen CO<sub>2</sub> intensity reduction pledge. While China is on track to meet its Copenhagen targets (China Daily, 2013b), China's CO<sub>2</sub> emissions trajectory after 2020 is highly uncertain. Model projections of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions vary significantly and are sensitive to assumptions about future economic growth, technology cost, and climate policy (Calvin et al., 2012; Paltsev et al., 2012). The objective of this analysis is to assess the impact of these recent policy announcements on China's energy system and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions through 2050.

**Table 2**  
Regional aggregation in the C-GEM.

| C-GEM regional aggregation                  | Countries and regions included                                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Developed economies</i>                  |                                                                                                                                                   |
| United States (USA)                         | United States of America                                                                                                                          |
| Canada (CAN)                                | Canada                                                                                                                                            |
| Japan (JPN)                                 | Japan                                                                                                                                             |
| South Korea (KOR)                           | South Korea                                                                                                                                       |
| Developed Asia (DEA)                        | Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore                                                                                                                  |
| Europe Union (EUR)                          | Includes EU-27 plus countries in the European Free Trade Area (Switzerland, Norway, and Iceland)                                                  |
| Australia-New Zealand (ANZ)                 | Australia, New Zealand, and other territories (Antarctica, Bouvet Island, British Indian Ocean Territory, and French Southern Territories)        |
| <i>Developing and undeveloped economies</i> |                                                                                                                                                   |
| China (CHN)                                 | Mainland China                                                                                                                                    |
| India (IND)                                 | India                                                                                                                                             |
| Developing Southeast Asia (SEA)             | Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Southeast Asian countries not classified elsewhere                       |
| Rest of Asia (ROA)                          | Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Mongolia, and Asian countries not classified elsewhere                                                           |
| Mexico (MEX)                                | Mexico                                                                                                                                            |
| Middle East (MES)                           | Iran, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Israel, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia                                                                |
| South Africa (ZAF)                          | South Africa                                                                                                                                      |
| Rest of Africa (AFR)                        | African countries not classified elsewhere                                                                                                        |
| Russia (RUS)                                | Russia                                                                                                                                            |
| Rest of Eurasia (ROE)                       | Albania, Croatia, Belarus, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and European countries not classified elsewhere |
| Brazil (BRA)                                | Brazil                                                                                                                                            |
| Latin America (LAM)                         | Latin American countries not classified elsewhere                                                                                                 |

At the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit in November of 2014, China and the United States jointly announced post-2020 commitments for climate change action. China's goals include reversing the rise in energy-related CO<sub>2</sub> emissions before 2030 and increasing the non-fossil share of primary energy to 20%, also by 2030 (in 2015, this share was just over 11%). In June 2015, China officially submitted its intended nationally determined contribution (INDC) to the UNFCCC, adding a target to cut CO<sub>2</sub> emissions per unit of GDP by 60–65% from 2005 by 2030 to its earlier pledge to peak CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and increase the non-fossil share in primary energy consumption to 20% by the same year (UNFCCC, 2015). The United States committed to reduce total CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 26–28% in 2025, relative to 2005 levels. Given that China and the United States together accounted for around 41% of global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in 2010 (WDI, 2014), the pledges offer substantial contributions to global mitigation efforts. China's pledge in particular may set a precedent for other large emerging countries or regions to lay out their own reduction goals ahead of global climate talks in Paris in late 2015. This analysis seeks to quantify the impact of new policies on China's future emissions trajectory, as well as the role of several sources of uncertainty.

## 2. Modeling China's energy and climate policies

For this analysis, we use the China-in-Global Energy Model (C-GEM), a multi-regional simulation model of the global energy and economic system. The C-GEM is an empirically calibrated global energy-economic simulation model that is capable of capturing the impact of policy through its effect on the relative prices of energy and other goods, which in turn affects fuel and technology choices, the composition of domestic economic activity, and global trade dynamics. Developed collaboratively by researchers at Tsinghua University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as part of the China Energy and Climate Project, the C-GEM is constructed using methods well established in the energy systems and economic modeling literatures.

The basic structure of the model reflects the circular flow of the economy in which households supply factor inputs (labor and capital) to production sectors, which are combined with energy and intermediate inputs to produce final goods and services purchased by households. The model is formulated as a mixed complementarity problem (MCP) (Mathiesen, 1985; Rutherford, 1995) in the Mathematical Programming System for General Equilibrium (MPSGE) (Rutherford, 1999) and the General Algebraic Modeling System (GAMS) modeling language (Rosenthal, 2012). The system of equations is solved using the PATH

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